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CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. V. No. 1.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER, 1892.

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I. Memoir of Hon. Josiah Gardner Abbott, LL. D., Lawyer, Judge, Statesman and Patriot, read Nov. 24, 1891, by Charles Cowley, LL. D.

THE death of Judge Abbott on the second day of last June startled the community by its suddenness. His sickness had lasted only ten days, and had been little known beyond his law office in Boston and his summer home at Wellesley Hills. It did not develop any symptoms of a dangerous character until the last day preceding his death. It began with the grip and finally assumed an acute bronchial form.

The notices of his life which have appeared in the public journals have been kind and appreciative, though not so full in the recital of facts as those who know him best might reasonably desire. The citizens of Wellesley expressed their sense of his worth and of their loss by resolutions and addresses at a public meeting called for that purpose. If that precedent has not been followed in Lowell, it is not because his merits are less appreciated in this city, though thirty years have passed since he ceased to live here. A new generation has come upon the stage of action during those thirty years, which cannot be indifferent to a life so recently closed, and so conspicuous for ability, activity and public spirit.

Nine generations of the Abbott family have flourished in the colony, province and commonwealth of

Massachusetts, including the judge and the children and grandchildren who survive him. The pioneer of the family was George Abbott, an English Puritan, who was born in 1615, came from Yorkshire in 1640, and was one of the settlers of Andover in 1643. The second American Abbott among the judge's ancestors, was Timothy Abbott, who, when thirteen years old, during King Phillip's war, was captured by the Indians and held in captivity for several months. His brother Joseph was killed by them. The third was another Timothy, and the fourth Nathan, who was the first to be relieved of the necessity of living in a garrison house.

The fifth American Abbott was Caleb, whose wife was Lucy Lovejoy, and whose wife's sister was the second wife of the father of the late Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Thus J. G. Abbott's grand-aunt was the stepmother of the president of the Southern Confederacy. In 1855, while a student in Judge Abbott's office, I visited Washington for the first time, and was introduced by Caleb Cushing, then attorney-general, to Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war. Neither of us then dreamed that we were within six years of such a struggle as the war of secession; and I remember that in the conversation I then had with Mr. Davis, he spoke of the Lovejoys and also of the Maynards as Massachusetts families to which he was allied, and intimated a purpose to visit New England when he had left the cabinet of President Pierce, and to learn more than he then knew of its people.

The sixth in the line of Judge Abbott's American ancestors was his father, Caleb Abbott, who removed from Andover to Chelmsford, married Mercy Fletcher, daughter of Josiah Fletcher, and carried on the business

of a country merchant at Chelmsford Centre. He died in 1846; his wife died twelve years earlier.

The Fletcher family to which Judge Abbott's mother belonged were English Puritans who came from Devonshire and settled in Concord, and in 1653 in Chelmsford. William Fletcher, one of these first settlers, owned a large part of the territory which in 1826 was incorporated as the town of Lowell, and built his log cabin near where the City Farm buildings now stand. It is said that Josiah Fletcher, one of his descendants, and one of Judge Abbott's mother's ancestors, married Mary Chamberlain, daughter of the man so renowned in Indian war history for having killed the famous chief, Paugus, though I do not find this in the Genealogy of the Fletcher Family.

Among the nearest neighbors of the Fletchers were the Pierces, whose dwelling house stood near the corner of Chelmsford and Forrest streets. At the time of the Revolution the head of this family was Benjamin Pierce, who became a brigadier-general, governor of New Hampshire, and father of Franklin Pierce, president of the United States.*

Both the grandfathers of Judge Abbott were present at the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the war of Independence. His grandfather Fletcher was for some time in Captain John Ford's company, and rose himself to the rank of captain.†

Josiah Gardner Abbott was of the seventh generation of American Abbotts, being the second son and the fourth child of Caleb Abbott and Mercy Fletcher. According to the town clerk's records he was born in

*The best memoir of Governor Pierce is that of the late Joshua Merrill, read before this association, and published in the third volume of its Contributions.

† See Abbot's History of Andover, Bailey's History of Andover, and the Genealogies of the Abbott and Fletcher Families respectively.

Chelmsford November 1, 1814, and that is his birthdate as given in the Abbott Genealogy; but for many years he supposed that his birth took place a year later.

The best domestic influences formed his character as a boy. Four events took place during his youth, which contributed to stimulate and enlarge his mind. First, the Unitarian movement, into which his father entered with zeal, and helped to carry the church of Chelmsford out of the Calvinism of the Mathers into the liberalism of Channing. Second, the disruption of the Federal party and the rise of Jacksonian democracy, which was espoused alike by the father and the son. Third, the starting of the North American Review and the development of American literature, of which J. G. Abbott was a reader and a lover from the first. The day of town libraries had not yet dawned; but the people of Chelmsford were in advance of their times, and they established a library by voluntary combination, which was placed in J. G. Abbott's father's store. All of these events, particularly the establishment of the library, contributed to develop the mind of J. G. Abbott to an extraordinary degree of activity and power.

In the summer of 1823 he was old enough to be permitted, with an older brother, to go off some three miles from his home at Chelmsford Centre to attend a brigade muster near Middlesex Village. It is worthy of note that even at that early time of his life he felt greater interest in the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, which was then preparing to start its first water-wheel, than in the evolutions of "the embattled farmers," "the thunder of the captains and the shooting."

"I recollect," he says, "we gave up the delights and attractions of the muster-field and soldiers and their sham fights, and trudged on some two miles farther to

look at the beginning of the place which is now Lowell, and of which I had heard so much talk in the country round about. All I could see was one of the Merrimack Mills, the walls of which were partly finished; but all the surroundings were quiet and even wild enough, with only a few hundreds of people, where now [1876] you number fifty thousand. The recollection of that visit in my early boyhood, has always been very vivid with me, and at times it is difficult to realize the changes going on under my own eyes, in so short a time." *

After viewing this first mill of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, these young visitors trudged on down to Bradley's Ferry, near the present site of Central Bridge.

It is not likely that young Abbott turned his face toward Chelmsford on that day, without a passing glance at the commanding bluff in Belvidere, where St. John's Hospital now stands, where then towered the famous yellow house, the residence of Judge Livermore, with its large and well-kept lawn, adorned with Lombardy poplars, beneath whose shade perhaps at that very moment, the fair young girl, Caroline Livermore, jumped her rope, in utter unconsciousness that her future husband was so near — "so near and yet so far."

From Bradley's Ferry the Abbott boys walked to the farm-house of their cousin, Joseph Fletcher, which stood near the well which may still be seen, covered by a millstone, near the northwest corner of the South Common. There they obtained refreshments, together with information as to the families of the neighborhood. An old log-house, standing partly on the site of the Eliot Church and partly on the adjoining land of Mr. John

* From Judge Abbott's letter in the Proceedings in the City of Lowell at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1876, p. 83.

Dennis, was pointed out to them as the meeting-house in which the Rev. John Eliot preached to the Indians of Wamesit. Two ancient elm trees shaded this relic of the seventeenth century, which was no more to be seen when the Abbott boys next came to this place some years later.*

This first visit of J. G. Abbott to what is now Lowell, preceded by from four to five years that spring afternoon when another slender boy, Benjamin F. Butler by name, stood for the first time on Christian Hill and enjoyed the panorama of the valley at the confluence of the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, which, as he says, "glistened in the sunlight, so that the picture is nearly as vivid now to his memory as when it first struck his wondering eyes." †

Chelmsford had a classical school which Abbott attended.‡ For four months, from September, 1825, to January, 1826, this classical school was taught by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the impression made by him upon young Abbott was very favorable. To the last Judge Abbott always spoke of "the American Plato" in terms of praise.§

His next teacher in that school was the Rev. Abiel Abbot, a very able man, whom Harvard College afterwards honored with the degree of doctor of divinity, and of whom a full account may be found in "Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit" Miss Antoinette Abbott, the only surviving child of Judge Abbott's

*Greene's Semi-Centennial Volume of the Eliot Church, pp. 148, 297-301; Lowell Morning Mail, May 21, 1888, and June 16, 1892.

† General Butler's Oration in the Proceedings before quoted, p. 37.

‡ For an account of the remarkable men who attended this school, see Perham's History of Chelmsford, in the History of the County of Middlesex, published by Lewis & Co., Philadelphia, Vol. 2, p. 263.

§ Holmes' Life of Emerson, pp. 49, 50.

parents, writes: "I have often heard my brother say that Dr. Abbot was one of the most thorough teachers he ever had." Dr. George B. Loring eulogizes Dr. Abbot as a noble representative of the best type of our New England character in form and feature and cast of mind; and on meeting Mr. Gladstone, in 1889, he wrote that Mr. Gladstone strongly resembled Dr. Abbot.*

Dr. Abbot was succeeded by Cranmore Wallace, under whom Abbott studied for more than a year, and then, in 1828, entered Harvard College. Mr. Wallace afterwards taught school in South Carolina, and was always well spoken of as a teacher by the Abbotts.

In 1832 Mr. Abbott graduated. It was during his college life that the nullification troubles reached and passed their crisis, and the firm foot which President Jackson put upon that movement, made him more than ever before a Jackson man.

For a time he taught the Fitchburg Academy. The months which he spent as a teacher, I have heard him say, were among the most important of his earlier life, by reason of their ripening influence upon his mind, and the completer command which he thereby acquired of his previous acquisitions, as well as the new stores of knowledge which he then added to his former stock.

He began the study of law in the office of Joel Adams, near his father's home at Chelmsford Centre. Mr. Adams was a successful lawyer, though his court practice was never large; and Mr. Abbott appreciated and commended his acute legal mind.

On the night of July 2, 1834, the figure of President Jackson was cut and carried away from the frigate Constitution, at the Charlestown Navy Yard. Young Abbott

* Loring's Year in Portugal, pp. 5, 6.

fully shared the indignation which that event excited among democrats. In 1861 this figure came into the possession of Mr. Jonathan Bowers, and now adorns his hall at Willow Dale. It is impossible for one who looks at it now, and who has no personal recollection of the teapot tempest of 1834, to realize how much passion the taking away of that figure actually aroused.

In the autumn of 1834, Mr. Abbott took up his abode in Lowell and entered the law office of Nathaniel Wright. He was followed very soon by Mr. James B. Francis, then at the beginning of his distinguished career as an hydraulic engineer.* These two young men, destined to attain the heights of their respective professions, boarded in the same house, and formed a friendship which was ended only by Judge Abbott's death. In the summer of 1835 both of these fellow-boarders narrowly escaped death by typhoid fever, caught probably from the same drain.

In the letter already quoted, Judge Abbott says: "My acquaintance with Lowell began with the latter part of 1834, when it had a population, I believe, of about twelve thousand. I think all who lived there at that time and for the next twenty years, will agree with me in saying that no city of its size, ever contained a more remarkable people, or a pleasanter or more cultivated society. I doubt if any place of as large a population, ever had within its borders a larger number of very able men, who would be marked and remarkable in any community."

If this language seems extravagant, I am sure it is sincere. Curiously enough, Wendell Phillips, who left Lowell about the same time when J. G. Abbott took up

*For an outline of this career see Charles C. Chase's History of Lowell, in the History of the County of Middlesex, already quoted, p. 14.

his residence here, bears similar testimony to Lowell society as he saw it.*

In April, 1836, the town of Lowell was incorporated as a city. Mr. Abbott's personal preferences were for a non-partisan administration of municipal affairs. The fact that one citizen favored a high tariff and another a low tariff, that one favored a national bank and another favored state banks, was not in his judgment a sufficient reason for excluding the one or the other from an equal share in the exercise of municipal functions. But neither party was willing to waive the chance to elect candidates of its own exclusive choice. The only office under the city charter ever held by Mr. Abbott, was that of director of the city library, which he held for the year 1852. His son, Samuel A. B. Abbott, Esq., has followed his father's principles in the management of the Boston Public Library, being chairman of its board of trustees. In deciding who shall be employed in that justly renowned library, party considerations have no place.†

In November, 1836, Mr. Abbott was elected a member of the house of representatives for the year 1837. Two of his colleagues from Lowell in that house, are present to-night, Hon. Josiah G. Peabody and Hon. James K. Fellows. Among other members of that house deserving honorable mention, were Julius Rockwell, the speaker, afterwards judge, Robert C. Winthrop, John C. Park, Thomas Whittemore, Samuel Bowles, Amos Abbott, afterwards Representative in Congress from the Lowell district, and Charles P. Huntington, who afterwards served with Judge Abbott upon the bench. The senate

* See Mr. Phillips' statement in Cowley's History of Lowell, p. 119.

† In 1870 Judge Abbott served as one of the Examining Committee of the Public Library. Ten years later Samuel A. B. Abbott, his son, served in that capacity. From 1879 to the present time he has been one of its trustees, and for the last four years chairman of the board.

of 1837 contained Charles Allen of Worcester, afterwards Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Myron Lawrence of Belchertown, William Livingston of Lowell, and Linus Child, afterwards of Lowell. The governor was Edward Everett, who adorned every position to which he was called. Mr. Abbott's estimate of Samuel Bowles was considerably higher than that formed by other men at that time, though none too high, as the success of the Springfield Republican under his management abundantly proved. But the man who made the deepest impression on Mr. Abbott's expanding mind, was Robert Rantoul, Jr., the leader of the Jacksonian democracy in the house. Rantoul perished in his prime, and few survive of those who knew him. But no man who reads his "Memoirs, Writings and Speeches," will wonder that a mind so well stocked with large and grand ideas, and so capable of clothing them in forcible language, should have exerted a decided influence over the youngest member of the house. Some of the reforms for which Rantoul fought have long since been embodied in statute law, and have ceased to be thought of; but they were "burning questions" in 1837 and for many years thereafter.

In January, 1837, Mr. Abbott was admitted to practice as an attorney and counsellor-at-law. His first client was Daniel Raymond Kimball, who remained his client as long as he lived. He died in 1859 and Mr. Abbott settled his estate as executor of his will. The friendship which Mr. Abbott thus early formed for Raymond Kimball was extended to John F. Kimball, nephew of Raymond and president of the Appleton National Bank, and continued for nearly forty years and was never broken during his life.

His first law partner was Amos Spaulding. Owing to the financial disasters of the year 1837 hundreds be-

came insolvent, and the firm of Spaulding & Abbott received from their business during that year about $5000.

Mr. Abbott was but ten months older than Richard H. Dana, Jr., who was for many years his contemporary at the bar, but he had made a brilliant start in his chosen profession, and had closed his career in the house of representatives before August, 1837, when young Dana made that voyage from Boston to California, the story of which he has told so well in his "Two Years Before the Mast."

The Western fever was then prevalent in the Eastern States. Caleb Fletcher Abbott had removed from Chelmsford to Toledo, and was anxious that his younger brother should also remove to Toledo and become his law partner there. J. G. Abbott would, perhaps, have yielded to these solicitations had they not been controlled by more powerful attractions, the nature of which may be inferred from the following announcement in the local papers of that time:

"Married in this city, July 21, 1838, by the Rev. Theodore Edson, Josiah G. Abbott, Esq., to Miss Caroline Livermore."

That event determined that Mr. Abbott should run an Eastern and not a Western career.

In the life of Mr. Abbott, as in the lives of Mr. Evarts, Mr. Benjamin, and many other American lawyers, great and small, there was an episode of journalism. In 1840 he edited the Lowell Advertiser and advocated the re-election of President Van Buren as the representative of Jacksonian democracy. The Advertiser was of course a partisan journal. All the public journals then in the country were partisan except the New York Herald and Garrison's Liberator. But apart from its politics, Mr. Abbott gave to the paper a decided literary flavor. Like

Lord Bacon, "he took all knowledge for his province." The files of the Advertiser, preserved in the City Library,* show that even as a journalist,

> "—— he bore without abuse
> The grand old name of Gentleman,
> Abused by every charlatan,
> And soiled with all ignoble use."

Many a well-turned paragraph appeared, which owed its origin to the fact that a lawyer was at the helm, and yet his paper had no odor of the law office, and was never used as an aid to his practice at the bar.

One of the worst abuses of journalism in our times is the use of newspapers for or against parties to causes before or during trial. In the case of Mrs. Hannah Kinney, who was tried in Boston, in December, 1840, on an indictment for poisoning her third husband, George T. Kinney, the temptation to give vent through the press to the prevailing impressions against the defendant, was unusually strong. Mrs. Kinney had been the wife of the Rev. Enoch W. Freeman, the popular pastor of the First Baptist Church in Lowell, and was vehemently suspected of having caused his death by arsenical poisoning.† Nevertheless, not a word appeared in the Advertiser's notices of the progress of the case, calculated to aid or hinder the prosecution or the defendant. As soon as the case had ended; that is to say, as soon as it was proper for an editor to express an opinion upon it, Mr. Abbott condemned the conduct of Attorney-General Austin in undertaking the prosecution without further proof.

It was while Mr. Abbott occupied the editorial chair that the Lowell Offering appeared, and no journal greeted

* The volume for 1840 is one of those presented to the city by the heirs of Fisher A. Hildreth.

† Charles Cowley's History of Lowell, pp. 111-114.

it with a warmer welcome than the Lowell Advertiser. While he deplored any condition of society which compelled married women to work for wages outside of their homes, he gave his deepest sympathies to the factory girls in all their aspirations for intellectual and moral culture, as well as in their struggle for the means of living.

While Mr. Abbott edited the Advertiser, the late Daniel S. Richardson, who had already been admitted to the bar, edited the Lowell Courier. Nathaniel P. Banks, afterwards more widely known as speaker, governor and major-general, succeeded Mr. Abbott as editor of the democratic organ in Lowell.

In those days lyceum lectures were much in vogue. On many occasions Mr. Abbott rode out to some town, frequently accompanied by his wife, gave a lecture on some topic of the time, and drove back to Lowell the same night.

In 1842, having some time previously dissolved his connection with Mr. Spaulding, Mr. Abbott formed a copartnership with Samuel A. Brown, which continued till 1855. Much might be said of these law partners, especially of Mr. Brown, who was a very superior man; but time would fail.

In 1842 he purchased of his mother-in-law a tract of land on Stackpole Street, and built a stone house thereon, in which he resided till 1861. Many of the shade trees on Stackpole Street were planted by him. The songs of the birds in those trees, the murmur of the river below, all the voices of nature in that region, pleased him.

In 1842 and 1843 Mr. Abbott served the state as a senator, being on the two most important committees—the judiciary and railroads. The committee on the judiciary has always been considered of the first impor-

tance; but in the infancy of our railroad corporations, the importance of the committee on railroads was very great; and the results of our early railroad legislation are still felt—sometimes for evil, but more generally for good.

During the year 1843 J. G. Abbott was attached to Governor Morton's staff as senior aide-de-camp.

On August 16, 1843, a meeting of the Abbott family was held in Andover, which appointed Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D., of Peterboro', Rev. Ephraim Abbott of Westford, Samuel Abbott of Charlestown, and Hon. Josiah G. Abbott of Lowell, to erect a monument to George and Hannah Abbott in their burial place in the South Parish of Andover, and also to prepare a genealogical register of their descendants.

Dr. Abiel Abbot wrote the History of Andover and the Genealogical Register of the descendants of George Abbott of Rowley, Thomas Abbott of Andover, Arthur Abbott of Ipswich, Robert Abbott of Bradford, Conn., and George Abbott of Norwalk, Conn. In this he had Rev. Ephraim Abbott, of Westford, as co-worker. The Genealogy was published in 1847.

When Mr. Littell started his Living Age, in 1844, Mr. Abbott became one of his first subscribers, and he continued to take it and read it till his death. He was equally constant in his patronage of the Lowell Vox Populi, started, partly by his aid, three years before.

Of Judge Abbott's part in founding the city of Lawrence (1845), his brother-in-law, Hon. Daniel Saunders, has spoken in a letter to be published with this paper, showing him to have been one of the fathers of that city. It is by no fault of his that Lawrence stands on the opposite side of the Merrimack from that on which it should have been builded.

How important a part he bore in the upbuilding of Lewiston is but partially indicated by the number of shares of the Lewiston corporations owned by him, or by the number of years during which he was president or director of those corporations. He had an aptitude for large enterprises, and delighted to exercise his powers in various ways.

Among his investments, those in woodlands must not be forgotten. He began the purchase of woodland in several different towns at an early age, and continued it till the shadow of three score years and ten had passed over him. He never sold one of his wood-lots, and he employed Amos Brown and his son and grandson to cut his wood for fifty years and until his death.

About the year 1846 the "Melvin Suits" came to an end, and Grenville Parker, who had been of counsel for the defeated parties, published anonymously his pungent pamphlet on the Judiciary of Massachusetts, reviewing and condemning the rulings of the judges in those cases. John P. Robinson's paper in the second volume of the Contributions of this association presents the other side of these cases, which excited a great deal of feeling at the time. The tide of opinion never ran higher against corporations than when the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River obtained final judgment in the last of these suits. Although Abbott and Brown afterwards became and for many years continued to be the counsel for the victorious corporation, neither of them ever failed, upon proper occasion, to express his dissent from some of the rulings which Parker condemned.*

In 1847 the Appleton Bank, now the Appleton

* Grenville Parker passed his later years in West Virginia, and took an active part in procuring its admission into the Union.

National Bank, was incorporated. Mr. Abbott immediately commenced to make his deposits there, and continued to do so during his life. In fact he never opened any account elsewhere, but during the whole thirty years of his life in Boston, he made all his deposits in that bank through its Boston correspondent. That fact tells it own story as to the sound and wise management of the bank, and the constancy of Judge Abbott's attachments.

In 1848 he "bolted" the democratic nominations—Cass and Butler—for president and vice president, and supported the free soil nominees—Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. He and Hon. Chauncey L. Knapp were chosen delegates to the national free soil convention, but his professional engagements prevented him from going to Buffalo, and George F. Farley, Esq., of Groton, attended as his substitute.

In 1850 Mr. Abbott was appointed master in chancery, and served as such five years, Hon. Arthur P. Bonney succeeding him.

In 1852, when Kossuth made his tour through the United States, Abbott gave him both sympathy and material aid, and was one of the citizens' committee who invited him to Lowell, and introduced him to the people in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church.

Had the office of attorney-general become vacant during Governor Boutwell's time (1851–52) it was understood that Mr. Abbott would have been appointed, so well established was his reputation at that time.

In 1853 he was elected a delegate to the constitutional convention on the coalition ticket. The new constitution proposed by the convention was rejected by the the people of the state, but the debates in that body prepared the way for the adoption of some of the amend-

ments to the constitution which that convention proposed. This was the only legal body in which Judge Abbott ever sat with George S. Boutwell, Alexander H. Bullock, Benjamin F. Butler, Anson Burlingame, Rufus Choate, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Henry L. Dawes, Charles Sumner, Frederick O. Prince, or Henry Wilson. James K. Fellows, who had been one of his colleagues in the house of representatives in 1837, was one of his colleagues in this convention, Shubael P. Adams, then a Lowell lawyer, now of the Iowa bar, was another of his colleagues from Lowell, and General Butler was another. The rest of the Lowell delegates, John W. Graves, Andrew T. Nute, James M. Moore, Abraham Tilton, and Peter Powers, together with all the defeated whig candidates, have passed to the silent land.

The debates of that convention show that Mr. Abbott favored an elective judiciary, and also favored making the jury judges of law as well as of facts in criminal cases. A notable debate on the right or the power of the jury, under the decisions of the Supreme Court,* to determine the law as well as the facts in a criminal cause, took place between Mr. Abbott and Ex-Governor Morton, without disturbing the friendly relations which had for many years existed between the disputants. Two years later the legislature passed an act intending to embody Judge Abbott's views, which were also the views of many others, including eminent lawyers of all parties.† But in the case of Commonwealth *v.* Anthes, 5 Gray, 185, a majority of the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court decided either that this act did not change the law as it

* Commonwealth *v.* Porter, 10 Metcalf, 263 (1845).

† This jury act of 1855 is embodied in Chapter 214, Section 17, of the Public Statutes, though sadly eviscerated by the opinions of a majority of the judges in Anthes' case. This was one of the decisions at which William S. Robinson ("Warrenton") delighted to discharge the arrows of his wit.

previously stood, *or* that if it did attempt to change the law and make the jury judges of the law, it was unconstitutional and void. The dissenting opinion of Judge Thomas in that case met Judge Abbott's hearty concurrence; and I remember hearing him quote an old English ballad as stating the ancient and true view of the functions of the jury in Crown cases, and I give it from memory as he did:

> "For twelve honest men shall sit on his cause,
> Who are judges alike of the facts and the laws."

After Mr. Abbott had gone upon the bench, his former law partner, Samuel A. Brown, re-argued this question and re-asserted Judge Abbott's views, in the case of Commonwealth *v.* Austin, 7 Gray, 51, but without changing the attitude of the Supreme Court thereon.

When Judge Abbott had formed an opinion after mature deliberation, he was not easily moved. The mere *ipse dixit* of a judge weighed little with him, and where he saw a court palm off a pretext as a substitute for a reason, he did not hesitate to express his dissent in forceful terms. But nothing that he ever said, in the Constitutional Convention or elsewhere, could justify Mr. Dana in referring to him in his diary as feeling anything like a hatred toward the Supreme Court.* If the decisions of that tribunal did not always suit him, it was "more in sorrow than in anger" that he signified his disapprobation of the error into which it had lapsed.

In 1855 the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk was established, superseding in that county the old Court of Common Pleas. Its members were Albert H. Nelson, of Woburn, one of Abbott's classmates at college; J. G.

* Adams' Biography of Richard H. Dana, Jr., Vol. 1, pp. 240, 242, 243. Mr. Causten Browne showed a far better appreciation of Judge Abbott when he said that he was too proud as well as too generous for any vindictiveness.

Abbott, of Lowell; Charles P. Huntington, of Boston, formerly of Northampton, and Stephen G. Nash, of Boston.

Judge Abbott accepted this appointment with three ends in view: First, to make a good judge, and win such reputation as usually attends a good magistrate; second, to secure for himself a period of comparative rest from the severer labors of the bar; third, to get such an introduction to the bar and business community of Boston as would secure for him, upon quitting the bench, a fair share of the cream of the law business of that city. All these ends he accomplished. The facility with which he despatched business was very great. On one motion-day there were no less than forty-six hearings before him on contested motions which he decided. He was always honest and fair in dealing with counsel. When exceptions were taken to his rulings, he never sought to deprive counsel of the benefit of those exceptions.

One day, in the spring of 1857, I sat in his court for an hour or so, and when he adjourned walked with him to the depot. I remarked that he seemed to enjoy his position. "Oh, yes," he replied, "it's pleasant work and far less exhausting than trying cases at the bar. But I have had enough of it, and can't afford to stay on the bench. Don't mention it at present, but I shall not stay on that perch after this year."

His resignation took effect January 1, 1858. He resumed practice at the bar for the sake of its emoluments, and he did not fail to get them. His salary as a judge was only $3,000 a year; and his income from his practice during the first year after he left the bench was more than $29,000. It afterwards rose to $36,000. These figures represent the returns from regular work, without any of those "windfalls" with which lawyers

are sometimes favored. Large as they are, the professional incomes of lawyers have sometimes exceeded them. The income of Judah P. Benjamin, while at the head of the British bar, is said to have amounted in some years to $75,000.*

It happened to me to be present when Mr. Benjamin made his first argument in an English Chancery Court.† It was in the year 1868 in London. I had heard him years before in the Supreme Court of the United States, as well as in the senate at Washington. As I listened to that marvelous feat of advocacy and saw how marked an impression Mr. Benjamin made upon the court, the bar and the bystanders, the question arose, how would J. G. Abbott have succeeded had he essayed a career at the English bar? Between Abbott, with his tall, well-proportioned form, his Saxon face and Saxon voice, on the one hand, and Benjamin, with his short and obese body, his Hebrew face and soft Semitic tongue, the differences were marked. And yet there were marked resemblances between the minds and methods of those giants of the forum. There was the same clearness of statement, the same mastery of the case, the same earnest, impetuous, on-rushing tide of speech, flowing without ebb; the same care as to the matter of the argument; the same carelessness as to the form, in both. In my judgment Mr. Abbott would have achieved success, had he sought it, at the bar of the Babylon of London. But my admiration for him was such that I cannot pretend to present any estimate of him as entitled to the weight of an impartial

* Dictionary of National Biography, Art. Benjamin.

† Two cases were heard together, in both of which the United States were plaintiffs. The defendants were Frazer, Trenholm & Co., and John Frazer & Co. Sir Roundell Palmer, now Earl of Selborne, was Benjamin's leading opponent. The plaintiffs prevailed, and, as the legal successors of the Confederate States, recovered a large amount of Confederate property in the defendants' hands.

opinion. I prefer therefore to sketch with rapid strokes the outline of his life, and to give the opinions of others, rather than my own, touching his professional traits.

In 1859 Judge Abbott was chosen one of the overseers of Harvard College, and served as such six years.

In 1859 J. G. Abbott, G. B. Upton and George S. Boutwell, were appointed commissioners under the legislative act of that year to make an award to the city of Boston of compensation for its relinquishment of certain rights on Arlington Street.

In 1860, when George T. Bigelow succeeded Lemuel Shaw as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, Judge Abbott was offered a place on that bench, but declined it for the same reason which had led him to resign his position on the Superior Court.

In 1860, as a choice of evils, he voted for the Douglass ticket for presidential electors.

In 1861 Judge Abbott removed from 128 Stackpole Street, Lowell, to 6 Arlington Street, Boston. But, although he ceased to be a citizen of Lowell, he never lost his interest in this community. In the letter already quoted he says: "As you know, I have passed some of the happiest years of my life in Lowell, and with it are connected some of the pleasantest and best recollections of the past. I took up my residence there soon after leaving college; there I married my wife; there all my children were born; and there repose the ashes of some of them who so lived and died that I am sure their native city has never had cause to be ashamed of them."

Judge Abbott had early learned in the school of Jackson that the Union is an institution to be maintained, if necessary, by force; and when that Union was menaced with destruction in 1861, all who knew him knew what his position would be. Like his friend, Rufus

Choate, he would say, "We join no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." The first flag raised in Lowell after the Confederate assault on Fort Sumter was accompanied by an eloquent appeal from him which completely electrified the assembled throng.

When the militia of Lowell were called to Washington for the defence of the capital, even before a man of them had buckled on his knapsack, Judge Abbott gave General Butler $100, to be used for the relief of any suffering among his soldiers. He appeared before a meeting of the bank presidents of Lowell and urged them to lend their money freely to the government to carry on the war. Like Gen. William T. Sherman and other far-sighted patriots, whom shallow men then pronounced "cranks," he foresaw that the war for the Union would be long and bloody, and urged the enlistment of men for not less than three years' service. His three oldest sons entered the army at once, and two of them were sacrificed in the bloody struggle. The Abbott Greys, the company which his oldest son commanded, in the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry,* were the special subject of his care and for them he contributed freely of his money.

Seeing how much the officers and men rallying for the defence of the Union, required to be taught what their duties would be, Judge Abbott wrote a letter to Governor Andrew recommending the formation of camps of instruction. From the plans submitted by him, the Camp Act, so called, the principal bill passed by the leg-

* Fletcher Morton Abbott, M. D., the only one of Judge Abbott's three sons who served in the army who survived the war, began his military career as a lieutenant in this regiment, and afterwards served as captain on the staff of Brigadier-General Dwight. See Quint's Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, p. 497. General Hooker said, "This regiment, as is known in two armies, has no superior."

islature at the extra session of 1861, was prepared before the session began. The training received by our volunteers during their brief sojourn at these camps, was of very great value.

When the republican state convention met at Worcester in September, 1861, to nominate candidates for the state offices, its members realized the necessity of enlarging their platform in order to attract, if possible, the war democrats. It was felt that it was desirable in that perilous crisis in national affairs, to make the party simply a war party and to postpone all other issues until the war for the Union had ended. Without one dissenting voice, if my memory serves me correctly, that convention nominated J. G. Abbott for the office of attorney-general. The wisdom of that nomination was too obvions for discussion, and many of the judge's friends, democrats as well as republicans, urged him to accept it. Since that time some persons of a very miscellaneous sort have filled that office; but prior to that time it had been held by lawyers of the first rank, and Judge Abbott's reputation, if not enhanced, would surely have suffered no damage, by filling an office which Rufus Choate and John H. Clifford had adorned. Nevertheless, so fastidious was his sense of personal honor and party fealty, he could not be induced to accept that office. Nothing that has occurred during the last thirty years has changed my opinion that his declinal of that office was a great mistake. It seemed to me that his true place was at the head of the Union party, and that by this declinal he closed upon himself the opening gate to a great career.

In 1862 Judge Abbott wrote: "If we would succeed we must be united in our purpose to fight it out — to conquer. All true men can and must unite to carry out that purpose — they can and must adjourn all other

questions till the war is over. That purpose is large enough, it is holy enough to engross and satisfy all." *

Truer words were never spoken, and they were as applicable to the situation in 1861 as in 1862.

Had Judge Abbott accepted the nomination, he would certainly have been elected; and the republican party, though it had an abundance of leaders, was lamentably in need of such a leader as he. On the other hand, it may be said that by remaining with the democratic party through those years of peril he performed an important service to the country by constantly bracing up that party to support the war; the more so because that party contained thousands of men who were opposed to the war.

The same wise foresight which prompted him to advocate camps of instruction and long terms of enlistment in 1861, led him to oppose the stopping of enlistments in the spring of 1862, notwithstanding the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, of which Senator Wilson was chairman, reported that we already had soldiers enough! Judge Abbott saw clearly and said boldly that the period of the war had been much prolonged, and the sacrifice of life and treasure greatly augmented by suspending the recruiting of our armies so prematurely at that time.

In 1862 Williams College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

On the ninth of August, 1862, the horrors of war entered his own home; his eldest son, Captain and Brevet Major Edward Gardner Abbott, Company A, Second Massachusetts Infantry, was killed in battle at Cedar Mountain, Virginia; and all the hopes that clustered about his future were blasted in a moment. But this

* From a manuscript found among his papers, entitled "A Divided North, Treason."

terrible parental affliction only intensified his indomitable purpose to suppress the rebellion. When General Lee, flushed by his success in Virginia, led his victorious army into Maryland, and when it seemed not improbable that the flag of the Confederate States would shortly float in triumph over Philadelphia, Judge Abbott wrote an appeal to the people of Massachusetts to meet in Faneuil Hall, irrespective of party, "to take counsel together for the common weal." In response to this appeal "the People's Convention" met on the seventh of October. I do not now enter into any discussion of the merits of the proceedings of that convention. Whatever of success or failure attended those proceedings, the lofty patriotism which animated the call under which that convention met, is beyond all praise. There are passages in that call which for force and elevation of style will lose nothing by comparison with the stirring words of the Declaration of Independence.

On the day preceding that convention Senator Sumner had spoken in the same hall.* I heard Sumner's speech; I also heard Abbott's speech, and as I listened to the thunders of applause which greeted them, I recalled what I had read of the stormy scenes of the Greek republics, when

> "Under the rock-stand of Demosthenes
> Unstable Athens heaved her noisy seas."

Joel Parker, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, had been selected to make the principal speech on that occasion. He was a learned and able man, powerful in his addresses to the intellect, but weak in his appeals to the feelings. He had none of that versatility which enabled Abbott to convince a

* Sumner's speech appears in the seventh volume of his works.

bench of judges, capture a jury, or ride upon the whirlwind of a popular assembly. No sooner had the convention organized itself, than loud calls arose for Abbott, who, as I happen to know, had made no preparation to speak on that day, though his heart and soul were full. He could stir the emotions. One blast on Abbott's bugle-horn was worth a thousand Parkers.

The day of that convention was one of those "momentous occasions" referred to by Webster in his oration at Plymouth Rock, "when great interests are at stake and strong passions excited," and Judge Abbott had just those qualities which such occasions require. "Clearness, force and earnestness," as Webster said, "are the qualities which produce conviction." The vast assembly was thoroughly electrified by his speech, particularly by the peroration. Pointing to the broad canvass on which Webster appears replying to Hayne, and raising his voice to its loudest, clearest tones, he said: "Let us here, in the presence of its greatest defender, swear that we will give fortune, that we will give life, that we will give all, to support that constitution and establish its sway over the whole land."

To realize how much these words really meant, one must recall the circumstances under which they were spoken — the fact that the oldest son of the speaker had shortly before been laid in a soldier's grave in the Lowell Cemetery, and that both of his other sons in the army were so broken in health that their mother had gone to Antietam to give them her personal care. Called to the scene of that battle by the condition of her second son, she met on the field her third son suffering from the delirium of fever in the brain. But none of these things moved him.

In the senatorial election of 1863, and again in

1869, Judge Abbott received the support of the democrats in the legislature, but the republican majority was overwhelming, and Charles Sumner was elected. The same empty honor was repeated to Judge Abbott in 1877, when Senator Hoar was chosen.

On the sixth of May, 1864, his second son, Major and Brevet Brigadier-General Henry Livermore Abbott, while gallantly leading his regiment, the Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, in the battle of the Wilderness, was fatally wounded. "Had he lived," General Hancock said, "he would have been one of our most distinguished commanders."

Richard H. Dana, Jr., who visited the Army of the Potomac only ten days before Major Abbott's death, wrote: "Sedgwick spoke in high terms of the Massachusetts regiments, especially the Twentieth, and of Major Abbott, who now commands it. He thinks Abbott a bright, particular star." Charles F. Adams, who has preserved this testimony in his biography of Dana, adds that "it was thought at the time, by those most competent to judge, that no braver officer, nor one of greater military promise, there laid down his life."

To lose such sons as Judge Abbott lost in battle was terrible at the best. But the conviction that the movements in which they fell were culpably ill-advised and even absurd, added poignancy to parental grief. To lose brave sons when their loss is inevitable in defence of their country, has been the hard lot of many a father. To lose them through the stupidity or obstinacy of their commanders, is more than flesh and blood can bear. Many a father, many a mother, became sour and disaffected under such painful trials. But not so with the parents of these brave brothers, whose twin monuments in the Lowell Cemetery will perpetuate their names till

the marble shall crumble and the granite shall decay.* Through all those times which tried men's souls there was no truer patriot than J. G. Abbott.

Several volumes would be required to contain an account of the hundreds of cases in which Mr. Abbott acted as counsel during the more than fifty years of his practice at the bar. No such account will be attempted, neither would it be desirable even if it were practicable. For as the life of man on earth is but a span, so the interest in the daily concerns of that life endures but for a moment. "A book is the only immortality," as Rufus Choate once said; and the best efforts in advocacy are generally forgotten with the occasion which called them forth.

I will mention three capital cases and three or four other cases in which Mr. Abbott was concerned, and refer to one hundred and ten volumes of the Massachusetts Reports (from the 43rd to the 152nd) for notices of the cases argued by him before the full bench of our Supreme Judicial Court. Yet these indicate but a part of his professional work. There are other cases of his in the United States Supreme Court and Circuit Court Reports and in the reports of other state courts, and there are also hundreds of cases not reported at all (except in newspapers) because they were never carried to the court of last resort.

His first capital case was that of the alleged murderers of Jonas L. Parker, who was butchered in a most atrocious manner at Manchester, N. H., on the night of March 26, 1845.† In 1848 Asa Wentworth and Henry

* For accounts of the operations in which these gallant officers fell, see Gordon's Brookfarm to Cedar Mountain, Swinton's History of the Army of the Potomac, the histories of their respective regiments, and the general histories of the war. For their personal history, see Harvard Memorial Biographies, Vol. II, pp. 77-104, and Cowley's History of Lowell, pp. 181, 182, 189, 190.

† Potter's History of Manchester, pp. 619-624.

T. Wentworth were arrested upon suspicion, but after examination were discharged. In 1850 they were arrested again, together with Horace Wentworth and William C. Clark. They were prosecuted by Samuel H. Ayer, the county solicitor, and were defended by Franklin Pierce, Charles G. Atherton, J. G. Abbott and B. F. Butler. Public feeling ran very high against them, but they were not indicted; and no evidence sufficient to justify a verdict of guilty was ever adduced against any of them.

About the same time J. G. Abbott and B. F. Butler defended Daniel H. Pierson, of Wilmington, on his trial before the Supreme Judicial Court at East Cambridge, upon an indictment for the murder of his wife and two children. Pierson was convicted, and executed July 26, 1850. From him General Butler obtained information tending strongly to show that Jonas L. Parker was murdered by said Clark, who was a relative of Pierson. This man had been arrested and examined on suspicion, but escaped indictment by setting up a false *alibi*. Pierson also attempted to escape the gallows by a false *alibi*, but failed.

Referring to the question who murdered Parker, I am permitted to quote the following from a letter written by General Butler to a son of his client, November 5, 1885, after his client's death:

"I had been of counsel prior to that trial, as I was afterwards, for a man named Pierson, who was convicted of the murder of his wife and two children, committed in Wilmington in this state. That murder was committed in a very singular manner and with a very singular weapon, to wit, a shoemaker's knife ground to a point; and a razor was left on the table by the woman's bedside and means taken to have the murder appear to have been a suicide. That murder was not committed until some years after the Parker murder, but before the investigation of the Parker murder, as that was not

tried until some five years after the deed was committed. Upon the trial of the Parker murder it came out that the murder was committed with exactly such a knife, and a razor was left by the dead body. I was struck with the coincidence as I had grounds for suspicion against a relative of my Wilmington client, and the fact was known that on the night of the murder of Parker, which took place between nine and ten, at Manchester, N. H., a wagon drawn by a white horse, with two men in it, passed through Lowell in the direction of Wilmington, and the marks of the wheels of such a wagon were found in the mud near the murdered man, which wagon apparently drove off in the direction of Lowell. As my client was about to be hanged and it could do him no harm, I questioned him, assuring him that it should not be used to his prejudice, as to whether or not he drove a wagon that time down from Manchester to Lowell and thence to Wilmington. He admitted that he did. I asked him who was in the wagon, and he said he did not want to tell me. I asked him with what instrument it was done, and he said with a shoe knife and razor. I asked him what the razor had to do with it. "Why," he said, "the man might have cut his own throat with the razor." I asked him also what was done with the $1,000 bill which Parker was supposed to have had in his pocket which never could be traced. He said there was no $1,000 bill taken from Parker, that he hadn't any such bill. And, without remembering the circumstances now, I questioned him until I was convinced that the person I had in my mind was the man with him. But as the grand jury found no bill against my client, and as Pierson was hanged, I did not feel called upon to talk with anybody about it because I supposed there was nobody so foolish now as to believe that the Wentworths had anything to do with the murder of Parker."

Perhaps "more is meant than meets the ear" in this letter. Perhaps Daniel H. Pierson himself, as well as Clark, was implicated in the murder of Parker.*

On the nineteenth of June, 1860, Bryant Moore shot and killed his wife, at No. 61 East Merrimack Street. Under the shadow of the scaffold he wrote a strong appeal to Mr. Abbott to defend him. That appeal could not have been made at a more inopportune time, for

* Lowell Morning Mail, Nov. 12, 1885.

Mr. Abbott was then almost overwhelmed with cases. Nevertheless he could not with his high views of the duties of the bar, refuse such a call for help. He requested me to do certain things in the preparation of the defence, saying that if I would relieve him of that part of the work, he would undertake the defence. The trial took place in December, 1860, and it appeared from the start that an acquittal was impossible. The most that could be done was to save Moore from a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, and thus save his neck. The evidence would have entirely justified the highest verdict, but through Mr. Abbott's remarkable power of persuasion, the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the second degree,— a pure triumph of advocacy. Moore's sentence was imprisonment at hard labor for life. At the end of three years, however, a pardon was granted to him, through the exertion of Mr. Abbott's powers of persuasion over Governor Andrew's Council. The number of capital cases in which pardons have thus been granted in this state, has been very small, notwithstanding the statements that have repeatedly been made to the contrary. Moore afterwards spent some years in Kentucky and Tennessee. He returned to Lowell under the name of "Col. John B. Lowe," the military title having been conferred upon him by himself. He showed deeds of land to John B. Lowe, and undertook to borrow money upon the security of a mortgage thereof, but nobody here would lend him a sou, and he left for other fields.

Mr. Abbott's criminal practice in his earlier years was very large, and if there was any merit in a case he made the most of it, but he never liked the associations which the criminal lawyer cannot avoid. He always preferred the pursuit of remedial justice; and after he left the

bench his practice was almost wholly confined to civil causes. But time would fail to mention more than two or three of them.

In 1870 Mr. Abbott and B. R. Curtis argued, before the Supreme Court at Washington, the case of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against the Liverpool Insurance Company, 10 Wallace, 566, in which it was held that the defendants were a corporation, notwithstanding the British Parliament had said that they were not.

About the same time he argued, before the same court, the case of the Merchants' Bank against the State Bank, 10 Wallace, 604–676. Sidney Bartlett and William M. Evarts were with him, while B. R. Curtis, C. B. Goodrich and B. F. Thomas were against him. The case is one of the first importance to banks and bank cashiers. Mr. Abbott rested his case on one ground. Mr. Bartlett, his associate, rested the claims of their common client upon another. A majority of the court adopted Mr. Abbott's view and not Mr. Bartlett's. Judges Clifford and Davis dissented, and Judge Miller did not sit.

In the case of the Land Company against Daniel Saunders, 103 United States, 316, Mr. Abbott had his brother-in-law for his client, and John L. Putnam, now judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, for his leading opponent. Never did counsel feel surer of victory in a case than did the counsel for the Land Company. Nevertheless the decision, which relates to the construction of deeds, and is of great importance, was in favor of Mr. Saunders.

To argue questions of law before a bench of judges, requires qualities of a different kind from those which are required to argue questions of fact before a jury. How successful Mr. Abbott was in the latter field of labor, hundreds of verdicts of the impanelled farmers,

mechanics, and merchants of Middlesex and Suffolk, abundantly attest. Not less successful was he before benches of judges. Some who heard his argument in behalf of Mr. Saunders in 1880, thought it one of his best efforts. So thoroughly had he mastered and absorbed his case, he scarcely looked at his brief while he spoke. So thoroughly was he master of himself and of the situation, the presence of the most august tribunal on this continent only stimulated him to put forth his best efforts; and this he did with such clearness and lucidity, such strength and power, that when he sat down he felt that his case was won — and, to the great surprise of his opponents, it was won.

Equally surprised were his opponents at the decision won by him in the case of St. Anne's Church,* one of the most important decisions ever made touching estates upon condition as distinguished from estates in trust. In that case John P. Robinson, after many years' retirement from practice, appeared with General Butler as counsel for the church. He never argued another case, but was afterwards confirmed in that church. He cared nothing for the sarcasms levelled at him by J. R. Lowell, though they will transmit his name longer than anything that he ever said at the bar. One of them runs thus:

> "But John P.
> Robinson, he
> Says they didn't know everything
> Down in Judee."

One of the most just and most discriminating estimates of Judge Abbott, is that of Hon. J. Lewis Stackpole, of Boston, as follows:

"Judge Abbott's reputation as a lawyer was won in the court room, not in the closet. Endowed by nature with a body and mind

* See 14 Gray's Reports, pp. 586–613. See also Charles Hovey's History of St. Anne's Church in the third volume of the Contributions of this association, pp. 309–323.

of great vigor, with never satisfied ambition, and untiring powers of work, he early came in conflict with the most prominent lawyers of the Middlesex bar, and proved himself an opponent worthy of their steel. When later in life he came to the Suffolk bar, he had become an advocate well trained to encounter its leaders, who included Mr. Choate, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Durant, Mr. Chandler and Judge Hoar.

"His power of statement of mixed questions of law and facts was unrivalled. None new better than he how to elicit facts from a reluctant or dishonest witness, and his appeals to juries were always forcible and judicious, and met with merited success. His grasp of the law was eminently a practical one, and for many years he was one of the most trusted counsellors and advocates of the Suffolk bar.

"He always possessed the confidence of the court, his kindness to younger members of the bar was proverbial, and his death is a distinct loss to the profession."

He tried a great many cases for younger lawyers; and to the junior counsel associated with him in such trials, he was always a tower of strength.

Judge John Spaulding, formerly of Groton, now of Boston, writes:

"When I entered the profession, early in the fifties, there were giants at the Middlesex bar, and a young lawyer was under the necessity of securing one of them in every important trial in order to match his opponent. The Middlesex bar was then renowned, not only for its great legal ability, but also for the thoroughness of its trials.

"Having read law with the late George F. Farley, Esq., of Groton (at that time considered at the head of the Middlesex bar), and having been admitted to practice, some of the prominent citizens of that town induced me to open my office there. I soon found myself engaged in some very important cases with my old instructor as my opponent. I therefore deemed it necessary to seek legal aid and readily found it in Judge Abbott. He was always gentle, encouraging and able, and although we waged many a hard-fought battle with giants on the other side, we were signally successful. *We never lost a case!* I recollect being often obliged to call him to my aid on the very eve of an important trial—it was wonderful how readily he would grasp the evidence and how eloquently and forcibly he would present it to the jury. I always found him a gentleman, high toned

and honorable. I looked upon him as one of nature's noblemen and shall always cherish his memory with fond recollections."

Outside of his own profession Judge Abbott was a promoter of various enterprises, in which he invested his capital and employed his talents. It would be tedious to enumerate all of the corporations in which he served as president or director, and I will mention only a few of the principal of them. For three years (1860–62) he was president of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company at Lowell. For fifteen years (1861–76) he was president of the Atlantic Cotton Mills at Lawrence. For thirty-five years (1857–91) he was a director of the Hill Manufacturing Company at Lewiston, Me. From the death of Homer Bartlett, in 1874, until his own death, he was president of that company, and was succeeded in that office by his son, Samuel A. B. Abbott, Esq., who also succeeded him as a director of the Franklin Company at Lewiston, Me. For twenty-eight years (1857–85) he was a director of the Boston and Lowell Railroad; and he was president of that corporation from 1879 to 1884, both inclusive. He was a director of the North American Insurance Company at Boston, from its organization in 1872 to his death. He was the principal promoter of the Union Water Power Company at Lewiston, and president of it from 1870 until his death. His son, Grafton St. Loe Abbott, is its treasurer.

It happened to me toward the close of the war to be brought much in contact with General William T. Sherman. The physical and intellectual characteristics of the general and the judge were much alike. Both of them had that keenness of intellect which penetrates at once to the heart of a subject. Both of them had that lucidity of mind and that quickness of movement which enables one to form mental combinations with marvellous

rapidity. They held the same opinions on the topics of that time. While not opposed to arming the blacks, both held it to be an insult to the twenty millions of white men in the North to say that they could not suppress the five millions of secessionists without the aid of the three millions of blacks. And when the Confederate forces disbanded both held that the war should cease. In nothing were they more alike than in their intellectual independence.

One of the most notable illustrations of Judge Abbott's independence of mind and self-reliance was the famous case of the Trent in 1861. The seizure of the Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, and their imprisonment in Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, were the subject of the greatest rejoicing among the rash and the inconsiderate, and also among thousands who were neither rash nor inconsiderate. Statesmen and lawyers like John A. Andrew, George T. Bigelow, B. F. Butler, Peleg W. Chandler, Caleb Cushing, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Edward Everett, Theophilus Parsons, William Whiting, and a galaxy of lesser lights, glorified Captain Wilkes, and endorsed the outrage which he, without orders, had committed upon a neutral steamer plying between neutral ports. To me, on the contrary, the shouts of the populace in that critical hour presaged nothing less than the doom of the American Union. But among all the lawyers of Boston old enough and conspicuous enough to give weight to their opinions, I found but two who were in accord with me — Judge Abbott and Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury. "We can never," Judge Abbott said, "justify on our principles the seizure of these envoys aboard the Trent." * Mr. Woodbury expressed the same

* Cowley's Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore, pp. 36-38.

opinion in a letter to Postmaster-General Blair, his brother-in-law, who replied that he had already presented that view to the cabinet, but that all his associates were against him. It looked for a time as if the United States would become involved in a war with Great Britain in addition to that with the Confederate States, and that, too, upon a point upon which all the precedents were against us. Fortunately, however, we then had as our representative at the Court of St. James, Charles Francis Adams, a man not to be moved by wind and clamor. He wrote to Everett and Dana, and to all his correspondents in the United States, correcting their false views, and urging them not to stullify themselves by contending against Great Britain upon a point upon which her position was manifestly right and in harmony with our own contention heretofore. Mason and Slidell, as we all know, were given up; but it required great moral courage, as well as mental independence, to advocate giving them up when they were first brought to Boston. Abbott, Adams, Woodbury, and those of less prominence, who said, from the start, that Wilkes had erred, stood like Athanasius against the world.

In 1874 Judge Abbott was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the United States. His seat being contested, he was not admitted till near the close of the first session. It was in the session which began in December, 1876, and closed in March, 1877, that he most distinguished himself. He was a member of the special committee which the House of Representatives sent to South Carolina to investigate the facts connected with the presidential election in that state, and the report of that committee was prepared by him. N. P. Banks, who had succeeded him as democratic editor in Lowell, was one of his colleagues on this committee. He was

personally opposed to the bill creating the electoral commission, which was introduced during his absence and without his knowledge; but after that bill had been proposed by the democrats in congress and accepted by the republicans, he felt it to be his duty to see that its provisions were carried out. Had that commission been filled as it was at first intended, New York would have had a democratic representative on it and Massachusetts would not. But New York had two candidates for one place — Fernando Wood and "Sunset" Cox — neither of whom was quite such a man as the place seemed to require. Judge Abbott's friends, without his knowledge, resolved to propose his name for that place to the democratic congressional caucus. They did so, and the caucus adopted it at once.

The letter of Senator Hoar, who sat with Abbott on that commission, and the letter of General Butler, to be printed herewith, sufficiently indicate the importance of the part borne by Judge Abbott on that commission. He sat next to Garfield, who had known his brother, Caleb Fletcher Abbott, in Toledo, and who was afterwards "shot into immortality." It was Abbott's sincere conviction that by the action of that commission the office of president was given to the wrong man. But he refused to listen to the solicitations of some of his fellow-democrats to aid in preventing the completion of the counting of the electoral votes. He saw that Mr. Hayes must have the office under the forms of the constitution, or General Grant must be permitted to continue to discharge its duties *by consent*, without any title to it at all. Between these alternatives he chose the former and he never regretted it. In thus insisting on carrying out the decisions of the electoral commission, after having himself voted against those decisions in the commission,

and in insisting that Hayes should thus be accepted as president, Judge Abbott rendered a service to his country, the magnitude of which can only be appreciated by those who remember how repugnant that result was to the democratic party.

It was not known outside of a few that Judge Abbott wrote an address to the country on behalf of the democratic minority of that commission, which was put in type and one copy printed to be signed by the democratic members of the commission, but it was never signed and the original manuscript was destroyed.*

Judge Abbott was unwilling to give this proposed address to the public during his life; but I was permitted to make a copy of it, and the seal of secrecy is removed by his death.

In 1884, the democrats, after long exclusion from power, elected their candidate as president. By invitation of Mr. Cleveland's private secretary, Judge Abbott met the president-elect at Albany, and had a free and full exchange of views on the political situation and the selection of cabinet officers. I have been told by those who stood in such positions that they might be presumed to know, but never by Judge Abbott, that he was offered a place in the cabinet. If he was not so invited, he certainly should have been. A cabinet containing two ex-members of the Confederate States government, should have included at least one war democrat. Had President Cleveland sought and followed Judge Abbott's counsels, his famous message on the tariff would have undergone considerable revision before being sent to congress, and its menace to the wool industry would have been carefully excised. No people ever lost their liberties by

* For this proposed address see the February (1892) number of the Magazine of American History.

keeping sheep. Had Mr. Cleveland learned that important lesson, he might perhaps have been re-elected. Judge Abbott's views on the tariff were published in the Boston Sunday Globe, June 26, and republished in the Lowell Morning Mail, June 27, 1887, and in many other journals. They were in substance the same which he had published in the Lowell Advertiser in 1840.

"For many years to come," he says, "the country will have to raise from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year by taxation in some form. On account of the unequal distribution of property, no method of taxation can be devised that is as fair and just as that of taxes on imports. A tariff should discriminate against luxuries and in favor of necessaries. So too it should in favor of our home industries and home labor."

In the fall of 1887, Judge Abbott suffered the greatest affliction of his life. He had lost two sons in their childhood, and two more on fields of battle. He had followed his oldest daughter and the husbands of both his daughters to premature graves. But the great sorrow of his life came with the death of Mrs. Abbott.* The following letter, written in the shadow of a home made desolate by her death, indicates his appreciation of her worth better than the words of any other man could do. It is his reply to a condolatory letter from Hon. John F. Kimball, president of the Appleton National Bank:

BOSTON, October 5, 1887.

MY DEAR KIMBALL:

I thank you from my heart for your very sympathetic letter; to one heart-broken as I am, sympathy from a friend is good and helpful.

You cannot, and I trust you may never know, what such a blow

* Mrs. Abbott wrote the memoir of her father, Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore, which was read before this association when her husband was elected an honorary member in 1879. It was published in the second volume of our Contributions, and afterwards reprinted separately with additions.

means. Living as we have so long together, with nothing literally ever coming between us, my wife was absolutely a part of myself, and taking her away is wrenching away a part of my own soul. It is not the loss of a common woman — she inherited the robustness and strength of will and character of her father, the judge, and of her grandfather, the first senator from New Hampshire, combined with the tenderness and love she took from her mother — a rare meeting of qualities. I used often, in times long past, to say that if I should be called to my last account, half the bitterness of death would be taken from me by the consciousness that I left behind me one who would take care of the family better even than I could myself.

All this comes to me now that I have lost her, and I find the burden a very heavy one to bear. I again thank you for your feeling and sympathy. . . . Faithfully your friend.

J. G. Abbott.

From this time his face assumed a sadder, more abstracted look than before. Like Rabbi Samuel, son of Naomi, he could say, "Time can replace all things, but never the wife of my youth." He was a domestic man from the start, and grew more and more so to the end. It was not in courts of law, it was not in political activities, that he found his greatest happiness. It was in his own home, among his children and grandchildren, in his own fields covering four hundred acres, with his horses and his dogs, among the trees which he trimmed and the flowers which he planted with his own hands. Mr. Gladstone never took more delight in his home life at Hawarden Castle than Judge Abbott in his baronial hall at Wellesley Hills. If he did not enter into the public discussion of religious topics like Mr. Gladstone, he was as perfect a pattern of the domestic and social virtues as "the grand old man" himself.

He had completed seventy-six years and seven months, and seemed likely to continue to perform all his usual duties and enjoy his accustomed pleasures for ten

or fifteen years more, when the inevitable hour came, and he passed to the life beyond life. To the family and friends of such a man as Judge Abbott, however long delayed, death always comes too soon. But the sharp grief of love and friendship finds some alleviation in the contemplation of the true nobility which distinguished him through life, and in the beauty of the example which he has left to his posterity.

The Rev. Leighton Parks, rector of Emanuel Church, Boston, where for many years Judge Abbott attended public worship, writes: "I believe he was a man who tried to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God."

Five of his sons, Fletcher Morton, Samuel Appleton Brown, Franklin Pierce, Grafton St. Loe, and Holker Welch, together with Mrs. Sarah Abbott Fay, his youngest daughter, widow of William P. Fay, survive him. There are also eight grandchildren, and it is not unlikely that this number may be increased, so that his race seems destined to a long continuance upon the earth. The recollections of Judge Abbott which survive him in the hearts of those who loved him, are more precious than words can express.

> "To live in hearts we leave behind
> Is not to die."

His Excellency William E. Russell, Governor of Massachusetts, being about to visit Lowell, was invited to be present at the meeting at which the preceding memoir was read. He returned his thanks for the invitation, and said: "Engagements that have already been made, and invitations already accepted, will prevent my attend-

ance. This is a great disappointment to me, as I should like exceedingly to join you in your tribute to the memory of one who was an able and much respected jurist and lawyer, and a distinguished citizen of our commonwealth."

Hon. Moses T. Stevens, Representative in Congress from the Lowell-Lawrence District, sent a letter, which was read, expressing his regret that other engagements compelled him, at the last moment, to deny himself the pleasure of listening to the able treatment of so good a subject as Judge Abbott, whose forefathers like his own, were among the first settlers of Andover, and for six generations inhabitants of that ancient town.

LETTER FROM SENATOR HOAR.

WORCESTER, MASS., September 17, 1891.

Hon. Charles Cowley, Lowell, Mass.

MY DEAR SIR—All my recollections of Judge Abbott are of an exceedingly pleasant character. I do not think I should speak of him as my contemporary at the bar, unless that word were used with a pretty comprehensive meaning. When I was a law student, from 1846 to 1849, I used to attend court in Concord a good deal, and was present at the trial of a good many cases where Judge Abbott was counsel. He was then one of the leaders of the very able bar of Middlesex County, having been out of college sixteen or seventeen years, and having come forward into leadership very rapidly. After I myself got well established in Worcester, I was opposed to Judge Abbott in several important cases. He impressed me with his great fairness and justice as well as with his great ability. I remember that he interposed his authority to compel a just settlement in several cases. In one of them, his client, a strong corporation, seemed disposed to do great injustice to a poor man, which I think would have been accomplished but for Judge Abbott's insisting on a reasonable settlement.

He was in the house of representatives for a single session only, if I remember right. The high reputation which he brought with

him to the house was shown by the fact that he was made one of the democratic members of the electoral commission. In that commission he stated the view of his party with great vigor and ability and with entire courtesy. It is unnecessary to say that that was a transaction which excited very deeply the feelings of the whole people of the country and especially of those who were called upon to take a conspicuous and responsible part in it. I do not think the kindly feeling toward Judge Abbott of his republican associates in Washington was interrupted by anything which occurred at that time.

I am, faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

LETTER FROM GENERAL BUTLER.

AT HOME, November 22nd, 1891.

My Dear Mr. Cowley:

I had the pleasure to receive your kind invitation to be present at the Old Residents' meeting of our city, which would have permitted me to pay my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Judge Josiah G. Abbott; but the condition of my health was such that its literal acceptance was impossible, but I take advantage of the occasion to say very imperfectly, a few words on that subject.

Judge Abbott and myself were, from 1839 to the end of his life, warm personal friends. He was my senior, but soon we came in contact with each other in the trial of causes as well before juries as in arguments before the Supreme Court, and I witnessed with care many of his efforts in other litigations. From actual personal knowledge I can bear testimony to his high talents as a lawyer, to his fidelity to his clients, his untiring and ardent advocacy of their cause, his uniform courtesy as a gentleman to his opponents in the court, to his honorable faithfulness to all engagements and understandings between counsel, and to his great success in his profession.

In 1855 he was appointed Justice of the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk, Boston, and acquitted himself in that position so as to bring to himself merit and distinction. He resigned that position because its salary was utterly inadequate to the labor and bore no comparison to the emolument of his profession which he resumed in that city.

He was an ardent democrat and received the honor of a seat in the house of representatives from that party so early that it was

almost doubtful whether he was not too young to serve. Soon after he was elected to the senate and served there with enviable distinction. He was appointed senior aide-de-camp to Governor Morton. He was candidate for congress, but being in a district with a large majority against his party his election was impossible.

When our unhappy war broke out in 1861, he remained truly and staunchly loyal to the country. I remember an incident on the seventeenth of April as I was going from Lowell to Boston to take command of the Massachusetts troops which were being sent to Washington. Judge Abbott met me in the same train of cars in the morning, and said: "Well, general, I hear that you are going to take command of our soldiers who go to Washington." I said: "Yes, judge; for want of a better." "Well," said he, "you will have with you poor soldiers in distress and suffering at some turn of affairs; let me contribute my mite to relieve that suffering." Putting his hand in his pocket he took out some bills and handed me one hundred dollars. I said: "Judge, you are very generous, but let me give you a memorandum of this." "No, no, Butler," he said: "we have lived too long together to need a memorandum in a matter of this sort between each other." I said: "Thanks, judge; I will see to it that your money shall reach its full destination."

Soon after he gave two of his sons to the war. I use this phrase for they were literally given to the country, as he lost them both on the battle-field serving with high honor. Thus he did his duty to his country at the same time retaining his political beliefs.

In 1874 he was elected to congress from one of the Boston districts. A new member of congress usually has to serve a term or two as an apprentice before he can attain any considerable prominence in the house, but Judge Abbott's high standing and abilities gave him instantly high position with his party, and when in 1876 the best talent and the highest legal ability of the house on the democratic side was to be selected to serve on that most important body, the electoral commission, having to deal with new and unprecedented questions, Abbott was selected with singular unanimity. He took the leading part in that commission. He was strongly impressed, to say the least, with the irregularities under which the local elections were held and especially in the states of Louisiana and Florida, which resulted in the claimed election of Hayes. The minority decided that a formal protest should be made to the country, against the decision of the majority, and Abbott was selected to prepare that protest, the work and performance of which required much legal

learning and the greatest talent in presentation of the arguments which must accompany it. He prepared the paper with his accustomed skill and ability. It was read before his associates and approved, but upon discussion the decision to make any protest was reconsidered, all agreeing, however, that if such protest was to be made the one just read was the very best presentation of the case. Political reasons bearing on the future of the party were the grounds of non-presentation upon which the decision was based. I have had the pleasure of examining Judge Abbott's paper with great interest. To analyze it so as to do it justice would be far beyond the limits of such a letter as I am now writing. It must suffice to say that it was worthy of Judge Abbott and equal to any efforts of his life, that is to say, it was done as well as it could be done and with singular and quite judicial impartiality.

I take leave to close by saying that a more honorable gentleman, a better or more loyal citizen or a more impartial judge has never lived than Judge Abbott, and a truer friend to myself I have not the misfortune to mourn. I am, very truly yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

LETTER FROM FREDERICK F. AYER, ESQ.

NEW YORK, November 23, 1891.

My Dear Mr. Cowley:

I regret not being with you at the Old Residents' Association meeting to-morrow evening to join you in doing honor to the memory of Judge Abbott. While I feel that I could say much about him that would interest those who did not know him personally, I could impart but little to those who knew him well. To these he spoke while living, and told the story of what he was, with a compulsive eloquence which we who came after him can only echo back. I see you are going to read a paper on him. You knew him well. You will, with your delicate sense of appreciation and your accustomed eloquence, scatter his grave with flowers. They will be plucked from the garden of your knowledge of all men, varied and variegated; blossoms worthy of his exalted character and superabundant manliness and gifts. I knew him during the last fifteen years of his life very intimately. My relations with him were such as to carry me near to him; and he became confidential with me as men are wont to do but seldom with their fellows. Let me write a

word of his uncommon gift of greatness. His commanding talents were known to all. As the world advances, higher is the value placed upon that which a man *is*. Our admiration for mental traits and gifts, and the calisthenics of the intellect pales away, unless we discover some touch of greatness. Judge Abbott was superlatively great. Quick to make allowances for all men, he was a man without grievances. He seized upon that which was of value in men, discarding and forgetting the rest. He was all that nature intended him to be. How few there are that can *be* it! Many can act the utmost that is in them, without *being* it. To be is to act, while action, says Emerson, is only a trick of the senses. Judge Abbott was himself, wholly and always. He once told me he attended a school kept by Ralph Waldo Emerson. His description of Emerson as a school-master interested me most because I saw that Emerson had left his character on him in marks that would never wear away. He said Emerson never corrected, nor criticised, nor found fault with a boy, no matter what the boy had done; that only behind his wondrous smile, which almost concealed a faint expression of regret, could one read pages of what he would say, but never articulated. He said the worst boy in school was devoted to him. When some of the boys would become engaged in rough quarrels, he had seen Emerson appear at the door of the school-house with his heart in his face, and the boys would forget their quarrel in an instant.

So it was with Judge Abbott himself. He moulded others and made them also great. Above malice; above the trifling motives that mould so many, he grew to immense stature, and died as he lived, with his eyes ever on the horizon and toward the rising sun.

Very truly yours, FREDK. F. AYER.

LETTER FROM HON. DANIEL SAUNDERS.

My father, Daniel Saunders, as early as 1830, became aware of the water power between Lowell and the present site of Lawrence, although the fall between the two places was so gradual that a boat could be rowed the whole way.

Judge Abbott, who was a nephew of my father, was consulted by him long before any positive steps were taken towards starting the enterprise which resulted in building the city of Lawrence. Most of the early legal work was performed by Mr. Abbott; and in obtaining bonds he was frequently consulted, and his good judgment

and legal attainments were of great value in obtaining good titles to the present site of Lawrence. So good was his advice that no title obtained has ever been successfully contested.

I am at the present moment unable to give you the number of farms purchased, but the whole territory purchased embraces about three square miles. Thirty or forty dollars an acre would have been a large price for most of this land, which is now worth from ten cents to four dollars per square foot.

Judge Abbott has been more or less connected with the corporations of Lawrence as a stockholder, and for many years was a director and president of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, and he has always taken great interest in the manufacturing enterprises of New England, being a large holder of stock in various corporations, as a director and president of one or more of such corporations in Lewiston, Me.

Of his standing as a lawyer, his integrity as a man, and his position as a citizen, I need not speak. They are known to all who ever knew him by acquaintance or reputation.

LETTER FROM HON. BENJAMIN DEAN.

I studied law in the office of Hon. Thomas Hopkinson, afterwards Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and President of the Boston and Worcester Railroad.

Mr. Abbott and B. R. Curtis, afterwards Justice of the United States Supreme Court, tried a case at East Cambridge, and I expressed to Mr. Hopkinson the general sentiment, even of that day, of the great ability of Mr. Curtis. Mr. Hopkinson said that, as he was going down the steps of the court house, somebody else made a similar remark, when a member of the jury that was not trying the case said, "I like the tall one the best;" meaning Mr. Abbott. I have often since then "liked the tall one the best."

Though I have always been a great admirer of Judge Curtis, I have again and again been struck with the great fervor and vigor of Judge Abbott's jury arguments. He seemed to be glad when the evidence was closed, as if when he came to the argument, he was conscious of being master of the situation. I never knew him to make a poor argument. He always warmed up and went on like a rushing torrent.

The bar of Middlesex was of conspicuous ability—Judge Abbott,

General Butler, E. Rockwood Hoar, Thomas Hopkinson, Daniel S. Richardson, Judge Nelson, G. A. Somerby and others, had to be such to compete with each other. They were, besides, followers of others older than themselves, who struggled to retain their lessening ascendency. I will not yield to the temptation to speak of them, however deserving they may be.

When Mr. Abbott was appointed to the bench, he had his office with me in Boston, and we ever after had our offices together, and we continued close friends to the time of his death.

You will not expect me to speak of his judicial or public career. It is known to everybody, and I have no especial knowledge of it. I will, however, mention one incident of the former: Coming into the office after the adjournment of the court, he said, there was brought before him a little boy for sentence, and he said to the district attorney, "You don't expect me to sentence that boy. *I* shall never sentence him. You must make some other disposition of his case;" then he added, "I was not going to sentence a little boy like that."

The professional and public career of Judge Abbott is so well known, that features of his personal character and habits will be quite as interesting to his old townsmen. He was very fond of the gentle art of fishing, and we scoured the ponds of Middlesex and Plymouth Counties. Sometimes in Middlesex County, Alden Buttrick and Hapgood Wright were with us; but generally, and always in Plymouth County, we were alone.

He lived on Stackpole Street and I on Alder Street, in Lowell, and ofter one o'clock in the morning whichever awoke first would rattle his fish-pole against the other's window, and we would walk to Raymond Kimball's stable, ride to the Ridge Tavern in Groton, and put up the horse. "Peter" would then take us in a wagon to Knop's Pond, where we would begin our sport. "Peter" came for us at meal times, and the evening would see us on our way home. We became very expert, and we never failed of a handsome catch of pickerel. Once Wm. G. Russell invited us to join him and others at a pond in Plymouth, where we had a memorable time. A gentleman from New York named Cleveland had, the year before, caught a seven pound pickerel, and became the "King Fisher." On this occasion I was favored of fortune and caught the two largest pickerel, one weighing eight and the other five pounds. These were the finest fish, of the kind, I ever saw — very large ones for this region. The judge pronounced them "sockdolagers." I once, when with

Hapgood Wright, caught one in Springy Pond, in Groton, weighing four pounds and two ounces. Mr. Noah F. Gates told me that he saw a large one lying in the shoal water of the wooden wasteway of a mill in Concord; that he got a pitchfork and speared it through the head against the wood underneath; that he gave it to Steadman Buttrick of Concord, then county treasurer, and he carried it about showing it to his friends in town. On opening it a pound pickerel was found, which Mr Gates had pushed down the big one's throat, and in that one another smaller one; and so he had to go the rounds of his friends and neighbors once more. We used to fish all day, contending for the greatest catch. Each of us had a style of fishing. In some ponds with some kinds of water and weeds, he could always lead, while I held my own in others.

No one who saw Judge Abbott in the latter part of his life, walking with a rather sad expression of countenance, would think of him as fishing in the ponds of Middlesex County and helping to draw skiffs from one pond to another. We sometimes fished through the ice. He told me that on one occasion almost immediately after casting the lines through the ice of Muddy Pond, General Stark caught a five pound pickerel. He wound up his line saying, "I have done my fishing for this day." There was not much luck on the part of anybody after that.

Judge Abbott was the best of company, energetic and vivacious all the day long. Though nervous and apparently excitable, he was patient in listening to others and entered into their feelings, hopes and fears.

He was an indefatigable and rapid worker. He had none of that tendency which is the bane of lawyers generally, to delay and postpone things. He rather push his business than let his business push him. He was always closing up his cases and reaping the results. This was one cause of his great success.

I have alluded to Judge Abbott's method of arguing cases. Many times I have thought of his coming within this description of Milton by Macaulay:

"It is when Milton escapes from the shackles of his dialogue, when he is discharged from the labor of uniting two incongruous styles, when he is at liberty to indulge his choral raptures without reserve, that he rises above himself. Then, like his own good genius bursting from the earthly form and weeds of Thyrsis, he stands forth in celestial freedom and beauty; he seems to cry exultingly:

'Now my task is smoothly done,
I can fly or I can run,'

to skim the earth, to soar above the clouds, to bathe in the Elysian dew of the rainbow, and to inhale the balmy smells of nard and cassia, which the musky winds of the zephyr scatter through the cedared alleys of the Hesperides."

You will not understand me, as making this in all respects applicable to Judge Abbott. He never wrote poetry; never quoted poetry; never quoted anything, though an omnivorous reader. He never aspired to elegance of diction. He always seemed to feel that when he came to his argument, he was master of the situation. He was eager to have the evidence closed. He always had his theory of the case, and towards the close of the evidence was anxious lest something should interfere with it. As he saw his case clear, he was eager to be freed from the shackles of further evidence, and was on tiptoe for the argument. Then he seemed to burst all barriers and rush forward as if there were no doubt about anything he said.

I said that he never quoted anything. He did once and I have remembered it as the only instance within my knowledge. He and General Butler were trying a case in which some of the witnesses came from a place called Shabbakin, and while the evidence was going in, Judge Abbott alluded to Shabbakin in no complimentary terms. General Butler in his argument said "that notwithstanding Judge Abbott's allusion to Shabbakin, it appeared that he took his pleasure rides through that place." To which Judge Abbott replied, "that in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Christian had to travel through the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death,' so he rode through Shabbakin to the pleasant plains of Littletown where a portion of his family were sojourning." (There were Littletown men on the jury.)

LETTER FROM JOSEPH H. TYLER, ESQ.

I entered the office of Abbott & Brown in September, 1851, and continued there most of the time till I was admitted to the bar, on Mr. Abbott's motion, at the April term, 1853, of the Supreme Judicial Court. I saw much less of Mr. Abbott than of Mr. Brown, for the reason that Mr. Brown was constantly in the office, while Mr. Abbott, during the sessions of the courts, was almost constantly in court, and made only flying visits to the office. When the courts were not in session he was there more, but then not so regularly nor for so long a time as Mr. Brown Mr. Abbott tried all the cases and Mr. Brown prepared them, or more particularly the law. Mr. Abbott also tried a great many cases as senior counsel for other lawyers, who of

course, mainly prepared their own cases. "There were giants in those days" at the Middlesex bar. There was George F. Farley, much Judge Abbott's senior, who had won a great reputation in trying cases; Albert H. Nelson, with a voice and grace of manner almost equal to those of Edward Everett, who became chief justice of the Superior Court for Suffolk county, of which Mr. Abbott was an associate; Tappan Wentworth, an indefatigable fighter; Benjamin F. Butler, who then had a reputation for wonderful ability, whose fame has since become national, and who is a genius beyond dispute; Charles R. Train, bright and easy-going, but never probably putting forth all his power; G. A. Somerby, with marvellous powers of endurance and marked ability in trying cases before a jury; Daniel S. Richardson, scholarly, a good lawyer, and with the dangerous power for an opponent of making juries believe that he was honest and told them the truth; Theodore H. Sweetser, not then so eminent as a lawyer as he subsequently became, who, for pure logic and clear statement, was unsurpassed by any of his associates; Judge E. R. Hoar, eminent then and more eminent since as a lawyer, had been of this bar, but went early upon the bench; and, finally, there was John Q. A. Griffin, younger than the others, my own playmate and schoolmate in boyhood, a student of Mr. Farley, who, immediately upon his admission to the bar, went to the front rank, an exceedingly bright and ready man, whose tongue was a Damascus blade cutting to the very quick, with wit, satire and sarcasm, a somewhat dangerous power, and whose pen was often used in writing most trenchant articles for the press.

When I say that Judge Abbott was the peer of these men, and the superior of most of them, I claim for him very high ability as a lawyer and advocate. The Middlesex bar when these men were its conspicuous members, was noted for the ability, thoroughness and sharpness with which they tried their cases. Burke says "He that wrestles with us strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper." What helpers were such men to each other! Here was a school of intellectual athletes. Strength, alertness, labor, vigilance and persistence were necessary, against such, for success. Judge Abbott had a more nervous temperament than most of them, but his head was always clear, even though his nerves were at their utmost tension. He threw himself into his cases and tried them to win. He could not save himself if he would, and he would not if he could. When he began the trial of a case, his whole power, mental and physical, was put into it. His arguments were

impassioned and impetuous. A sick headache was the usual sequel. . . . . He once said to me that he should not know how to practise law without Mr. Brown. They supplemented each other. It is said that some of the happiest matrimonial unions are formed by people who are opposites in taste and temperament. Mr. Abbott and Mr. Brown were certainly opposites in every sense. Mr. Abbott was content in the court room, while Mr. Brown would have been wild with uneasiness. Mr. Brown was content in the office, while its duties would have been irksome to Mr. Abbott. Mr. Abbott was bold, confident and aggressive, while Mr. Brown was timid, cautious and hesitating. Mr. Abbott was no doubter, while Mr. Brown was full of doubts. Mr. Brown labored hard and long to reach his conclusions, while Mr. Abbott's conclusions might be termed intuitious. Mr. Brown had more knowledge of law books and Mr. Abbott of men. Mr. Brown in the preparation of cases looked not only on his own side but on that of the other, and probably, many times, thought of points against himself that never dawned on his opponent. In this way he was of great service to Mr. Abbott, who was thus put on his guard. Many, however, of these ghosts of Mr. Brown's fears would down before Mr. Abbott's quick common sense.*

Prentiss Webster, Esq., son of the late William P. Webster, and successor of his father as law partner of General Butler, then read the following paper:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN — It is my first duty to thank you for your kind invitation to be present with you this evening, and to join in honoring the memory of Judge Abbott.

Many of you gentlemen knew Judge Abbott in his boyhood days; were with him in his development to man's estate; saw him when he embarked on his career for life; watched his mental growth; followed him into public and private life to learn his value as a citizen, a friend and a counsellor, and to judge of his ability, learning and fidelity to his trusts.

* Lowell Daily Courier, Dec. 29, 1891.

It would be presumptious on my part to attempt a surmise of the impressions he made upon your minds; of these it is for you to tell and not for me. Yet I feel I but echo your memories when I say that —

> "He above the rest
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent
> Stood like a tower."

I can only bear witness to the impressions made by him on one of a succeeding generation, and these came to me when in his latter days he had left your midst and made his home elsewhere — alas! not without pain and sorrow and kindly thoughts for those he had left behind.

For the City of Lowell he always held the kindest of memories. To its citizens, his friends and neighbors of former years, he ever turned with wishes for them of long life and happiness. He was solicitous for the welfare of the city, kept apace with our growth and an interest in our affairs.

During the past ten years it was my good fortune to see much of Judge Abbott, both in and out of court, having been interested with him in causes common to his own office and that of his life-long friend, General Butler. This brought me to him often many times each week, and when with him and work ended, he would turn to his early days in Lowell, replete with remarks on the many changes which had taken place. He loved to talk of his early associates at the bar; of his former friends and acquaintances; often making an inquiry for this man and for that man, whom he had favorably known in early years. From persons he would pass to things and tell of what building was formerly here and what building was there; who lived in one place and who in another; each and every conversation being of particular interest, because of the information he im-

parted and the seeming pleasure he had in talking of our city and its inhabitants.

With delight he looked back upon the continuous labor of days and nights spent in the preparation and trial of causes at Concord and old Cambridge. For those who preceded him he had a great admiration, and as they gradually gave up active work, their places were ably filled by Judge Abbott and others well known to you older citizens of Lowell. To call the roll of the practitioners of that time would be to call Judge Abbott among the first, a position which he took and creditably maintained among his later associates in Suffolk County. Reminiscences of those days as told by him, were most interesting, replete with happenings which would to-day astonish judges, attorneys and the public. He compared the practice at old Concord with a happy family, where the relations between judge, attorney and juror were most intimate, living together with one object in view, to wind up the business of the court with a care that a proper meed of justice was bestowed upon the litigants, for which each and every attorney struggled hard to get a goodly share for his particular client.

Judge Abbott's varied experience taught him to appreciate the struggles of his younger associates. To them he had nothing but words of encouragement; for them he was ever ready with acts of kindness, and from them he never denied his sound advice, that success at the bar could only be had by hard, hard work, devotion to the books, exercise of perceptive faculties, a steady outlook and scrutiny of every day occurences in life, coupled with an understanding of the lessons taught from public practice in the courts. Such had been his own life, and his example in itself was wisdom, to say nothing of impress made by contact with him.

He encouraged young men not to falter in their work before the criticisms of the public on the lawyer; for to him in every walk in life they were sure to come when thrown into troubles with their neighbors, whether on personal wrongs or wrongs done to their property.

He was not inclined to harshness toward his younger opponents; his rebukes would be conciliatory and well advised rather than critical; he abstained from doing any injury to their feeling unless he felt sure that there was an attempt to trick him, and then his manner would change; though not often in open court, yet certainly in private he would take pains to bestow his kindly admonitions well laden with sound advice.

Judge Abbott invariably treated his younger associates, who were with him in the same case, with marked consideration. He would carefully listen to their preparations before going into court, and when there would never place them in an embarassing position, but was ever on the alert to come to their aid when by force of circumstances his junior, through his own error, or the subtleties of their opponents, went beyond his depth. By way of encouragement he would put upon his junior associates all the burden of the fight that could be properly entrusted to him without injury to his client's cause. His purpose was evidently to teach him to stand alone and gain confidence in himself.

His noble form and dignified demeanor will be greatly missed from among them, and by you also, gentlemen of the Old Residents' Association, who are gathered together here this evening out of affection and regard for his memory; and you should not forget that

> "Your kindly act is a kernal sown
> That will grow to a goodly tree,
> Shedding its fruit when time has flown
> Down the gulf of eternity."

II. The Early Settlers of that Part of Chelmsford Now Lowell, read Feb. 16, 1892, by Henry S. Perham.

WHEN the tract which now includes Chelmsford, Westford and Lowell, was first examined by the English, in 1652, with a view to settlement, it was already partially occupied by the Indians. The explorers found "a planting ground about a hill called Robins Hill," and wigwams of the Pawtuckets, or Wamesits, were standing upon the banks of the Merrimack at Pawtucket Falls and at their village, Wamesit, on the east side of the Concord River. Large numbers of Indians assembled here in the fishing season. The fiertile lands "yielded them plenty of corn," and from the river, with their nets made of wild hemp, they drew forth the salmon and bass. Or with a flaming torch of birch-bark waving from their canoe at night, they allured the sturgeon which came "tumbling and playing and throwing up their white bellies" to the unerring spear of the Indian.

Rev. John Eliot, called the Apostle to the Indians, visited the Pawtuckets every year. And here by the sound of the falling waters, this noble teacher assembled these children of the forest about him and attempted, with some success, to instil into their minds the principles of the Christian religion.

The English petitioned the General Court, May 19, 1653, for a "quantity of six miles square of upland and meadow, which parcel of land we do entreate may begin

at Merimacke River at a necke of land next to Concord River — and so run up by Concord River south and west into the country to make up that circumference or quantity of land." *

But the faithful Eliot could not see the Pawtuckets wholly dispoiled of their ancient possessions, and he forthwith filed a petition on behalf the Indians. The General Court granted both petitions and appointed committees to lay them out. Gookin says that Wamesit (the Indian grant) contained about twenty-five hundred acres. Allen, the historian of Chelmsford, estimated that about one thousand acres were upon the east side of Concord River, and fifteen hundred on the west side.

The line between Pawtucket and Chelmsford was the occasion of some dispute and several changes were made. But from the description of the bounds as finally established in 1665,† the line may be determined approximately, especially the northern portion of it. Beginning at Merrimack River the line followed very nearly what is now the bed of the Old Middlesex Canal for some distance through Great Swamp, and then taking a more easterly direction over the ridge upon what is now the city farm, and across the River Meadows to Pawtucket stake at the Concord River.

A number of the early settlers of Chelmsford erected their dwellings near the northern end of this line and within the limits of the present City of Lowell. They were doubtless attracted to this quarter of the town, which was called the "north end" or the "neck," by its proximity to the river, and it is also not unlikely that more land may have been cleared of forest here by Indian fires. The latter view of the case is strengthened

* Allen, p. 162. † Allen, p. 166.

by the fact that we find some of them upon the very poorest land, upon what is now Stedman Street. Others located in the neighborhood of Baldwin, Westford, Pine and perhaps Parker Streets, and one, at least, at Middlesex Street.

Several roads and foot paths were laid out for the accommodation of this neighborhood, and from the description of these and the land grants to individuals, we learn the location of the dwellings.

The meeting-house at the centre of the town was the point from which all the main roads radiated. There is no record of the first one laid out to this section, but in a description of a land grant by the town of Chelmsford in 1659, the "Highway to the Merrimack River" is mentioned. It was undoubtedly the old road passing by the Golden Cove and Carolina Plain. The Lowell end is now Stedman Street. Originally, however, it turned to the right from Stedman Street, passing to the south of Mount Pleasant, or Mount Misery,* as it was formerly called, and terminated at Poorman's Bridge, at Black Brook. In 1673 this road was extended to the river, corresponding to what is now Baldwin Street, to its termination at Westford Street, and from there below Mount Pleasant to Poorman's Bridge.

The following is the description given in the records (Book A, 1656, p. 117):

20 : 3 : 1673
A highway.

Will underwood, Will Flecher and Abraham parker being apointed to lay out a high way for the inhabitants on other side of meremake do determin that it shall beegine att the Country way att pore mans bridge and so alonge bettwne the swamps and over Will Underwoods medow all along bowndid by marke treese on both sids and so runeth below

* The marks of this ancient road from Stedman Street down to the swamp are plainly visible.

mr hinchmans dame and so to the endian line to answer the Contry Rode att Meremake and on this side this is a trew retorne of the Comity as above datted and heare enterd by order of the Selectt men.

SAMLL ADAMS,
Clerk.

Previous to this, in 1668, another road was laid out which is described as follows:

"There is a Highway Laid out of twelve rod wide beginning at the country Road on the East of Poor mans Bridge and so it extendeth itself over Black-brook into the woods." *

They are in the habit of defining the bounds of the highways, in that quarter of the city, more accurately to-day. But that no misapprehension should arise as to the width intended for this road, the following language was inserted in a subsequent record:

. . . "always provided that the Highway over Black Brook on the farther side be twelve polls wide." †

I have seen no explanation of the object which they had in laying out a highway nearly two hundred feet wide. I think it may be accounted for by the fact that it passed into the Indians' grant where the possessors were indifferent as to the amount thus taken.

The point from which these several roads extended, as will be noticed, was Poorman's Bridge. And it is a singular fact that although this bridge must have been known by that name for a hundred and fifty years, the name is now so completely lost that I have been unable to find any person who ever heard of it. Several records appear upon the town books, from time to time, showing that Poorman's Bridge was a recognized public way.

In 1757 an article was inserted in the warrant for the town meeting as follows:

* Transcript, p. 40. † Transcript, p. 89.

"At the desire of Saml. Chamberlain and others to see if the town will proceed and vote to make a bridge and casaway beyond and near Poorman's Bridge so called whare the water Flows the Country Rode at Every Freshet." *

The town voted in accordance with this request.

CHELMSFORD, July 30th, 1798.

Received of the Town of Chelmsford an order on the Treasurer of the said Town for the sum of thirty dollars Payable in sixty days which is in full of all Damage Sustained by me and my Brother by Reason of Poormans Bridge So called Braking down and leting several Barrels of Potash & other artacals into the Brook & in full of all demands of me and my brother against the Said Town

JAMES AIKENS †

From the evidence stated I conclude that Poorman's Bridge crossed Block Brook some distance south of Westford Street, and the road, twelve rods wide, crossed the land now belonging to the estate of the M. C. Pratt heirs. Mr. Sewall Bowers states that a road crossed there within his knowledge, and turned to the left into Pine Street. The foundations to a former bridge are still plainly to be seen.

There were several residences upon the road leading from the centre of Chelmsford to Merrimack River. Henry Boutel, or Bowtal as it is sometimes given in the records, lived upon what is now Stedman Street, near the present line between Chelmsford and Lowell. Anthony Harker and Thomas Sewell were both granted house lots in 1659, bounded by the highway to Merrimack River. I think that neither remained to become permanent residents, as I do not meet with their names upon the records except at a very early day.

It was a custom of early times, before the people had their lands enclosed with fences, for the town to establish ranges over which the cattle roamed in the care

* Book F, p. 118. † Book Q, p. 215.

of a field driver, who protected them from wolves, and prevented them from straying and doing damage to growing crops. The range which accommodated this neighborhood is thus described:

"7:1:71 [1671]. Its ordered concerning herding of cattell that from Cros Bridge to Henry boutells Shall bee one herd."

Cross Bridge is near the centre of the town on the North Chelmsford road. Three other herds were laid out at the same time for other sections of the town. Boutell came from Cambridge. Savage (Gen. Dict.) gives the name Bowtell or Boutwell. He married Elizabeth Bowers April 25, 1657. He returned again to Cambridge, where his will came to probate, June 21, 1681. The last clause reads:

"Morover my will is that my beloved wife may have the use of my now dwelling house with the sixe acres adjoining to it during her naturall life but in case She see good to goe and live with her son bowers then to have halfe the rent the said hous and land produceth," etc.

A highway, which is marked in the margin "Country Way," meaning a road leading from town to town, was laid out in 1674. In the transcript made in 1742 it is marked "Dunstable Highway." The following description is given in the original record (Book A, 1656, p. 125):

Country Way. | The 1 Day of January 1674. leften Thomas hinchman and liften Samuell Foster beeing Apointed by the towne to Joyne with leftenant Whealer and Abraham parker the comitty to lay out the Contry way from Donstable to Chelmsford thay Doe Joyntly Agree on both parties that the way shall in Chelmsford bowns beegine att mr Tings Farme and so to bee sixe polls wide and so to Continew as by marked treese Downe to Jerathmell bowers land and so to black brook into the Contry way that comes from merimack this is a trew Rettorne of the Comity as above Datted witt[n]is.

SAMUEL ADAMS
Clerk

THE BOWERS HOMESTEAD.

This corresponded to the road which passes from Dunstable through North Chelmsford towards the centre of the town till it comes to the north side of Drum Hill, swinging there to the left over an old road still open, for the greater part of the way, and coming out on Westford Street near the house of Sewall Bowers. The travel to Boston from Dunstable, and the towns above, passed over this road for many years, passing what is now the Chelmsford town farm and crossing the Concord River at Billerica.

The Sewall Bowers farm has been in the family possession as far back as the history of it is known. The dwelling is, I think, the oldest now standing in Lowell. It is said to be two hundred years old, which I think not improbable. Here lived Jerathmell Bowers (born May 2, 1650), one of the prominent men of the time. He probably came to Chelmsford with the family of Henry Boutell, who was his step-father. He was a son of George Bowers who was in Plymouth in 1639, and afterwards removed to Cambridge. (Savage.) He was the ancestor of those of that name in this vicinity. Jerathmell was a man of some wealth. He was chosen representative to the General Court, and, as captain in the military, performed good service against the Indians. Chief Justice Samuel Sewall made a tour of inspection through Middlesex County. In his diary he wrote:

"Monday, Oct. 26, 1702.

. . . "Went to Chelmsford, by that time got there twas almost dark; Saw Capt. Bowers and his company; Gave a volley and Huzzas; Sup'd at Mr. Clark's. I and Col. Pierce in his study." *

This diary has been printed in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society." In the printed

* Sewall Papers, Vol. II, p. 67.

volume the name is Bowles but in the original manuscript it is Bowers. The Mr. Clark at whose house they supped, was the minister, Rev. Thomas Clark, an ancestor of Gov. John Hancock. Bowers removed to Groton a short time before his death, which occurred in 1724. His gravestone in Groton bears the following inscription, as given in "Groton Epitaphs," by Hon. Samuel A. Green:

Here Lyes ye Body
of Capt JERATHMELL
BOWERS Who
Dec^{d}. April ye 23^{d}
1724 in ye 78th
Year of His Age.

His wife is buried in Chelmsford. Her epitaph reads as follows:

Here Lyes ye Body of
Mrs. Elizabeth Bowers
Wife to Capt Jerathmell
Bowers Who Dec^{d}
March 4th 1721 in ye 76
Year of Her Age.

Near it is:

Nathaniel Bowers
Son of Mr. Jerathmel & M^{s} Sarah Bowers
Decd. Febru^{r}y ye 27th 1726
Aged 4 years & 11 M^{o}.

The will of Jerathmell Bowers was lodged for probate June 10, 1724. He mentions three sons, Jonathan, Samuel and Jerathmeel; three daughters, Elizabeth Shed, Hannah Wilson and Mary Page; grandson, Jerathmeel Pearce, son of daughter Hannah; grandson Benjamin, son of son Jonathan, and children of son John, deceased. An administratrix was appointed Jan. 27, 1752, on estate of Jerathmael Bowers, and John Shed was appointed guardian of his son Jerathmal, in his third

year. Jerathmael Bowers made his will Feb. 23, 1764, which was probated Sept. 18, 1764, and the widow, Elizabeth, appointed executrix. He mentions: Sons — Oliver of Chelmsford, and Charles of Charlestown; daughters — Lucy Colburn and Betty Peirce, both of Dunstable; grand-daughter, Sarah, wife of Simeon Butterfield of Merrimack, N. H. Jonathan Bowers made his will April 6, 1756, which was probated Nov. 29, 1756. He mentions five sons, Isaac, William, Benjamin, Francis and Luke; daughters, Mary and Hannah; son Jonathan of Litchfield, deceased, and that ones sons, Benjamin and Francis. No other estate of Bowers of Chelmsford was settled through the probate office, down to modern times.*

Jan. 2, 1683, Jerathmeel Bowers, of Chelmsford, conveys to John Cooper, Jr., of Cambridge, six acres of land in Cambridge, with buildings, "sometime the dwelling of Henry Boutell, decd." †

Sept. 16, 1703, Capt. Jerathmeel Bowers, and Elizabeth, his wife, convey interest in Wamesit lands, north of Merrimack, to the Varnums.‡

Same parties to Sam. Sadey, cordwainer, Sept. 21, 1711. Capt. Bowers to son Jonathan, land in Chelmsford, 1710:

N. by land of Thos. Sewell. W. by John Spalding, Sr.
S. by Capt. Bowers. E. by common.§

Capt. Bowers and Elizabeth to son Jerathmeel, Jan. 6, 1713:

N. upon county road. S. upon Jona. Bowers.
W. upon Eben Parkhurst. E. upon Capt. Bowers and a ditch.‖

Joseph Spalding, Sr., to Jerah. Bowers, Jr., land on Wamesit Neck, lot 16, 18 acres.

* Mr. George A. Gordon. † Lib. VIII, Fol. 526. ‡ XIII, 736. § XVI, 239. ‖ XVI, 325.

There were two footways laid out in this section, described as follows:

A highway. "By apointment of the townesmen ther is tew foott waies laid out through the land of John Wright the one begining at the still next to Jerathmell bowers and so to the cartt brige and then below the orchard to the land of Jonathan butterfeild and then close by the fence of John wright vp to the drift way and the other begining against John Sheplies and then straight to the drift way at Jonathan buterfilds barne by Willliam underwood's and Jrathmell bowers and for partt of satisfaction hee hath taken apece of land about an acer and halfe bonendid North vp on the towne common east vp on the medow of John wright south vp on the lands of Jonathan Butterfeild and west upon land of John wright: Recorded by order of the Selectt men 21 7mo 1677."*

In the transcript which was made of the two first books of town records, the word still is given *stile*, but in the original it is plainly *still*. This, perhaps, explains why all roads tended to Jerathmell Bowers'. That "still" was the word intended, is made evident by the fact that in 1686, Oct. 5, Jerathmeel Bowers and John Fisk were licensed by the court to sell "strong waters." Sept. 4, 1688, Jerathmeel Bowers and Cornelius Waldo were licensed, and in 1687 Edward Spalding was appointed "Gager."

John Fisk was a son of the minister, and Cornelius Waldo was deacon of the church and lived at the centre of the town. No stigma attached to that occupation in those times. The sentiment which then seems to have prevailed upon the temperance question was, that liquor was bad for the Indian but very good for the white man. An instance of the enforcement of the law against selling to Indians is given in the records, book 1656, p. 150:

"The 24 day of march 167$\frac{8}{9}$ Abraham Parker senior with his tew sonnes Moses and Isack weare Acused for seling of strong lickers

* Book 1656, p. 129.

to severall endians Contrary to the law established they doe each of them freely Acknolige ther faults ther in and doe heare by bind them selves severaly unto the selectmen of Chelmsford never hear after to sell any more Stronge lickers to any Indians as wittness our hands the day above."

Mr. Sewall Bowers states that he found a circular space paved with stones, near his garden below his house, and opposite to it evidence of an old cellar. He called the paved space an Indian hearth. Is it not more likely that he has discovered the foundation of Jerathmell Bowers' "still"?

The description given of the two footways indicates that three of those whose names are there mentioned, viz: John Wright, John Shepley, and Jonathan Butterfield, were located on the east side of Black Brook, in the neighborhood of Pine aud Parker Streets. In the description of the line between Pawtucket and Chelmsford, in 1665, Butterfield's highway is mentioned.

John Shipley, or Shepley, was one of the early settlers of Salem. In 1637 he was living in that part of Salem which became Wenham. He was admitted into the church at Wenham Aug. 15, 1648. He disposed of his lands in Wenham to James Fiske (a brother to the minister), and removed, with his minister, Rev. John Fiske, to Chelmsford in 1655. Shipley had three children, John, born at Salem in 1637; Nathaniel, born in 1639; and Lydia born in 1641. Lydia was baptised into the church at Chelmsford Dec. 1, 1656. John Shepley died Sept. 10, 1678, and his widow Ann July 11, 1685.

The second John Shepley removed, with his family, to Groton, where, with one exception, they were all massacred by the Indians. The inscription on the Shepley monument in Groton, says:

"The Indians massacred all the Sheples in Groton save a John Sheple, 16 years old who the[y] carried captive to Canada and kept

him 4 years, after which he returned to Groton and from him descended all the Sheples or Shepleys in this vicinity."

John Shipley and Susannah, his wife, sold his "homestead lott & land" in Chelmsford, in 1698, to Jerathmel Bowers. The first John Shipley has, however, numerous descendants now living in this vicinity, through the marriage of his daughter, Lydia, to John Perham in 1664. John Perham settled upon the farm where I now live, in Chelmsford. I am of the eighth generation from John Shipley.

During the time of Indian troubles places of rendezvous were designated at which the people were to take refuge in case of alarm. In the "Settlement of the Garrison in the W^{t} Regiment of Middx.* March, 169½," there are nineteen garrison houses given for Chelmsford. The first on the list is "Jerathmiel Bowers and with him Jno. Wright, Ebenezer Wright, Joseph Wright, Jno. Shipley, Joseph Parker and their families—8 men." The last two on the list, which were doubtless on the north side of the river, were "Samuel Varnum and Jno. Whittaker, Jno. Walker, Ezra Colburn — 10 men," and "Edward Colburn and with him Jno. Colburn — 3 men."

John, Joseph and Ebenezer Wright were the sons of John Wright of Woburn. Ebenezer removed, later, to the part of town now in Westford. Hodgman (historian of Westford) says he lived upon what is now the Edwin Heyward farm, near Chamberlin's Corner.

John Wright remained at the neck. His wife was appointed to teach the children of the neighborhood. The order reads:

"Chelmsford Agust the 26th 1699 the selectmen of said Town Apointed Samuell Fletcher Junr Schoolmaster to Learne young per-

* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1889.

sons to write: on the Day Above said Selectmen Apointed for Scooldames: Decon Fosters wife Jn°. Wrights: Moses Baratts wife and Joshua Fletchers wife." *

Deacon Foster lived near the centre of the town, Moses Barrett upon South Row, and Joshua Fletcher in the Stony Brook neighborhood.

Jonathan Butterfield, whose barn is mentioned in the description of the footway, was born in England.† He came to this country with his father Benjamin. In 1638 they were living in Charlestown; in 1640 at Woburn, where Jonathan's brothers, Nathaniel, Samuel and Joseph, were born. Benjamin Butterfield's name heads the list of petitioners for the Chelmsford grant in 1653. He died at Chelmsford March 2, 1687–8. His sons all lived and died in Chelmsford.

Samuel Butterfield, a son of Nathaniel, was a man of some prowess as an Indian fighter. He was taken prisoner by the Indians at Groton, in August, 1704, and remained a captive upwards of a year.‡ His petition to the General Court after his release, sets forth that he was an inhabitant of Chelmsford sent by Capt. Jerathmel Bowers to Groton to help Col. Taylor, when the enemy came upon them. From some early accounts of the affair, it appears that Butterfield made a vigorous resistance, and before being captured, slew an Indian Sagamore "of great dexterity in war," in consequence of which the Indians proposed to inflict upon him a death by torture, but the squaw of the slain Indian interceded in his behalf and his life was spared.

John Shepley, then living in Groton, was paid four pounds for killing an Indian in the same engagement.

A Lieutenant Butterfield, while returning from

* Book 1656, p. 189. † The Butterfields of Middlesex, by George A. Gordon, A. M.
‡ Groton During Indian Wars.

Dunstable, two years later, was set upon by Indians. His horse was shot and his wife taken captive, "and Jo English, a friend Indian, in company y^m, was at the same time slain."

Another resident of this section was Joseph "Parkis." He was a son of George Parkhurst, who came from England and settled at Watertown, an ancestor of a family which has always been prominent in Chelmsford. One of the footways passed through Joseph Parkhurst's land and he was granted an acre elsewhere in compensation. He was granted a "house lott fifteen acers . . . west by town highway to the mill north by land of Thomas Sewell east by town common south by land of John Wright." The term "town common" meant land which had not been granted to individuals, and was held by the proprietors in common. Also, "Joseph Parkis is granted Tenn Rods of Land Lying by the swamp side against his house to make a garden and Well: and approved of by Henry Boutall and John Wright." Parkhurst later removed to the Stony Brook neighborhood, now in Westford, where he died.

William Underwood and John Spalding both had grants of land here, but it is uncertain where their dwellings were.

James Parker had a large grant of land near the Indian line. He was one of five brothers who came from Woburn to Chelmsford. He was admitted an inhabitant Feb. 1, 1656. He early removed to Groton, where he became the most influential inhabitant of that town.* After the destruction of Groton by the Indians, in the spring of 1676, Parker again found an asylum among his old neighbors of Chelmsford, as we learn from a letter addressed

* Groton Indian Wars.

by him to the governor and council at Boston, "From Mr. hinchmans ffarme ner meremack : 23 : 1mo. 16$\frac{78}{79}$."

James Richardson and Thomas Hinchman were near neighbors. They lived near the Indian line, as appears by the following description of land laid out to James Richardson: "48 acres . . . east by tree joining upon the Indian line there is a highwaie laid through the midst of the said Thomas [Hinchman] for the use of the said Thomas Hinchman's house." Richardson was a soldier against the Indians in King Philip's war. His good services were recognized by Captain Wheeler at the engagement at Brookfield, which will be mentioned later on.

In 1668 a highway was laid out in this section, described as follows (page 53, Transcript):

Mr. Webbs Highway.

"Mr. John Webb desiring a highway from his Farm over Merimack River to wards Chelmsford: The Selectmen considering thereof: have apointed William Fletcher and James Parker to Lay out the Same, and the fore sd. William Fletcher and James Parker make there Return to the Selectmen that they have determined the fore sd. Way to begin at Merimack River where Mr. John Webb made his Wair: and so to be of a sufficient breadth for Carting: and to run through to the common."

This introduces us to John Webb, alias Evered, the the first settler upon the north side of the river, and the man in whose honor the town of Dracut was named. Webb, or Evered, obtained his land by a grant from the General Court to the military officers, the record of which is as follows: *

"June 7 1659 laid out to Left. Peter Oliver Capt. James Oliver Capt. James Johnson and ensigne John Evered: 1000 acc: of land: in ye wildernesse on ye northerne side of Merimack river: lying about nahamkeage being bounded with merimack river on ye south and on ye west, the wilderness else wher surrounding according to marked

*State Archives, Plans and Maps, Book 1, p. 7.

trees: as by a platt taken of the same is demonstrated by Jonathan Danforth survey[r]."

Webb doubtless purchased the right of the other grantees to this tract, as their names do not appear in any later transfers. A. C. Varnum, Esq., in his article upon Dracut, in J. W. Lewis & Co.'s History of Middlesex County, states in relation to the residence of Webb, "It was on the river bank below the old 'Captain Blood Place,' latter owned and occupied by William H. Durkee, and now owned by Dr. George W. Clement, formerly of Dracut, now of Boston."

Webb's highway must, then, have passed through the J. C. Ayer farm, purchased by him from the Howards. An old path is still to be seen leading, under the railroad, down to the river. A ferry was maintained at this point within the memory of persons now living.

Webb, before coming to Chelmsford, was a merchant in Boston, and the honors bestowed upon him soon after his settlement here argue that he was regarded as a person of consequence. Webb came to this country in the ship James, which sailed from England in April, 1635, and arrived June 3rd. In the list of passengers his name is given John Webb alias Evered, laborer or husbandman, Marlboro in Wiltshire. The humble occupation given and the alias may both have been for the purpose of deluding the English authorities who sometimes prevented persons of prominence from embarking for America. There is some evidence that he was in this country at an earlier date and after returned to England, as John Webb, then a single man, was admitted to the church of Boston Feb, 9, 1634. He was admitted a freeman Dec. 7, 1636, and a member of the Artillery Company in 1643. This was the famous organization now known as the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company."

His residence in Boston was upon that historic spot now known as the "Old Corner Book Store." A former occupant of the property was the gifted but unfortunate Anne Hutchinson, who was banished from the colony because of the disturbance in the church caused by the promulgation of her peculiar religious views. Some time after the banishment of the Hutchinsons Mr. John Evered, alias Webb, bought the property, consisting of a house and half an acre of land, of a relative of the family, Richard Hutchinson of London. At that time what is now Washington Street was known as the road to Roxbury, and School Street was "School-house Lane." The brick building now standing upon that corner was built about 1712, and is one of the oldest brick buildings now standing in Boston. Webb sold a portion of this estate in 1661, probably about the time of his removal to Chelmsford. He made several other transfers of real estate in Boston. One of these, Oct. 30, 1665, was to William Alford, and is described as "Land & ware houses upon the townway down upon the flats"; another in May of the same year, to Thomas Deane, of a dwelling house and land on "the broad street."

The Town of Chelmsford granted several parcels of land to "Mr. John Webb," under date of November 9, 1661. All of these were near to Merrimack River. He was chosen, by the Town of Chelmsford, deputy to the General Court in 1663, 1664 and 1665. In the list of members of the General Court in 1663 his name is given Ensigne John Webb, and for the session of 1664 it appears as Ensigne Jno. Euered. In 1664 he and Samuel Adams were "empowred to joyne persons in marriage that shall be duely published according to lawe wth in the toune of Chelmsford."

But alas for human frailty. While Webb was

attending a session of the General Court at Boston, in May, 1665, he was convicted of unchaste conduct, at the tavern of Jno. Vialls, where he was staying, and the court acted in the case with true Puritan rigor. His sentence was:

"To pay twenty pounds as a fine to ye country & be discharged the Court and his comissions for civil and millitary trust, and to stand disfranchised, & all during the pleasure of this Courte, & give bond wth sufficjent suretjes to the value of one hundred pounds for his good abearing during the pleasure of this Court, & stand comitted till the sentence be performed."

The next year:

"The Court being informed that Mr John Euered aljas Webb hath payd his fine, & carried it humbly & submissively, & under a due sence of his sinne, the Court Judgeth it meete to sett him at liberty from the rest of the sentence of this Court," and the Town of Chelmsford were given liberty to "make chojce of military officers as they shall see meete."

Webb obtained, by purchase from the Indians, Wickisuck Island (now called Tyng's Island) in the Merrimack River. This was, in 1665, released to Wanalancet and other Indians, by order of the court, and Webb was granted five hundred acres elsewhere in compensation.

In 1664 Webb disposed of a portion of his land. The following is the description of the conveyance (Mdx. Deeds, Vol. III, p. 347):

"John Evered alias Webb, of Drawcutt upon Merrimack (Co. of Norfolk) to Richard Shatswell and Saml Varnum of Ipswich, for £400 One halfe of the farme of Drawcutt aforesaid, except the field with the houses barnes, structures, edifices & Buildings & the garden, the field mentioned to be called the upper field, and three acres of the lower field below the the log fence next the barne to containe 1100 acres. 10 Jan. 1664."

This is the earliest mention of the name Dracut. Webb, as we have seen, came from Wiltshire, England, where Dracut, or Draycote, was a local name.

Webb came to his death in a singular manner. The date given in the Chelmsford records is Oct. 1, 1668. Rev. Simon Bradstreet's journal contains the following account (Gen. Reg., Vol. IX, p. 44):

"1668 Octob. Mr. Jno. Webbe, who sometime liued at Boston was drowned catching a whale below the Castle. In coiling vp ye line vnadvisedly he did it about his middle thinking the whale had been dead, but suddenly shee gaue a Spring and drew him out of the boat. he being in ye midst of the line, but could not bee recouered while he had any life. (Mr. Webb's death, as after I was better informed was not altogether so as related.)"

After Webb's death his widow sold the estate to Jno. Faireweather, Sept. 4, 1669. And in 1671 Thomas Hinchman sold the Shatswell portion of the eleven hundred acres bought of Webb, to Edward Coburn. All the transfers of property in Dracut previous to 1700, are given in an article by E. W. Thompson, in the Lowell Journal of April 1, 1887.

Edward Coburn and Samuel Varnum were the first actual settlers to follow Webb. They both came from Ipswich, and were the ancestors of families which have always been prominent in Dracut and vicinity.

In speaking of people upon the north side of the river I have called them citizens of Chelmsford, and, previous to the incorporation of Dracut, in 1701, they were so regarded, although the Chelmsford grant never extended beyond the Merrimack River. The people living there voted, paid taxes and attended meeting in Chelmsford. In the Chelmsford minister's rate, March 30th, 1671, are the names of at least six persons who lived on the north side of the river. They were Samuel Varnum, John Coborn, Robert Coborn, Edward Coborn, Thomas Coborn, and Edward Coborn, Sen. When some of the people attempted to escape from their responsi-

bilities to Chelmsford the court established their relations by the following order (Records of Mass., Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 351):

Farmes abt Merremack to belong to Chelmsford & Midlesex Courts

"Vpon information of sundry ffarmes erected aboue the toune of Chelmsford, about Merrimack River, whose inhabitants pretend their sajd farmes to be out of the County of Midlesex, & possibly be not conteyned in any county, it is therefore ordered by this Court & the authority thereof, that all & euery the inhabitants of such farmes as there are or shall be improoued shall, in all points, haue their dependances vpon, & performe services, & beare chardges wth the sajd toune of Chelmsford, & that the sajd ffarmers repaire to the Courts of Midlesex for justice, & all, till this Court take further order, any lawe or custome to the contrary notwthstanding. 1667 Oct 9.

The following action by the town of Chelmsford, in 1706, terminated the relationship: "Voted that Draw Cutt shall not voat in Chelmsford."

Edward Coburn, Jr., was killed by the Indians, at Brookfield, July 14, 1675. He was a soldier in Captain Wheeler's company of horsemen, who were waylaid by the Indians near that place, and thirteen of their number killed or mortally wounded. The remnant of the company then took refuge in a garrison house in the town, where they repelled the assaults of the foe for two days and nights, when they were relieved by a force under Major Willard. There were three other Chelmsford soldiers in that engagement, viz., James Richardson, John Fiske and John Waldo, the latter of whom was wounded. Captain Wheeler, when he became incapacitated by reason of his wounds from continuing the command, "appointed Simon Davis of Concord, James Richardson and John Fiske of Chelmsford, to manage affairs for our safety," etc.

Of those who settled within the present limits of the

City of Lowell, prior to the year 1700, Maj. Thos. Hinchman was, without doubt, the most influential person. He was often selected by his townsmen, and also by the General Court, for the most delicate and responsible services. And whether he was called upon to negotiate with the Indians or to act as a committee to seat the meeting-house, his conclusions were accepted with confidence; and as seating the meeting-house meant the assignment of the different families to the seats to which by their relative consequence they were entitled, it is uncertain which of those two kinds of service would call for the most skillful diplomacy. A study of the history of the town at that period cannot fail to inspire a genuine respect for the character of this man. He was withal a very modest man. He shrunk from accepting the office of deacon of the church because of want of confidence in his fitness. (Fiske Records.)

As trustee for the Indians he seems to have held the entire confidence of the Pawtuckets, both before and after the breaking out of hostilities. This is the strongest evidence that his actions were governed by principles of justice. The fact that Chelmsford suffered less from Indian depredations than most of the frontier towns was doubtless due, in a great measure, to his wise management. Thomas Hinchman was admitted an inhabitant in 1654. The name is spelled in various ways in the records. Farmer says that he spelled it Hinchman, and that it was pronounced as if spelled Hinksman. He was a magistrate, a major of the Middlesex regiment, and a representative to the General Court in 1666, 1667, 1671 and 1676.

Upon the breaking out of King Philip's war, in 1675, several garrison houses were built in different parts of the town. Hinchman erected one for this neighborhood

of which the following account appears in the Records of Massachusetts, Vol. V, p. 54:

"Whereas Left. Thomas Hinchman hath been at great charge in providing ffor the diet of certeine souldjers appointed to garrison his house upon Merremacke Riuer, where sundry Englishmen, his neighbours, are concerned, which is a very apt place to secure that frontier, and besides, the sajd Hinchman hauing, vpon all occasions, binn very serviceable, and hath expended much time and charge to put in execution sundry orders and directions sent to him from the council, this Court doe order, that the souldiers of that garrison be maintayned both for diet at the toune of Chelmsfords charge for the tjme to come, and vntill the Court or council take further order; and further more, that tenn pounds be allowed him for his extraordinary expense and labor out of the country tresury."

The tradition in reference to this garrison house is that it stood upon the bank of the river about opposite to what is now Wood Street. Judge Samuel P. Hadley states that, when the water in the river was low, he has seen what was evidently an old well laid up with brick. The bricks were wide at the outer end so that they would fit together when laid in a circle. He also found near it the skeleton of an Indian woman.

The atrocities of Philip's war excited the greatest animosity in the minds of the people towards the Indians, and when some of Eliot's Christian Indians were found among the parties that were burning and pillaging the exposed settlements, popular feeling toward all Indians became very bitter. The court enacted very severe measures, which it is not pleasant to dwell upon. Eliot and Gookin, and some others, who were more intimately acquainted with the Indian character, exercised their influence in favor of more moderate measures, but without avail. Several of the peacefully disposed Pawtuckets were wantonly shot because they were suspected of having burned a barn and haystack. The state of the

public mind at the time may be inferred by the language of the order of the court for the investigation of the affair (Mass. Records, Vol. V, p. 57):

"13 Oct. 1675. Whereas the Wamesit Indians are vehemently suspected to be actors and consentors to the burning of a haystack at Chelmsford, this Court judgeth it meet that such Englishmen as cann inform or give evidence in the case be forthwith sent for, and those Indians now at Charls Toune, and the case to be heard by this Court, then and there to consider and conclude what wth the sajd Indians."

The following spring, 1676, the Pawtuckets withdrew into the wilderness; not however until they had retaliated upon the English (Drake's Hubbard, Vol. I, p. 222):

"At Chelmsford the said Wamesit Indians about March 18th before fell upon some Houses on the North side of the River, burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of Edward Colburn: the said Colburn with Samuel Varnhan his Neighbor being pursued as they passed over the River to look after their Cattel on that side of the River; and making several Shots against them who returned the like again upon the said Indians (judged to be about forty) what success they had upon the enemy was best known to themselves; but two of Varnham's sons were slain by the Enemies Shot before they could recover the other side of the river. April 15 also were fourteen or fifteen houses burnt there."

The author of this account was Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich. He was a former neighbor of Coburn and Varnum at Ipswich, and he doubtless obtained his information from them. I think buildings was what was meant when he gives the number as fourteen or fifteen. There could not have been that number of separate dwellings on that side of the river at the time.

This conduct of the Pawtuckets occasioned great alarm. Wanalancet must be won back if possible, and who could better accomplish this desirable object than the just and moderate Hinchman. The court directed

Lieut. Thomas Hinchman and Cornet Thomas Brattle as follows:

"You are to endeavor either one or both of you (if it may bee) to gain the Indian Sachem Wannalanset to com in againe and live at wamesit quietly [and] pecabley: you may promise him in the councills name y^{t} if hee will returne & his people and liue quietly at Wamesit hee shall susteyne no p^{r}uidise by the English; only you are to ppose to him y^{t} he deliuer for a hostage to the English his sonne who shalbe wel vsed by vs. C in case hee come in and can bee gained then you are to impour him to informe the Pennakooke and Natacook indians and all other indians on the east side of Merrimack River, that they may liue quietly and peacably in y^{r} places and shall not be disturbed any more by the english provided they do not assist or ioyne with any of or enimiy nor do any dammage or periudice to ye english."

Later, in 1685, Hinchman reminded the court that Wanalancet and other Indians had received no acknowledgement for their services in the treaty with the Indians at Pennacook; and in answer the court ordered ten pounds in money and clothing to be distributed among them by Captain Hinchman and Mr. Jonathan Tyng.

One other notable instance, showing Hinchman's influence with the Indians, deserves to be mentioned. In June, 1689, two Indians from Pennacook came to Major Hinchman and reported a plot against the life of Major Waldron of Cocheco, now Dover. Hinchman immediately sent a messenger to notify the authorities at Boston, and a courier was dispatched by them, to Major Waldron. But the warning came too late. Upon the fatal night of June 27th, while the courier was detained at Newbury Ferry, the squaws who had been allowed to lodge in the garrison houses, opened the doors at midnight and the savages rushed in. The story of the gallant defence of Major Waldron, is familiar; how, being overpowered by numbers and weak from loss of blood,

he at length fell upon his own sword which was held under him.

Major Hinchman died in 1703. The inscription upon his gravestone, in the old cemetery at Chelmsford, reads as follows:

HERE LYETH
Y^E BODY OF MAJOR
THOMAS HINCHMAN
AGED 74 YEARS
DEC^D. JULY Y^E 17
1703.

His will does not disclose the amount of his property. It was doubtless large, as he was a very extensive land owner. He left the bulk of his estate to his wife, Elizabeth. There were two other bequests, one of five pounds and an interest in his lands at Nashoba, to his minister, Rev. Thomas Clark; and another to Joseph Warren, "my kinsman (by marriage), and Ruth, his wife, my dear kinswoman, ye house and all those Lands, at my tenement at Blanchards (as commonly called)," &c. This farm bequeathed to Joseph Warren, is the one now owned by Joseph E. Warren at Chelmsford Centre. It has been continuously in the Warren family. It is pleasant to know that the memory of Thomas Hinchman is still kept green in the Warren family. Mr. E. H. Warren, the present town treasurer of Chelmsford, was named in his honor, E. Hinchman Warren.

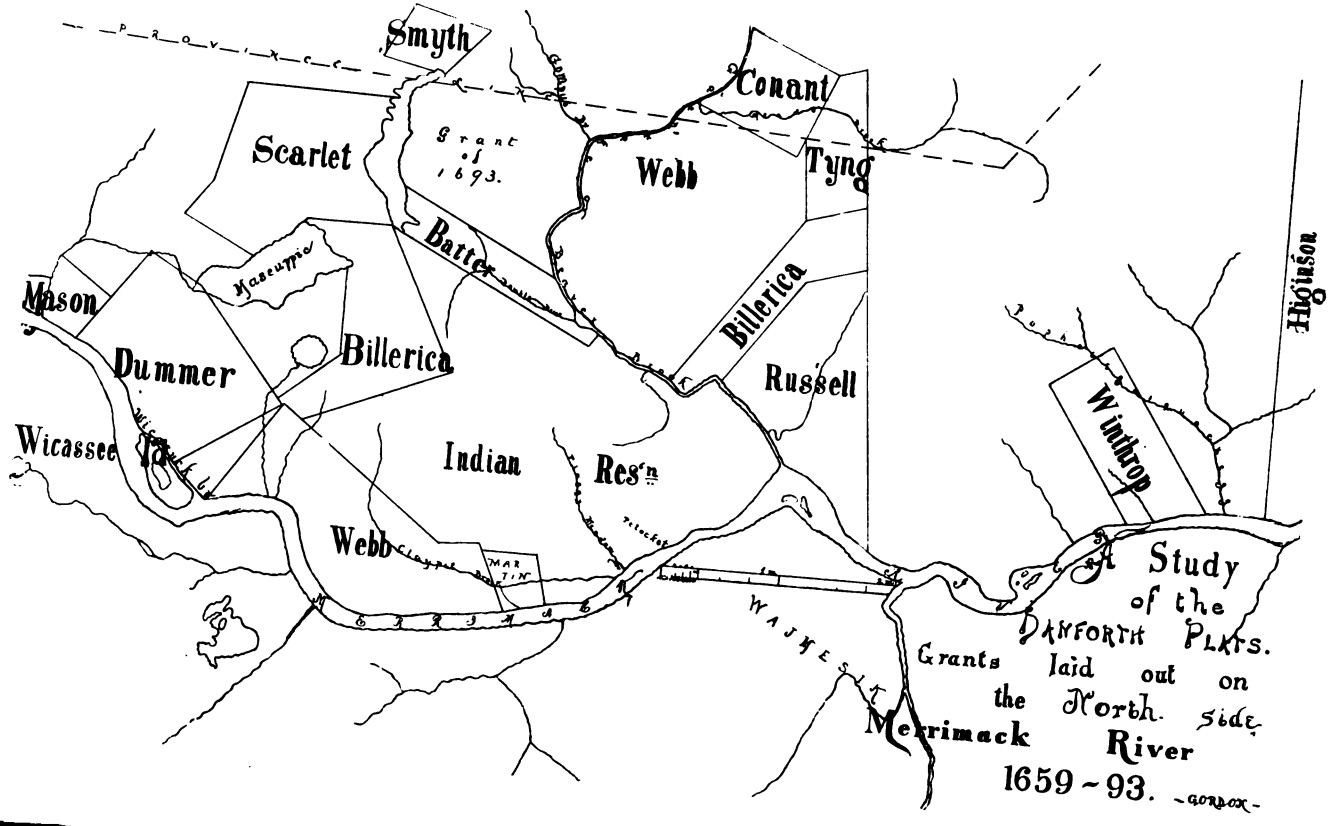
It would be interesting to trace the development of this section from the year 1700 to the introduction of cotton manufacturing in 1823, which resulted in the development of this prosperous city. Some writers have hardly done justice to the enterprise of the people who occupied this section when P. T. Jackson and his associates came and diverted the waters of the Merrimack to serve the purpose of human industry. "The History of

the People of the United States," by John Bach McMaster, in speaking of the condition of the people in 1820, says (Vol. I, p. 61):

"When, in 1820, the fourth census was taken the country around Lowell was a wilderness where sportsmen shot game. The splendid falls which now furnish power to innumerable looms, were all unused, and the two hundred needy beings who comprised the whole population of the town, found their sole support in the sturgeon and alewives taken from the waters of the Concord and Merrimack."

It is unnecessary to prove to the members of the Old Residents' Association, the falsity of this picture of poverty. The canals, bridges, school-houses, and manufacturing establishments of various kinds then in operation, gave ample evidence of the presence of an intelligent, thrifty and enterprising people.

The social condition of the other parts of the town may be inferred from the fact that Dr. John C. Dalton was engaged in the practice of his profession at the centre of the town; Willard Parker, one of Chelmsford's sons, who later acquired more than a national reputation in the medical profession, was teaching the district school; Joel Adams, A. M., was practicing law; Rev. Wilkes Allen, at his handsome residence, had just completed his "History of Chelmsford"; and only five years later, in this territory which the historian would have us believe was something of a wilderness, Ralph Waldo Emerson was teaching the Chelmsford Classical School, and among the youth of the town who were his pupils, were Benjamin P. Hunt and Josiah G. Abbott.


Smyth
Conant
Scarlet
Grant of 1693.
Webb
Tyng
Batter
Mason
Dummer
Billerica
Billerica
Russell
Wicassee
Indian
Res'n
Webb
Winthrop
Higinson
Wajhesik
Merrimack
A Study of the Danforth Plats.
Grants laid out on the North side
Merrimack River
1659 ~ 93.
-Gordon-

III. "The Early Grants of Land in the Wildernesse North of the Merrimack," Covering substantially the River Lots from the Brook next above Tyng's Island to the Methuen Line, read Aug. 2, 1892, by George A. Gordon.

It is a subject of regret that my theme has not a larger interest to the hearer. To gentlemen, like yourselves, whose youth was passed elsewhere, the early proprietorship of the shore of this now beautiful river, when the Indians on land and the fish in the water had about an equally adequate idea of its capabilities, is not an engrossing subject. I will try to remember Charles Lamb's advice that there are times when it is commendable in a man to refrain even from good words, and to hold his peace.

Doubtless, it is a cause of wonder that any one can find in such unimportant and forgotten items occasion for an exhibition of antiquarianism. Yet, like all obscurities, near or remote, its pursuit arouses the zest of a pleasure which palls only on attainment. To your Martin Luther and your Country Clubs the primeval name or occupancy of the gem of an island, where they enjoy their exhilarating sports, is a matter of small concern. That the dam at Pawtucket Falls ruined a brawling cascade above the island, as did, later, the dam at Lawrence the better known "Hunt's Falls," may be an accepted fact, sometimes remembered; but the swelling flood of the lordly Merrimack of to-day, beating its ample volume on

either shore, fails to suggest the modest stream which, for a large part of the year, was confined to a narrow channel in colonial times. Only at spring freshets, and after copious rains at other seasons, was the river then worthy of its present character.

We do not always remember, in our exuberant patriotic pride in our native land, that the earliest organization of its settlers was simply that of a business, trading corporation, whose patent acknowledged sovereignty in and fealty to the crown of Great Britain; that the terms "planter" and "plantations," refer to conditions issuing from that patent. The "governor" was the head, as is to-day the president of a corporation. The "assistants" were the "directors"; and the "stockholders'" meeting formed the "general court." By almost imperceptible, hesitating steps, designed to secure stability of police regulations, the planters and their associates, the settlers and their servants, developed, a system of popular government the freest possible, the least aggressive and of the extremest parsimony of expense. They came as Englishmen, relying upon their distant home for defence and protection if exterior conflicts should arise; but shaping their local prudential affairs after the familiar practice, for generations, in the parishes of England. Unlearned and ignorant, like the then rural population of the various shires of England, from whence they had come, of events transpiring in the world about them, they had a sublime confidence in their estimate of their relations towards their Maker. Actuated by the most generous and most benevolent of feeling towards the savage, whom they found in occupancy of the land whereon they had settled, they were disposed to advance him, at once if only he would, from his wild condition to that of a saint in glory. If he would not he must give way. He might share

with them, in perfect equality, in church fellowship and in every inheritance; but, if he declined, he was not to be tolerated.

In many respects the frontier settler was favorably situated. There was much game in the woods, the fish were abundant in the streams, the virgin soil produced generous crops of breadstuffs and culinary vegetables, and the diligent fingers of their wives and daughters clothed all. John Varnum early had a mill at the foot of the Pawtucket Falls, where their grains were readily turned into meal, malt and flour. John Eliot, the apostle, had a corn mill on the Concord, below the Massac Falls, where are now Stott's Mills. Jerathmeel Bowers had a still for strong waters, in Chelmsford, on Black Brook. Every household made their own beer.

The need of the early settlers, planters and servants alike, in public and in private affairs, was ready money. Of that commodity very little was in circulation in New England. A brass farthing, or even a bullet, had a purchasing power beyond the dollar of to-day. Rates, as taxes were then termed, for the support of the ministry, and provision rates for ordinary public expenses, were laid as occasion demanded. These were paid in kind; that is, in the products of their husbandry (for all were farmers), and termed "country pay." As the treasury of the company got low and empty, in the interval of these rates, sums were "advanced," as borrowing and loaning was termed, by those possessing means, and these advances were liquidated by liberal grants of acres in "the wildernesse," that is, the illimitable forest outside the plantations. The territory of the plantations, of a defined extent and location, was held to be at the disposal of the inhabitants. A notable example of this is furnished in the case of Billerica, set off from Cambridge,

when every freeholder in the parent town signed the deed of conveyance. The soil, under English law, of these new territories was the domain of the sovereign. The charter, establishing the Bay Colony as successor to the company of adventurers, granted jurisdiction, with some restrictions, over a strip of territory in that part of New England, lying between three miles to the north of the Merrimack and three miles to the south of the Charles, and reaching east and west from ocean to ocean. This charter bore the signature of King Charles I. Under this authority liberal grants of land were made for distinguished public service, to civil officials and military officers; after King Philip's war, to soldiers and needy towns. Often the cautious phrase is used, "so far as this Court hath authority."

A considerable portion of Lowell, skirting the northern shore of the Merrimack, was thus granted. The boulevard, reaching from two little brooks above Pawtucket, or near the inlet to the Water Works' gallery, to opposite Tyng's Island, was granted, three and a quarter miles on the river front, and roughly estimated at a thousand acres, to Captain Oliver, Lieutenant Johnson and Ensigne Webb, of the Boston A. & H. A. Six hundred acres next above was granted to Richard Dummer. Beyond the military grant and stretching to the pond, was a grant to the town of Billerica. From the Falls to Beaver Brook was reserved to the Indians that they might have full opportunity to fish. On the east side of Beaver Brook, and extending to the western slope of Dracut Heights, sixteen hundred acres were granted to Richard Russell, treasurer of the Colony, to be accounted as a part of an earlier grant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. Next to this, and up the brook, six hundred acres were granted the town of Billerica. Two hundred and fifty

acres, still farther north, and embracing the present Winter Hill or New Boston, was granted the father of Colonel Tyng, as a farm. Between which and Beaver Brook to the northwest, two hundred acres were granted to Roger Conant. Below this last, and covering present Collinsville, lay a grant of five hundred acres to Capt. John Webb. On the west side of the brook and above the Billerica grant, next Double Brook, lay a gratuity of two hundred and fifty acres to Edmond Batter, a deputy from Salem. Dracut Heights, then undesirable in land riches, was ungranted; but down the river and west of the brook, where to-day local fishermen catch trout, was located a grant of five hundred acres to Samuel Simonds, deputy governor, which, becoming the property of Deane Winthrop, has always been known as the Winthrop farm. The Higginson grant of seven hundred acres was at the extreme limit of Dracut bounds, and ultimately withdrawn across the line.

It must not be forgotten that Dracut reached far into New Hampshire. In that direction Governor Endicot was granted a principality, which passed through the hands of Walter Barefoote, Governor of New Hampshire, to Henry Kimball, who settled it. It has come down in history as the Kimball farm. Mr. Negus, clerk of the writs in Boston, and Mr. Caldicot of Dorchester, were generously remembered. The Negus grant passed to Peter Golding, who settled it and gave his name to Golding's Brook, which would-be purists often corrupt to Golden Brook. Resting upon the north end of Long Pond, and stretching up Gompus Brook, was a tract to George Smith of Ipswich, long known as the Chandler farm.

These several grants covered all the farms of the early settlements of Dracut. No conveyance of title

from the Indian was recognized. Occasionally such were taken, as politic in the interest of harmony. The savage failed to comprehend the intent and import of paper deeds. He seemed to regard them only as memoranda of payments previously made; and he could see no reason why the payment should not be repeated when the coats and blankets and brass kettles, given in consideration of the land, wore out, inasmuch as the land remained.

When, in 1701, the General Court recognized the settlement of Dracut as a town, in the few words which have been regarded, liberally, as an incorporation, a committee of the General Court apportioned a division of its soil to actual inhabitants. This included the farms in the neighborhood of what, a few years ago, was known as the "Yellow Meeting House"; also a tract below the the Winthrop farm, and lots upon Gompus, Meadow and Beaver Brooks. The title to the residue of the territory within her limits ultimately was invested in a board of proprietors, whose doings and acts were engrossed on a vellum bound manuscript, which, I am very glad to say, is still preserved in the office of the town clerk and selectmen. This volume deserves to be printed. At present its contents are accessible only to the patient student, who painfully collates and compares what would be readily apparent in print. The record of the very earliest days in Dracut is lost. That this priceless volume may not meet a similar fate, more than present care must be exercised for its preservation. The only surety lies in printing, which can be accomplished without large cost.

It is the grateful practice to speak of our ancestry, everywhere, who earliest reclaimed the land we inhabit from its primitive wilderness, as earnest, God-fearing men, who took their lives in their hands when, trusting in Providence, they erected their rude habitations and

dispossessed the savage. In some cases, this tribute, the generous accord of posterity, is deserved; but, nothing of the sort can be learned from the existing record of the first settlers, who pitched their cabins north of the beautiful Merrimack,

> "Whose silver tide
> Reflects each green bush on its side,
> Each tasselled wreath and tangling vine
> Whose tendrils o'er its margin twine."

Doubtless, sometimes they went to meeting at Chelmsford Centre, where record is made of minister's rates, some marriages and births among them. But it was several miles distant, as was, later, the first building on Meeting House Hill in Dunstable. It was fifty years before they had a settled minister, for whom they built a house for worship on "Flagge Medow Hill," near the present Fay house, or hospital. We find a few military titles; but no deacons till that event. How much the criminal law reached them is uncertain. The husband of one of the Colburn girls, Richardson by name, was killed by a blow of his opponent's fist in a brawl; and I find no indictment based on this lamentable scuffle. The widow remarried, this time a Wright, and dwelt in the neighborhood. The Colburns, as well as Major Hinchman, erected block houses, termed garrisons. Such houses are described by Parson Allen, in his history of Chelmsford, "as environed by a strong wall of stones or of hewn timber, built up to the eaves of the house, through which was a gate, fastened by bars and bolts of iron. They were lined either with brick or thick plank. Some of them had portholes for the discharge of musketry." However valued as a refuge for their wives and children, and thus giving a sense of security, such a rude fortress might prove, the wily

savage had more respect for the sinewy prowess and stout arms of the seven young Colburns and three young Varnums, whom, with Daniel Rolfe and Thomas Richeson, the town of Chelmsford supplied with powder, shot and flints, as an outpost. Notable officers in the revolutionary struggle came from these two stocks, and descendants of both have creditably filled high public station in several States. Both have had representatives in the Federal Congress. The most of the early grants fell, ultimately, into the possession of one or the other of these families; and, I apprehend, properties can be pointed out to-day which have never been out of the name of either; often descending from father to son. The genealogical histories of these two families have been, for some time, in collection; and the prospect is good for their appearance in print.

THE INDIAN RESERVATION.

The five hundred acres on the northern side of Merrimack, reserved for the Indians, extended on the river from the mouth of Beaver Brook, called in their language Gaentake, which is a condensation of *Won-gun-uk-tugh* — great bend place — to Petocket Falls; P'au-tuck means a water-fall, from *pau*, a loud noise and *tugh*, place. The same meaning attaches to Po-ha-tan, the name of the celebrated Virginian, derived from the falls on the James river, where he dwelt.

Merrimack (Merimauke) undoubtedly is the name applied to some point on the stream, below Haverhill. *Mer* indicates where rapid running fresh water meets the salt tide. It is only found, elsewhere, in Amerascauk'n, — the river in Maine which the whites misnamed in memory of their despotic governor, Sir Edmund Andros, — and in Mirimachi.

After Philip's war, the reservation was sold to Messrs. Tyng and Hinchman, who eventually transferred the title to the inhabitants of Chelmsford, fifty in all. The sons of Samuel Varnum, Thomas, John, and Joseph, either together or singly, bought up these individual shares. One grantor describes his interest as located at "Pautuccott Falls"; another speaks of his as purchased of of "ye natives of the countrey"; while another locates "at ye hither end of medow called ye old medow of Mr. Web's farme, which lyeth upon or neare to Beaver Brook, and ye north end of said medow joyneth to and is bounded by a bridge of loggs y^{t} lieth in that place." This would carry the reservation back from the river to the present Parker Bridge, near the paper mill.

A description of the construction of this bridge and causeway (causey) is found in the testimony of Jonathan Saunders, then a man of forty-nine years, before the Superior Court in 1696, viz: "When he was about seventeen (1664), he lived with Justinian Holden. Whilst he was his servant, he did help to cut down the Brush & Trees that grew thereon (the swamp) & to lay ye wood for the causey, and, when that was done, we did grauvell it and make ye bridge over the Brooke."

JOHN WEBB.

Ensigne and, finally, Captain John Evered alias Webb, was from Marlborough, in Wiltshire. He arrived in Boston, in the James of London, during the summer of 1635. Marlborough is the ancient city which gave its name as a title to the hero of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet. Webb dwelt in Boston, as a merchant, for some years, but aside from his military career and the fact of his owning the corner of School Street, famous in our day as the Old Corner Book Store,

little is known of his history there. Later than 1650 he came to Chelmsford, where he trafficked with the Indians and located land grants for the whites. On the grant to himself and his associate officers in the military, of which he became sole possessor, he located a house and garden. After similar properties in his native Wiltshire, he gave these improvements the name of "Draycot-upon-Merrimack." Hence originates the modern name, Dracut. By this time, he had married Mary, the widow of Thomas Fayerweather of Boston; had served as the Deputy of Chelmsford, in the General Courts of 1664 and 1665; and was one of the two in Chelmsford, "impowered to joyne persons in marriage." Across the river, to just above the mouth of Black Brook, he constructed a fish weir. In 1664 he sold one half of his farme, "Draycut-upon-Merrimack," to Richard Shatswell and Samuel Varnum, both of Ipswich. In 1665 he sold an hundred acres to Robert Eames. In company with Shatswell and Varnum, he came into possession of the grant to Billerica, lying north of and adjacent to the military grant. Having redeemed a prominent Indian from possible imprisonment, by payment of the fine imposed, he purchased, by consent of the General Court, the island in the Merrimack lying west of his other properties. The official consent being afterwards withdrawn and the island restored to the Indians, he was reimbursed by a grant of five hundred acres on the east of Beaver Brook. In September, 1668, he sold all the property in Dracut, remaining in his name, to Edward Colburne. The next month Webb was drowned in Boston harbor, while on a fishing frolic. Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, thus relates the story:

Mr. John Webb, who sometime lived at Boston, was drowned catching a whale below the Castle. In coiling up ye line

unadvisedly he did it about his middle, thinking the whale had been dead: but, suddenly shee gave a Spring and drew him out of the boat. he being in the midst of the line, but could not bee recouered while he had any life.

Capt. Webb left a large estate, but no heirs direct. By his will he bequeathed to a large number of legatees, among whom we notice the ancestry of ex-Mayor J. H. B. Ayer and of the late Dr. J. C. Ayer, of your city.

The original plan of the location of the military grant is preserved at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, with the following:

June 7, 1659.

Laid out to Left. peter Oliver: Capt. James Oliver; Capt. James Johnson and ensigne John Evered: one thousand acc. of land: in ye wildernesse on ye Northerne side of merrimuk River: Lying about Nahamkeage being bounded with merrimack Riv^{r} on ye South and on ye west; the wildernesse else wher Surrounding according to marked trees: as bye a plott taken of the same is demonstrated. By JONATHAN DANFORTH: Survey^{r}

The deputies approve of this returne with reference to the Consent of o^{r} Honurd magis^{ts} hereto

21 (8) 1659 WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

Consented to by ye magist

EDW. RAWSON, Secre'ty

The later grant to Webb is rehearsed in the following record of the Bay Colony, viz.:

11 Oct 1665 In ans^{r} to the petition of Nobstow, Wanalancet, Nonatomemut, Indians, the Court judgeth it meete to grant Mr. John Evered alias Webb five hundred acres of land adjourning to his land, now in possession vpon condition that he release his right of interest in an island in Merrimake Riuer, called Wicosuck wch was purchased by him of the Indian petitioners with the Court's approbation: & also vpon condition that one of the petitioners, called Wamalancet, doe release to this Court a former grant to him of an hundred acres of land: and the Court doe grant & confirme the say'd island called Wicosucke unto the peticoners, with any other Indians that have or had any true right of propriety in the same before it was purchased: provided, the say'd Indians shall not sell or alienate the say'd island,

or any part thereof, without this Court consent: & John Parker & Jona. Danforth are appointed to lay out this grant of five hundred acres to John Evered at the charges of the say'd Evered.

According to the order of the honord Generale Court there is layd out to Mr John Evered alias Webb, of Drawcutt on Merremacke River, five hundred acres of land in the wildnernes on the north of Merremack River, on the easterne side of Beaver Brooke, joyning to land formerly granted to Mr. Edward Ting, of Boston, now in the possession of the say'd Evered: forty acres of it lyeth joyning to the most western angle of the forenamed farme and fower hundred and twenty acres of it lyeth joyning on the east side of the aforesay'd farme of forty acres at the north end of the ffarme: all which joyneth together except onely small parcele of about twenty & two acres, which lyeth in comon betweene Beavar Brooke & Mr. Ting's ffarme aforesaid—otherwise Beavar Brooke doe bound this land on the northwest from the most northerly corner of it, wch is at the brook to the northwest corner wch is upon the brooke: the other part is sufficiently bounded: but it lying so much skirting upon Mr Ting's ffarme, according to the nature of the grant & Mr Webb's desire, the bounds thereof and the manner and forme thereof is best described by a plott taken of the same & lay'd out according to the order of the Court 11 m° 66, by John Parker & Jonathan Danforth, wch plot is on file

The Court allowes and approves of the farme above lay'd out

ROBERT EAMES.

Capt. Webb sold a place on the river to Robert Eames who, from the tools mentioned in his inventory, would seemed to have been a mechanic, certainly the earliest north of Merrimack. Besides, as the first man recorded to have died in Dracut, he becomes interesting. He was from Wrecklesham, in Surry, a little hamlet, a mile and a half out of Farnham, a large market town in that shire. The little village was on the border of the Holt forest, which extends into Hampshire. The country is wild—of picturesque scenery. The soil is barren and, to obtain water, wells are sunk 140 to 150 feet in depth. Near by was, in former days, the cave of Mother Ludlam,

who was not, like our Yankee witches of Danvers and Salem, either wicked or malevolent. On the contrary, she was possessed of a generous heart and kindly benevolence, and was of assistance to the poor people, after the following method of invocation: The applicant entered the cave at midnight, turned completely around three times and three times repeated these words: "Pray, good Mother Ludlam, lend me a baking pan (or any ordinary domestic article) and I will surely return it within two days." The applicant then retired quietly, and, in the open day following, on returning would find the desired article at the mouth of the cave. The good woman insisted upon punctuality in returning the loan, and had her customers been equally scrupulous, no one can tell how long the business might have continued. A careless rustic, having bothered this singular benefaction beyond endurance, Mother Ludlam utterly refused to receive back an iron kettle she had furnished and never again responded to an application.

After Eames' decease the Varnums bought his real estate, which suggests the possibility of their having been neighbors in the old country, inasmuch as Varnum may be a varied spelling of Farnham -- anciently Fearnham, the home of the ferns.

As a curious example of the spelling prevalent at that early date, on the Merrimack, we subjoin a copy of Robert Eames' will and inventory, the originals of which are at the Middlesex registry.

1671
The laste will and
teastiment of mr
Robbart Eames.

In the nam of god amen the too and twenty of aprill in the yeare of ovr lord god and one thovsand six hvndred sevnty one I Robbart eames of merimak at dracvte in the covnty of norfolk beinge

weake in boody bvt of sovnd and pefike memmori praised bee god fort the same and knowinge the vnsertanty of this life her one earth I doe make this my laste will and teastement and firste I comend my sovlle into the hands of god that gave it and my body to the earth from which it was taken to be bvried in svch christan and desent maner as to my overseeors shall apeare met and convenient and as tovching my ovtward estate which lord in mercy hath lent me first I wille and earnest ly desire that all my dets that doe legaly apere with all nesesari charge and expence whatsoeir befirste payed ovte of my move able estate. Item I give and beqveath to my brother Iohn eames five shilings: Item I give and beqveath vnto my covsin Richard the sone of my sister Dorathy newman dwelling in farnum in svry in ratell sham my hovse land medow gardin with all the premise there vnto belonging Item I give and be qveath to my above named covsine Richard newman all my movef ablle estate and If my covsine richard newman be deseased then my wille is that the next aire of my sister Dorathy newman beinge lawe fvlly begoten of her boody doe have hovld occvpye and in Ioye all that my saide dwelling hovse with lande medow with all movfoblle estate accordig to the above named premisess: and I doe herby ernist ly desire my worthy frinds Iohn neverson senor of water towne and m thomas hincksman of chellmsford to be over sevrs of this my las te will and teaste timente and the same to se performed as is befor menshoned and whatsoevor the said Iohn nevrson and thomas hincksman shall nesesarily expend and laye oute or case to be expended and layed oute in and conserninge the same to be aloued oute of the wholle estate and this I doe declare to be my laste wille and teastiment: and in testimoni where of I the Robbart Eames have her:unto set my hand and sealle the daye and yeare firste above wrighten

(signed)

Robert Eames

Sined sealled and delivered
in presens of vs
Tho Hinchman
Josiah Richardson

Sworne 20:4:1671 Before the
Coun Court As attest
Thomas Danforth R.

In Inventory of the estate of Mr Robertt Eames of Draw Cutt Near Chelmsford who diseased the 25 Aprile 1671

	L.	S.	D.
his lands and housing 40lb	040	00	00
his monies 47s and 6d one goud Ringe 5s Silver Butins and 2 Sealles and tagges 4s	002	16	06
to 1 bibell and other books	000	08	00
to 4 young Cattell out	009	00	00
to endean Corne wheatt and barly	002	04	00
to 1 vise and Skrew plate 12s 4 hamers 5 chisels 9s	001	01	00
to 2 plaines yrons a stockshave and a drawing knife	000	05	06
to 2 brest wimbles 2 Iron Rings 2 hachetts	000	09	00
to one hand saw 1 faling Axe 2 scikells	000	05	00
to so mush in Shoo lethere 5s and 1 Iron pot 8s	000	13	00
to 1 bras kettell 1 stockshave and Grease	000	04	09
to Seuerall small things in a small boxe	000	10	00
to 1 ffish Nett 5s and 2 troghes for meall	000	09	00
to Seueral timber goods for house vse	000	07	00
to one friing panne 2s and one fowling pese 18s	001	00	00
to 3 pistolls, holsters, Brestplat and croper	001	10	00
to 2 spads 5s and 1 Cutlash 10s and 1 loking glas 1s	001	16	00
to 1 prospect Glas 1s and Bedding 25s	001	06	00
to his wearing Aparell 20s and to Iron toles	001	02	00
to 1 Rasor and hone 3s and so mush in Backon 21s 4	001	04	04
to 1 old trunke 18d and in sheett lead 18s 3d	000	19	11
to 1 canow 20s and so mush in porke 5s	001	05	00
to 1 pr bras compases 2s and halfe an old whipe sawe 4s	000	06	00
to one bagge and 2 endean Basketts	000	02	00
to 4 swine Roninge in the woods att	002	00	00
Taken By us whose names are	070.14.6		

under written this 28 Aprill 1671
Josiah Richardson
Edward Coborn
X
his marke

more dew from Joseph perkis	000	02	0
more to seueral small skins	000	05	
more to the Rent of his land	001	16	6
To toAil	072	18	6

At the County Court held at Cambr. Octob 4. 1671

Whereas mr Robert Eames late of Merrimack neere Chelmsford & now deced, there is none that do appeare to take Admstraccon on his eatate mr Thomas Hincksman is ordered and impowred by this Court to dispose thereof, so as to secure the same from damage, as much as he can untill further order be taken about it

Entred by
Thomas Danforth
Recorder

RICHARD DUMMER

was from Hampshire, and arrived at Boston in The Whale, 1632. He first settled at Roxbury and there erected a corn mill; but his wife sympathizing with Anne Hutchinson, the most forceful woman in Massachusetts at that day, they removed to Newbury, where he became a magistrate and a person of distinction in both church and state matters. In 1635 and '36, he was one of the Assistants. He returned to England in 1637, but came out again in 1638. He was a deputy to the General Courts of 1640, '45 and '47. His grandson, William Dummer, was for many years Lieut. Governor and really acting Governor, owing to the continued absence of Gov. Shute in England. In his will he left funds for the establishment of Dummer Academy at Byfield, a parish of Newbury and Rowley, which is still a flourishing institution.

The church record at Roxbury has the following curious entry regarding the wife of Richard Dummer:

M.ris Mary Dumer, the wife of mr Richard Dumer: she was a Godly woman but by the seduction of some of her acquaintans, she was led away into the new opinions of m^ris Hutchinson's time & her husband removing to Nubery, she there openly declared herselfe & Psuaded him to return to Boston: where she being young with child & ill; mr Clark (one of the same opinions) vnskilfully gave her a vomit, wch did in such maner torture & torment her wth the riseing of the moth^r & other vyolences of nature yt she

dyed in a most vncomfortable maner: But we beleive God tooke her away in mercy, fro' worse evil, wch shee was falling unto & we doubt not but she is gone to heaven.

The Dummer farm was next above the military grant upon the river. It passed into the possession of Capt. Thomas Scarlet, by whose name the property has been better known. The present channel between the main land and Tyng's Island was known as Wick-a-suck brook. There was no connection, during the dry season, with the river at the upper end of the Island which bore the same name, or a version of it, as Wicassee. The name denotes the brook at the basswoods; from *Suck*, or *Sook*, a brook, or outlet from a larger body of water, and *Wikopi*, the inner bark of the bass, or linden tree, from which the natives made ropes, nets, mats and some articles of clothing. Thus Wik-a-suck is basswood brook and Wicassee is basswood island.

The history of the grant is thus spread upon the Colonial record, viz:

At a General Court. held at Boston 14 May 1656,

In answer to ye peticon of mr. Richard Dumer craving an allowance of land for seventy three pounds by my consignee given to the Countrey's use by ye appointment of ye Courte in ye years 1637 & 1639. This court in consideration thereof doth graunt the peticoner eight hundred acres of land in any place that is free from former graunts & not prejudicial to a plantason—Provided it be laid out bounded and return made by some surveyor within one yeare

This is a true Copie Attest EDWD RAWSON Secretary

The deputy approves of this returne with refference to the Consent of ye Gover^r^ & magistrates thereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, cleric

The magistrates assent hereto so as it exceed not fifty acres above the Some of eight hundred acres them between & ye deputy consents thereto EDW. RAWSON Sec.

Consented to by ye deputy

WILLIAM TORREY, cleric

July 1659. Laid out to Mr. Richard Dumer:
eight hundred acc. of land in the wilderness on the Northerne side of merimack R'ur beginning about weak a soak brook, being bounded therewith & merimack river on the west, adjoining to farmes lately laid out to Peter and James Oliver & some others on ye south the wilderness elsewhere surrounding, according to marked trees as by a plott paper of ye same is more fully demonstrated.

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Surv^r

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

The first of these several grants, located on the Merrimack, was to Sir Richard Saltonstall, and is in these very few and concise words:

"12 march 1637|8 There is 1000 acres of land granted to Sr Richard Saltonstall, wheare it may not p'iudice any plantation granted, nor to bee granted."

On May 23, 1650, Robert Saltonstall petitioned the General Court for land due to his father, and the record reads:

in ans^r to the peticon of Robert Saltonstall for certajne lands due to his father Sr Richard Saltonstall for fower hundred pounds lajd out by him in the comon stock, the Court doth graunt the peticoner three sousand ac^rs of land in any part of this jurisdiccon so as he psent the place where he would have it, before the 20th of October next, to this Court: and his former graunt of this land menconed in his peticon is hereby made voyde.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was one of the fathers of Massachusetts and the leader in the planting of Watertown. He was of a prominent Yorkshire family. His uncle was Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He himself had been a soldier. Prudent and sagacious in business, tolerant beyond his associates in religion, large and disinterested in mind, actuated by extensive and comprehensive views, he was, next to Gov. Winthrop, the

most conspicuous figure in the new colony and the first associate named by King Charles, in the Charter. He repaired to England, after a brief residence in the colony and, though he never returned, he proved himself always its efficient friend. He died in 1658, remembering in his will Harvard College, where one of his sons was graduated with the first class.

RICHARD RUSSELL

was from Herefordshire. He arrived at Charlestown in 1640, and at once entered upon business as a merchant, to which he had been bred at home. He was long in public life; was a Selectman in 1642, and for twenty-five other years, during seventeen of which he was Chairman of the board; was the deputy from Charlestown to the General Court from 1646 to 1658, and was its Speaker in 1648, '50, '54, '55 and '58; was an Assistant from 1659 to 1676, and was Treasurer of the Colony from 1645 to 1676. One of the most influential and prominent gentlemen in the Colony, he was the largest merchant in Charlestown, where he built warehouses and wharves to accommodate his extensive commerce.

As merchant, legislator, magistrate and financier, he was of the largest importance. He died in 1676, bequeathing a poor-fund, which still exists.

On his tombstone was engraved:

"A saint, a husband, a faithful brother,
A friend scarce parallel'd by any other:
A saint, that walked high in either way
Of godliness and honesty, all say:
A husband rare to both his darling wives
To her deceased, to her who him survives:
A father politic, faithful and kind
Unto our State as Treasurer we find:
Of fathers good and best to own to those
On him a fathership law did impose

Moses brother kind good Aaron lov'd:
On him love showes how full of truth improv'd:
A friend to needy poor whom he refresh'd,
The poor may well lament the friend suppress'd.
In time of war he was removed in peace,
From sin and woes to glory, by his decease."

Sixteen hundred acres, on the north side of the Merrimack and on the eastern side of Beaver Brook, was laid out to Richard Russell in July, 1659, and return made as follows:

12 November 1659. Laj'd out to Mr Richard Russell Treasurer, one thousand and sixe hundred acres of land, on the northerne side of Merremacke Riuer, in the wildernesse, beginning right over against Wajmesicke, being bounded wth Beauer Brooke on the west, Merremacke Riuer on the south, the wildernesse elsewhere surrounding, according to marked trees, as is more fully demonstrated by a plott taken of the same wch is on file, By Jonathan Danforth. Survejor.

The Court allowes & approve of this returne of land lajd out as being part of a parcell of land graunted in the yeare sixteene hundred & fifty to Robert Saltonstall, in right of Sir Richard Saltonstall, for fower hundred pounds lajd out by him in ye comon stocke, provided that Mr Russell shall and is hereby engaged to secure the countrje from any challenge wch shall or maybe made to the land herein mentioned by the heirs or executors of ye sd Robt Saltonstall, or an other, as by any right from him.

This tract was equally divided in 1687; one half being sold to John Alcock, from whom it passed by inheritance to his son and daughters, the latter married the one to Benjamin Walker of Boston, and the other to Ephraim Hunt of Weymouth. The Walkers and Hunts sold the land to Maj. Ephraim Hildreth, of Chelmsford, in 1709, which introduced that efficient, important and useful family to residence in Dracut.

In 1701, the remaining half of the Russell grant was sold to Andrew Belcher, a merchant of Boston. It was long known in Dracut annals as Belcher land. Its bounds were thus described:

The dividing line beginneth at a stake by Merrimack River, a little to ye Southward of the place where John Whittacur dwelt by the Brook side and from thence across Wilkinson's Brooke, east thirty-one degrees N., ninety-six poles to another stake and from thence to run Two miles norward four and a half degrees westward parallel with the outside Line, which is the end of the said ffarme at a stake and from thence one hundred thirty eight pole betwixt the parallel lines to a Pillar of Stones which is the corner of said ffarme and from thence to run parallel with the former line being one hundred thirty six pole wide and three mile wanting forty poles long on the outside to a Walnutt Tree nee Merrumack River and so to butt on ye sd River southerly till it come to ye stake below the place where Whittacur dwelt.

From Capt. Andrew Belcher, the property descended to Jeremiah Belcher of Ipswich as eight hundred acres. Wilkinson's Brook must have been the little brook which enters Merrimack river, just above the present Central bridge; but whence its name and who was John Whittacur, we have not learned. Gov. Belcher was a grandson of Andrew, and one of the Governor's sons became Chief Justice and Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia.

THE BILLERICA GRANT.

In May, 1661, the general court granted four thousand acres to our neighbor of Billerica in the following terms:

In ans^r to the petition of the inhabitants of Billerikey, the Court having considered of this peticon, together with the peticon of Mr Deane Winthrops for laying out the land graunted his mother & being certainly informed that the towne of Billierickey is a hopefull plantation and that they have & doe encourage & mainteine the ministry amongst them & have waded thro many difficultjes in purchasing much of theire land & neuer had so much as one third part of lands graunted them by this Court as other villages inferior to them have had, doe therefore graunt the sajd towne fower thousand acres of land in such or places, where they can finde it within this

jurisdiction for the redemption of the sajd lands provided it shall not p'judice a plantation or any former graunt & that Capt Edward Johnson, Thomas Addams wth Jonathan Danforth, Surveyor, be appointed to lay it out & make returne to the next Court of Election.

The town of Billerica engaged one of her own citizens, Sgt. John Parker, "to look out some land to the vallew of four thousand acres granted to the town by the General Court" and further agreed with Parker and his father-in-law Jona. Danforth "they should have one thousand acres of the grant (for there owne propriety) provided they would locate the other 3,000 at their owne cost." The record of so much of this grant as was located in Dracut is, as follows:

Gen[l] Court 6 June 1663.

Layd out to the towne of Billirikey one parcell of land conteyning eight hundred acres, more or lesse, lying in the wildernesse on the northside of Merremacke Riuer, beginning at the south east angle of Mr Dummer's farme & being bounded upon him twenty two pole; also bounded by Mr Webb's farme (which joynes to him there) thirty five pole (upon his north east corner) westward, & sixty fower pole southward; from thence it runns in a long spruise swampe, about half a point northward of the east, four hundred and eight pole; then runing in a straight ljne from thence to Long Pond: being bounded partly by that pond and partly by Mr Batters farme at this end of the pond which line, in all, is five hundred and fower pole: & from thence it runnes almost due west to another pond called by the Indians Mascuppet, unto a great rocke, called by the English, Tray Table Rocke; on the north west it is bounded by Mascuppet Pond and another little pond, vntill yow come to Mr. Dumers line, where we beganne: all wch is more fully demonstrated by a plott taken of the same. This eight hundred acres is part of the fower thousand wch was lately graunted to the towne of Billirrikey & there remajnes fiue hundred only yet to lay out of the whole graunt

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Surveyo[r]
EDWARD JOHNSON
THO: ADDAMS

The Court allowes of this returne.

TRAY TABLE ROCK.

The localities mentioned in the above, Long Pond, Mascuppet (to-day known as Tyng's Pond), Tray Table Rock, Spruce Swamp, mark plainly the location of their property, as between Willow Dale, Whortleberry Hill and the river. *Mascuppic*, in Indian tongue, would indicate a large pond in a narrow, pinched space, from *Mas* — large — the same as the first syllable in Massachusetts and Mississippi; *cuppi*, narrow, close. The final k represents *konuck*, place. Tray Table Rock is a large boulder, beyond Lakeview, a short distance from the shore of the pond. It is hollowed on its top, like a chopping tray.

This land, through Richard Shatswell and John Webb, passed to the proprietorship of the Varnums and the Coburns, to whose earlier farms it lay adjacent. The remainder of the Billerica grant was laid out on the eastern side of Beaver Brook, covering the fine farm above the paper mill. In 1694, this farm was exchanged for the Weld farm on Concord river, with Mr. Palsgrave Alcock who had become proprietor of the western half of the Russell grant. The Alcock property thus became very desirable, covering much of the best farming land in Dracut, including all the river and brook front of the present Navy Yard village, east of the brook, and, therewith riparian rights in the "great bunt" which were of valuable consideration in colonial days; indeed in federal days down to the construction of the Lawrence dam. The original plan of this location is in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and is in a good state of preservation. The compass bearings of the lines and their lengths are more fully set forth than was common to Danforth. The record reads:

Billerica, their farme of five hundred acres. laid out on ye north of merimack — joyning to north & north westerly part of

ye farme of Richard Russell esqui^{r}: This is ye Last parsell of that four thousand acres formerly granted by this Honoured Court to ye Towne of Billerica Laid out 3^{m} 67

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey

Lajd out to Billiricca five hundred acres of land in the wildernesse, on ye North side of Merimack Riuer and on the east side of Beauer Brooke, a little below Patuckett. It is bounded on the South and on ye southeast, wholly by land, formerly granted to Richard Russell Esqui^{r}: and on ye west by ye aforesaid beauer brooke, elsewhere by ye wildernesse, ye line on the east side of it is 196 pole in length, runing half a point westward of ye north, which is (exactly) ye continuance of ye long line on ye east side Mr Russell's farme, also both the lines on the north side of it are exactly parallel to ye lines on the south side of it, the most northerly of which is one hundred & sixty pole longe & runs ½ a point westward of ye west south west, the other line runes two degrees westward of ye South west & by South four hundred and eighty seauen pole, which closeth to the brooke all which are sufficiently bounded by mark't trees and pillars of stone, ye forme thereof is more fully declared by a plott taken of ye same by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey^{r}

The deputies approue of this returne of the fiue hundred acc^{s} aboue mentioned with refference to the consent of ye honor^{d} magest^{s} hereto WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric

The mag^{ts} consent hereto
15 8^{6} 1667 THO DANFORTH.

JONATHAN TYNG

was born in 1642, at Boston, and was a son of Edward Tyng, a merchant and brewer, who amassed a respectable fortune for those days, and retired to Dunstable, which had been named in compliment to his wife, a native of the English town Dunstaple, of the same name, spelled with a difference. The old gentleman was in his 79th year, and died the second year of his residence in the up country. In Boston, he had been representative in 1661 and 1662, assistant from 1668 to 1681, and colonel of the

military in Suffolk county. The more distinguished son was one of the original petitioners for the plantation desired "beyond Merrimac River, by Chelmsford line, by Groton line, by Brenton's farm, by Souhegan farms and by Henry Kimball's farm," which was granted in 1673. Jonathan Tyng straightway built him a house on the river bank, opposite Wicasuck Island, which he fortified and where he maintained the extreme outpost during Philip's War. This heroism made him the most conspicuous citizen of Dunstable, and, as his business faculties were equally marked, he easily led in civil and military affairs. One division of the east precinct was named Tyngsboro', in his honor. In his old age he married a third wife, the widow of Rev. Jabez Fox of Woburn, where he dwelt the remainder of his days. Death came to him, suddenly, in 1724. While the minister was at prayer in the Woburn meeting-house, Colonel Tyng fell dead in his pew. The Boston News Letter thus chronicles the appalling event:

WOOBURN, Lord's Day, January 19th.

We were here entertained with a very loud *Memento Mori.* The Honorable Col. Jonathan Tyng Esq. walking to the place of Public Worship in the Afternoon, expired as soon as he got into his seat, during the time of the first Prayer, and was carried out dead. *Aetatis* 81. His Faith and Holiness were so apparent that we are perswaded he was convey'd to the Assembly of the First-born in Heaven, to bear a part with them in glorifying their Creator and Redeemer.

The following verses were composed on the incident, by a wit of the day:

Ye Col'nels of New England!
Attend the dirge I sing:
Though Hearts of Flint, you must lament
The Death of Col'nel Tyng.
Then, fare thee well, old Col'nel Tyng!
What fault was in thee found?
For 'tis well known thou'rt dead and gone
Though neither hanged nor drowned.

For thus we find it penned down
By Paul,* of Roxbury;
By Musgrove,† too, of Boston town,—
Sure Musgrove will not lie.
Then, fare thee well, &c.

To worship would this Col'nel go,
Which is with Col'nels rare;
Nor limbs benumbed, nor eke the snow,
Nor friends would him deter.
Then, fare thee well, &c.

Full meekly trudged he through the Gore‡
To church, as he was wont:
His righteous Bowels yearned full sore
To climb the Holy Mount.
Then, fare thee well, &c.

Thrice he essayed the fatal Hill
His spirits nothing reek;
Thrice didst thou halt, oh Col'nel;
Alas, the flesh was weak.
Then, fare thee well, &c.

Then Godly Bretheren lend a shove
To Christian Born so heavy:
He into Meeting-house did move
While Priest was at *Peccavi.*
Then, fare thee well, &c.

Lo, in his seat upright he stood
So dear he lov'd the boards on't
There, oh, dropt down this Col'nel good:
He died and made no words on't.
Then, fare thee well, &c.

He prayed hard for an easy death
Which Paul* doth thus fulfill;
And shows 'tis easier to descend
Than to climb up a Hill.
Then, fare thee well, old Col'nel Tyng!
What fault was in thee found?
For 'tis well known thou'rt dead and gone
Though neither hanged nor drowned.

The Tyng farm in Dracut lay at Winter Hill. It was laid out to the elder Tyng, authorized as follows:

* Paul Dudley of Roxbury.
† Philip Musgrove, Postmaster at Boston and publisher of the Gazette.
‡ Mud.

Laid out to Mr Edward Ting, of Boston, two hundred & fifty acres of land in ye wilderness on ye Northerne side of merimuck Riuer being butted and bounded by a farme laid out to Mr Russell on ye south end; ye wildernesse else where surrounding, according to marked trees, as is more fully demonstrated by a plott taken of ye same by JONA DANFORTH Surveyor

The deputy approves of this returne reffering to ye con Sent of ye hon'd magistrates thereto WM TORREY Cleric

7. (4) 60 The magistrates judge meet to respitt ye confirmation to ye next session of this court TH. DANFORTH

4 October 1660. Consented to by ye magistrates
EDWARD RAWSON.

The plot is at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, endorsed:

Mr Edward Ting's farme containing 250 acres, lying on ye North of merimuck river on ye eastern side of beaver brooke
JONATH: DANFORTH Survy

ROGER CONANT

was probably earliest in New England of any whose names are connected with our subject. This excellent gentleman, whose prudence and integrity secured him the highest respect among his contemporaries, was the Governor (or President) of the fishing company at Nantasket and Cape Anne, out of which grew the Massachusetts Company and the Bay Colony. By the patent of 1627|8, Matthew Cradock succeeded Conant, who remained in honorable retirement at Naumkeg, piously christened Salem. In the early General Courts of Massachusetts he was a deputy, and, afterward, served on important committees and references. In his advanced years, a grant of two hundred acres was made to Conant, adjacent to Webb's five hundred acres and

resting on Beaver Brook. It lies between Winter Hill and the brook and across the province line. It begins

At a great pine Tree on the N. E. Corner of Edwd Tyng's farm thence runs 83½° westward from the North, 130 rods to Beaver brook and from the same pine tree it runs 11° westward and from the South 250 rods from thence it runs 84½° westward from the South 132 rods. The last line, being parallel to the second, closeth to the brook.

This passed to the possession of John Moulton, of Wenham, by whom, in 1710, it was conveyed to three of the Coburns. It long remained in the family, where it was known as the Connet farm—on both sides of Meadow Brook—a singular and inexplicable corruption of Conant. The great pine stood till within the memory of men yet living, and its site can be pointed out to-day. It was known as Setchell's Pine, from Shatswell, who with Varnum and Webb bought the Tyng farm. It is noteworthy that his name should have been so long preserved—longer indeed than even a tradition of Shatswell among the farmers who have been born and dwelt upon the adjacent land. The dimensions of this monarch among the primeval pines have not been preserved.

The only grant to a citizen of Chelmsford we find, was to John Martin, of whom we know no more. It reads:

Layd out to John Martyn, of Chelmsforth, one hundred acres of land, more or lesse, on the north of Merremacke River, at Patucket, bounded by the sajd river on the south ninety seven pole and by the Indian plantation on the east One hundred and forty three pole and from thence it runs to Mr Webb's farme, wch ljne is two hundred & tenn pole, bounded there by the wildernesse, on the west side it is bounded by Mr Web's farme. Lay'd out

By JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey^{r}

The Court doeth allow & approove of this returne.

ARTHUR MASON.

It is not often that a zealous exhibition of official responsibility is so markedly rewarded as it was in the case of this gentlemen who himself spelled his name, always, Masson. In 1666 his Majesty's Commissioners were in Boston "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all causes and matters, as well military as criminal and civil." The members of the Commission, as private gentlemen, were in the habit of spending, often, an evening at the Ship Tavern, with congenial acquaintances. Now, the Colonial law did provide:

> That if any person or persons, either on the Satter-day night or on the Lord's day-night, after the Sun is set, shall be found sporting in the streets or fields of any Town in this Jurisdiction, Drinking or being in any House of public Entertainment (unless Strangers or Sojourners in their Lodgings) and cannot give a satisfactory answer &c shall pay five shillings, or suffer Corporal punishment, as Authority shall determine.

It was thought the high headed Commissioners might be dealt with for breach of this statute. Accordingly a constable was sent to enforce the law, but they beat him and defied him. Mr. Mason was a constable and he determined to enforce the law; but, fortunately, they had avoided a conflict by repairing to a neighboring private house. Nothing daunted, Constable Mason followed them, bearing his staff of office, telling them how glad he was to see them where they were, for, if he had met them at the tavern, he would surely have carried them away. The Constable added that he wondered they should be so uncivil as to strike a constable. One of the Commissioners retorted, he did it and would again; to which Mason rejoined, it was well it were not himself. Whereupon the irate Commissioner asked: "Would you have dared meddle with a King's Commis-

sioner?" "Yes," said Constable Mason, "and if the King himself had been there, I would have carried him away." Another Commissioner immediately cried "Treason! Treason. Thou shalt be hanged within a twelvemonth." The next day, a note relating to the affair was sent to the Governor charging the Constable with high treason for the spoken words. Mason was bound over and duly presented by the Grand Jury for malicious and treasonable utterance. The Court of Assistants, however, withheld their judgment and referred the matter to the General Court, who found the words rash, insolent and highly offensive; but free from overt act or intended evil. Mason was sentenced to be admonished by Governor Bellingham, in a solemn manner. We are not prepared to say that land was granted the Constable for his sufferings, in what was considered the popular prerogative; but a lot of land was laid out to him, adjoining the Dummer grant, now within the limits of Tyngsboro'. It lay on the river, next above the Lawrence Brook. The location filed was in these words:

Layd out to Arthur Mason, of Boston, one hundred acres of land in the wildernes on the east of Merremacke Riuer being bounded by Mr Dumer on the south, one hundred & eight pole; by Merremack River on the west; by land lately layd out for Billirickey on the north one hundred and seventy eight pole; the wildernes elsewhere surrounding, according to marked trees bounded with E as by a plot taken of the same is more ffully shewed by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Survey'or

The Court allowes this returne, so that it exceede not One hundred acres.

John Dunton, a London bookseller, made a journey to Boston, in those times. He speaks of Mr. Mason as a grave, sober merchant, a good man, and well respected; among honest men downright honest; but very blunt—

"one that would speak his Mind, howe're Men took it," to which, the very capable editor of these travels, published by the Prince Society of Boston, Wm. H. Whitmore, Esq., now City Registrar of Boston, says: "Mason was a baker, lived on School Street and died in 1708, aged 77. He was father to Dunton's famous 'widow Brick, the very flower of Boston.'

'Saint-like she looks; a Syren if she Sing:
Her Eyes are stars: Her Mind is everything.'"

EDMOND BATTER

was a maltster from Salisbury, in Wiltshire, and came in the James, in 1635. He settled at Salem and was deputy from Salem from 1637 to 1654. In 1669 he was a commissioner at Salem to see that no coin was exported, with authority to examine outgoing sailors and passengers and, if found, to bring the coin to the court for confiscation. He died in 1685, aged 76. A grant was made to him, viz:

28 May 1661. In ans^r to the peticon of Mr Edmond Batter the Court judjeth it meete to graunt the peticoner two hundred & fifty acres of land, provided it be taken in such place as is free from former graunts & not p'judiciall to a plantation & that it be lajd out before the next Court of Election & that Mayor Hauthorne & Left Lathrop be appointed to see it lajd out & make theire returne at the next Court of Election.

The committee did not quite come to time, but next spring they did file a location, as follows:

Layd out to Edmond Batter, of Salem, two hundred & fifty acres of land, more or lesse, in the wildernesse on the north side of Merremacke Riuer and on the west of Beauer Brooke, beginning at a place called Double Brooke Meadow: it joynes to Beaver Brooke about sixty two poles: it lyeth forty two pole wide at the South^r end an so ljeth on both sides of Alewive Brooke and reacheth up to a great pond commonly called Long Pond, wch lyeth in the way

between Patucket & Jeremies Hill: all is sufficiently bounded by marked trees, and is more fully denonstrated by a plot taken of the same by JONATHAN DANFORTH, Survey^r. 8 m° 1662.°

The Court allowes of this returne, so it exceede not two hundred & sixty acres.

Double Brook and Long Pond still hold these names; but Alewive Brook is lost, unless the name belonged to the little run above the singular double stream, to which now the one term of Double Brook applies.

SAMUEL SYMONDS

was born of an eminently respectable, arms-bearing family in the shire of Essex, England, in 1595. His father and other near kinsmen were, and had been for generations, officers of the Chancery Court. Beside this one, they all appear to have been royalists and churchmen; and so have continued. His education and profession fitted him for high position in the Colony and for the multifarious and multiplied duties, which he discharged with eminent ability and fidelity. Throughout his four score years, he was for more than half, the incumbent of the highest judicial, legislative and executive station, save only the Chief Magistracy. He settled at Ipswich in 1637; was Freeman in 1638; Town Clerk, 1639-45; Magistrate, 1638; Recorder, 1639–45; Selectman, 1644; Representative, 1638–45; Assistant, 1645–73; Deputy Governor, 1673–78. He had a large voice in framing the law. He was three times married, and was the father of sixteen children; yet he left no surviving grandson of his line; hence he has no lineal descendants to-day; but many in female lines, from his daughters and grand daughters. He must have known familiarly, as fellow townsmen at Ipswich, the Shatswell,

Varnum, Coburn and Bishops of the early settlers about Petocket.

Of his numerous grants of the public domain, one only, known as the Winthrop Farm, concerns us, viz:

10 September 1653. This Court doth graunt to Mr Symon Bradstreet and Mr Samuel Symonds five hundred acres of land apeece, to be lajd out to them when they shall present the place, according to lawe, free from other graunts; and is in reference to their service donne for the countrje at Yorke Kittery &c

7 May 1662 Lajd out to the wor'pff[ll] Mr. Symons five hundred acres of land, more or lesse, in the wildernes on the north of Merrimacke Riuer, lying by the riuer's side, (right ouer against Mrs Margaret Winthrop farme of three thousand acres, which ljeth in the bounds of Billirikey,) at the mouth of the Concord Ryuer, vpon a brooke called by the Indians Pophessgosquockegg, begining about one hundred and forty sixe pole below the sajd brook, & so runing from Merremacke vp into the country northwest & by north about fower hundred ninety fower pole, then runig Southwest & by west about one hundred and ninety fower pole, then runig downe to Merremacke againe wch west side of it is three hundred seventy three pole, and by Merremack Riuer upon a crooked line two hundred & twelve but upon a square line one hundred fifty fower pole which parcell of land is about fower hundred & seventy acres; also, lajd out to him a parcell of meadow of about thirty acres lying in Small Spangs, at the head of this ffarme, the which lyith w[th]in three quarters of a mile of the land The whole is fiue hundred acres. Lajd out & bounded by

JONATHAN DANFORTH Surveyo[r]

The Court approooves of this returne.

Exactly how this farm came into the possession of the Winthrops does not appear, yet everybody so recognized it; and it is not open to question. One of Samuel Symonds' wives was a sister to Gov. John Jr.'s wife, and Mr. Symonds and Gov. John of Massachusetts, the father of Deane Winthrop, called themselves brothers. However its location was not satisfactory, and complaint was made in 1711 to the executors of Deane

Winthrop that the estate was not fully laid out. They therefore authorized a relocation or running of the bounds, by Samuel Danforth, son of Jonathan Danforth, who originally located the grant. The return is as follows:

We began at a pine tree by Merimack Riverside, which was old marked with the Lett^{r} W, and renewed the old Bound marks of the East line which run North west and by north Four hundred and ninety four poles allowing five pole in the hundred: then we ran South west and by West one hundred and ninety four pole, allowing as before: then we measured upon the river two hundred and twelve poles as the river Runs, then We run the west line and marked it well. The South East Corner of the four hundred & Seventy acres is a pine tree marked W, the nor' west and north East Corners are stakes and stones. the South West Corner is a stake and stones by the side of merimack River. then We measured the Thirty acres of meadow which lyes in small spangs at the head of the four hundred and seventy acres adjoining to it according to the Proposal of the Gen^{ll} Courts Comm^{e} for Dracutt.

The above s^{d} work was done by us

JOSEPH PARHAM
SAM^{LL} DANFORTH, Surveyor

The Reneuing ye Bounds of Mr Simons ffarm as above s'd, We the Subscribers do approve of also that all the upland included within the bounds of the thirty acres shall belong to sd ffarm

JONA TYNG } Committee
JOHN STEARNS }

This Indian name of the brook, below Christian Hill, where so many of you have caught trout, we are delighted to learn—Po phess go squock egg—it is so musical. How melodious and harmonious these five syllables break upon the ear—Po phess go squock egg—but let us see what they mean, for

> "In music, the triumph is never complete
> Till the pleasures of sense and intellect meet."

The first three syllables are one word, the last two another. *Pophessgo* is an English attempt at spelling

Papasku — a double hill; and *Squockegg* is a horrible travesty of *Squamenguck* — place to cure salmon. A similar travesty in New Hampshire resulted in Squamanagonic. In such pleasing concord did Mr. Indian respond to the music of the spheres; as he endeavored to keep a steady, orderly step between Apostle Eliot on the one hand, and trader Cromwell on the other — the shoals and quicksands of his pilgrimage on the Merrimack, after the advent of the whites.

GEORGE SMYTH

was of Salem, Ipswich, and perhaps Dover. At a session of the General Court held October 1, 1645:

George Smyth, for his adventure of 25£ is granted 200 acres of land w'r they shall require it so y^{t} it be neith^{r} wthin ye limits of any towne nor w'r it may hind^{r} ye planting of anoth^{r} town, hereafter to be granted, wch is agreable to oth'^{r} grants formerly made upon like grounds

Later we find recorded, May 22, 1661:

In ans^{r} to the peticon of George Smith the Court, having pervsed the original assignment of John Smith unto the peticoner & rec^{d} infermation from some of the Court of the peticoners right & of a probability that some lands were graunted the peticoner for ye same some yeares since, the records whereof cannot now be found, judge meete to graunt ye peticoner two hundred acres of land in liew of the twenty five pounds adventure disbursed in the yeere 1628, to be lajd out in some free place by Mr Gettings & Mr Medcalf of Ipswich who are appointed to see the same donne accordingly & to make returne thereof at ye next court of election: provided, if it appeare wthin sixe months that the peticoner have receaved sattisfaction in land or otherwise, then this present graunt to be voyd.

The filed location of this tract calls for two hundred and forty acres, "in the wildernesse on ye north side of Merimack river about 3 or 4 miles beyond ye river, in ye way as you go to Jerimie's hill, on ye west side of beuer

brook." The location was confirmed, in 1723, to John and other heirs of Thomas Chandler, deceased, by Samuel Danforth, surveyor, and Jona. Bowers and Jona. Buterfield, chainmen. It is the well known Chandler farm, which commences at the head of Long Pond "and thence 3 degrees ½ northward of ye N. E. runs 180 rods, thence 12° northward of ye west it runs 226 rods; thence 27° west of ye south, 166 rods; thence EbS 180 rods to point commenced at." It lies on both sides of Gompus Brook, one of the principal affluents of Beaver Brook, having its source in Gompus Pond in Hudson, N. H.

Gompos, or Gumpus, is a contraction of *Sognhompsk*, or *gn-ompsk*, both signifying, in Indian speech, hard rock. Possibly this is an indication that the natives discovered, hereabouts, a trap dike, from which they obtained material for their stone hatchets, tomahawks, axes, hammers, etc. Not far distant on Beaver Brook is a natural dam across the stream, of the same mineralogical character.

JOHN HIGGINSON,

the minister at Salem, as was his father Francis before him, was a native of Leicestershire, where he was born in 1616. He was ordained in 1660 and died in 1708. He was, says R. W. Griswold, "one of the great men of New England, and, incomparably, the best writer, native or foreign, who lived in America. That portion of his attestation of the Magnalia of Cotton Mather, which treats of the exodus of the puritans, has not been surpassed in strength and grandeur in all the orations ever delivered at Plymouth Rock." To which I may be permitted to add, none of us can justly claim to be well read in New England literature who have not enjoyed Mr. Higginson's grand and eloquent words. Celebrated

as his descendants have been, even to-day, no one has equalled this scholarly divine.

> "With him Gospel and Deeds, each, had its column;
> His head an index to the Sacred volume;
> His very name a titlepage; and, next,
> His life a commentary on the text."

The Higginson grant was so located that the line between Haverhill and Dracut divided it. This was unsatisfactory, and his heirs were allowed to locate, in 1715, entirely within the bounds of Haverhill.

22 May 1661.

In ans^{r} to the petition of Mr John Higginson, humbly desiring the favor of this Court in the graunt of some lands in relation to service donne in being a scribe to the synod in sixteene hundred & thirty seven &c, the Court judgeth it meete to graunt the sajd Mr Higginson seven hundred acres of land in some free place & not prejudiciall to a plantation & that Maj Wm Hawthorne, Mr Edmond Batter & Mr Jonathan Danforth, or any two of them, be appointed as a comittee to lay it out.

28 June 1715. At ye Request of Iohn Higginson Jun. and Ruth Higginson, both of Salem. J went to the North Side of Merrymack Riuer to Survey Measure and lay out to them a farm formerly Graunted to ye Reuerend Mr John Higginson Deced and began & measured from a Pond formerly called Hauerhill bound pond (but of late Called Policy pond) where Hauerhill line meets into Said Pond &c &c &c P me Ino Gardner

In the House of Representatives
July 21, 1715

Ordered That the Land Laid out & Protracted in the Plat on the other Side be Confirmed as the Seuen Hundred acres formerly granted to the late reverend Mr John Higginson Provided It Intrench not upon any Former Grant Sent up for concurrence

John Burrill Speak

In the House of Representatives.

Nov^{br} 25th 1715. Ordered that the vote above written be Reuiued Sent up for Concurrence John Burrill, Speaker.

In Council

Nov^{br} 25th 1715. Read and concurred

Sam. Woodward, Sec'ret.

RICHARD SHATSWELL

was born in England, and came over with his father in 1633. The father, John Shatswell, was the first deacon of the Ipswich church, married Rebecca Tuttle, and died at Ipswich, in 1657. Richard was prominent in land enterprises. His name, in the corrupted, popular form, Satchel, appears all the way down to recent times, in deeds and conveyances. After Shatswell exchanged his Dracut properties with Edward Coburn for the latter's Ipswich lands, he does not appear to have been resident on the Merrimack.

THOMAS HINCHMAN,

whose name, variously spelled Hinchman, Hinksman, Hinxman, was pronounced with the *ch* hard, as in deriatives from the Greek *chi*, like school, scheme, was from Wenham, so Parson Allen says, but it is unlikely. He married a Merriam at Concord, and was at Chelmsford before the arrival of the Wenham emigration. He was lieutenant in the Middlesex Horse Company of 1667, and ultimately major. He settled on the southern bank of the Merrimack, above Black Brook, which was next to the Indians. A portion of his property is the Howard farm of Mr. Frederic Ayer, to-day. During the Indian War his dwelling was fortified, garrisoned and considered a fortress. It was within easy reach of Tyng's, both by land and water, which has enjoyed great reputation as the farthest outpost. After Eliot and Gookin, Tyng and Hinchman acted as Indian agents. It is open to argument whether their prudent, just and business policy was not better for the natives than the ideal of their more pious predecessors. Upon the withdrawal or disappearance of the Indians, they were recognized as the natural legatees of

their estates, the reservations. This made them land poor. They had more than they could handle. So they conveyed large estates to the inhabitants of Chelmsford, including the land on the north side of the river, reaching from Beaver Brook to the falls. Major Hinchman represented Chelmsford in the General Courts of 1667, '71 and '76. At this last year, he removed to Charlestown; but returned to Chelmsford, where he died in 1703.

DEANE WINTHROP,

whose name survives among you in the Winthrop farm, extending from the fork in the roads, near the late Willow House to Christian Hill, and from the river bank to the Dracut town farm, was the sixth son of Governor Winthrop, the wise and prudent magistrate. Deane was a boy of ten years and left at school when his father came to Salem with the fleet in 1630. The lad came in 1635, and spent his entire life in Massachusetts, dying in 1704, the last survivor of the governor's children. His own sons had all died, unmarried, before that time. Groton was named for his birthplace in England and Winthrop, his home for forty years on Pulling Point, preserves his memory, muddled in the public mind with the greater one of his father.

JONATHAN DANFORTH.

Of all the personages one meets in research amid the doings on the Merrimack two hundred years ago, none makes a profounder impression or secures more cordial respect than Jonathan Danforth, the Surveyor, by whose accomplishments as a mathematician, lot-layer and con-

veyancer, these several grants, which we have made our present theme, were given form and location upon the ground and description in the public records. As, ordinarily, he run lines whose directions are expressed in "points," the presumption is reasonable that he used a mariner's compass. Though to-day we always measure in rods, he always expressed chain lengths in poles and roods. While his chainmen were made up from the sons or neighbors of the grantees, he himself presided at the cross staff. This primitive instrument consisted of a stout staff, which could be rigidly fixed in the ground. A brass cross or circle divided into quarters, was fixed to the top of the staff by a socket, in which it might be freely revolved. At the quarters rose strips, furnished with slits, through which peeps of distant objects could be obtained. These were termed the "sights" and served the purpose of the telescope on the modern transit. From "tie lines," thus determined, crooked lines, water courses, etc., were measured by offsets. As the wilderness was practically illimitable, Danforth's surveys were generous. Five lengths in the hundred were allotted for the sag of the chain and portions of land jutting out by river, or other water sides, were disregarded. In this way, a thousand acres then might readily measure fourteen or fifteen hundred to-day. In subdivisions, the admeasure was more careful. The outlines of his surveys Danforth drew on good firm paper. He used no lead pencil, but made his lines with a knife edge, the impressions of which are plainly visible to-day, though the paper is much discolored from age. Computation of the areas of his field was commonly made on the margin, or other blank space, of his "plots," as he termed the map. As these are interesting, I quote a couple to show the notation of those days:

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  448                    446
  270                    270
  ---                    ---
  000                    000
 3136                  32620
 896                   98200
 ------                ------
120960                125820

   33                    154
  5890                   5306
 120960(756            125820(786
  1600                  16000
   66                     66
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Mr. Danforth was a citizen of Billerica, than whom our neighbor had none more useful or of larger worth. Though his name is not on the list of the original grantees from Cambridge, several who were conveyed their titles to him, and he was certainly among the first settlers. His marriage is the first entered on the town records. For seventeen years he was a selectman; for twenty-one years town clerk. He was a representative to the General Court and Billerica's first militia captain. In connection with his wife's step-father, John Parker, he ran the lines of all the grants, farms and estates in north Middlesex, from Concord and Cambridge to the farthest settlements up the Merrimack. His house, torn down within the last few years, stood at Billerica Centre two hundred and two years. A numerous posterity proceed from him and are to be found in Middlesex County, Mass., and Hillsborough County, N. H. His name appears, constantly, in proprietary or professional use with all the men who settled Chelmsford, Dunstable and Dracut—Webb, Varnum, Coburn, Shatswell, Hinchman, Richardson, Tyng, &c.; for, as his nephew says:

> . . . "by well-marked stations
> He fixed their bounds for many generations."

Jonathan was the youngest son of Nicholas Danforth, of Suffolkshire, England, who came to New England in 1634, with a family of three sons and two daughters. Thomas, the eldest son, settled in Cambridge, where he filled, during a long life, a series of highly important colonial offices and was treasurer of the college. He was especially prominent in maintaining the rights of the colony, in opposition to the claimed prerogative of the crown. The second son, Samuel, was the colleague of the Apostle Eliot, in the Roxbury church. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became wife to Andrew Belcher, landlord of the "Blue Anchor" tavern at Cambridge, and father of Capt. Andrew Belcher, the proprietor of the eastern half of the Russell grant.

Gentlemen of the Old Residents' Association: You deserve compliment for the attentive, if not interested hearing, with which you have honored me. Mistake me not. I am no blind believer in the superiority of the past, — rather, I am confident to-day is the attained perfection of man's history. Yet I am equally confident the morrow will be better. Not to know the past is to be like a child, who questions not. As the little fellow soon begins those deep and solemn questions, often hard for his elders to answer, so should we search and learn what the past has done, and how 'twas done, wringing from her sphinx-like silence the lessons of her successes and her failures. "There is neither speech nor language, but voices are heard among them." The future will be too busy for any patience with institutions received from us which have not a history, evidencing a reasonable usefulness to man and his Creator.

IV. My Schools and Teachers in Lowell Sixty Years Ago, read May 3d, 1892, by Rev. Varnum Lincoln.

As already announced, the topic of our present paper is: My Schools and Teachers in Lowell Sixty Years Ago. Without then any other preface than to express the fear that possibly I may come into competition with some gleaner who has gone before me in the same field in some things I may say at this time. In addressing an association, whose archives give evidence of considerable activity in snatching from the jaws of time the early events in the history of their native or adopted city, there is always this danger. Some repetition, therefore, under the circumstances can hardly be avoided. Each writer can only be expected to treat the same topic from his own point of view. In what I have written I have followed my own memory. If any mistakes occur I should be happy to have them corrected.

My father, with his family, moved to Lowell, or what was then a part of Chelmsford, in the autumn of 1825. He occupied a house in the vicinity of Hale's saw and grist mill, and which was then the first house after crossing River Meadow Brook going south. This house is still standing, but has been moved back a few steps and turned partly around. I am particular here, because it may be of interest to some future historian to know that in this house was born the first child in Lowell, a brother of mine, who from that circumstance bore the name of Lowell Lincoln. At that time, and for many

years afterwards, the schools of a town were divided into districts. This district in which I found myself located embraced a large territory. It extended to Concord River on the east, on the south to what is now the Chelmsford line, taking in all Chapel Hill as far as Union Street on the north. The school-house stood on Central Street, near what was called Davis Corner, about twenty rods from the point where Central intersects with Gorham Street. This building was small and painted the universal color of the school-houses of that day, red. It was used not only for school purposes on the week-day, but for religious meetings on Sunday by the Methodist persuasion and by other sects. It will be remembered by many older persons as a noted resort on Sunday evenings for young people, who went to be entertained by the noisy and grotesque exhibitions of religious zeal and fervor often witnessed at that period. This building has been moved a short distance from its original site, but is still standing and occupied as a dwelling. I think the name of the teacher who taught during the two years that I attended this school was Manning, but of this I will not be absolutely positive. She was the sister of Oliver M. Whipple's first wife. I recall to mind the names of Sidney Davis, Newell Wood, Ezekiel Coburn, Gilmore Coburn, Lucy and Caroline Coburn, Charlotte A. and Mary J. Fisher (who attracted considerable attention from the circumstance that they were twins), John, Lewis, Willard, Emeline and Rebecca Knowles, the children of Jonathan Knowles who carried on the batting business in the neighborhood, as some of the scholars. The only particular event in connection with this school that fastened itself to my memory is the case of two large boys who were one day called up by the teacher to receive corporal punishment for some

offence. But one of them, not contemplating the prospect with any great satisfaction, escaped from her hands, jumped over the desk and out of a window that happened to be open at the time. The name of this boy was Ezekiel Coburn. I think he never returned to the school again. The event created quite a sensation in the district at the time.

After living two years in this district, my father changed his place of residence to another part of the town, occupying the Willie house, which belonged to what was then called the Willie farm, situated in the northwest part of the town. This house, although somewhat ancient even at that time, continued to stand upon the same spot until last year, when it was taken down to give place to one more modern in style and ample in dimensions. It stood on the corner of Broadway and Willie Streets. This change of location brought me into what was called the Pawtucket Falls District. The school-house stood exactly on the corner of Merrimack and Pawtucket Streets, very near where is now located the City Hospital. The building was small, not more than eighteen feet square, and modelled after the school-houses of that period. It had originally been painted red, but most of the paint had been beaten off by the storms and suns of years, and some of the clapboards were missing. On the whole it looked ancient and dilapidated. The entrance to it was by a door in the southwest corner, which led into an entry where the winter's wood was kept, and where the boys and girls hung their hats and outside garments. This entry was separated from the school-room by a thin board partition through which a door was cut leading to the same. The open fireplace, which was very large, was located in the northwest corner. Near it was the teacher's desk, ele-

vated above the floor something like an auctioneer's stand. The seats and desks of the scholars were made of rough pine planks, rising in tiers, one above another, occupied by scholars according to their ages, the youngest on the lower tier where their legs swung all day like the pendulum of a clock, but not, perhaps, quite as regular. No painter's brush had ever touched any part of the work inside. There were, however, plenty of stains and marks where the boys had spilled their ink and used their jack-knives. On the whole it answered very much the poet's description:

> "Within the master's desk is seen,
> Deep scarred by raps official;
> The warping floor, the battered seats,
> The jack-knife's carved initial;
> The charcoal frescos on its wall,
> Its door-worn sill betraying
> The feet that, creeping slow to school
> Went storming out to playing."

Not a picture, map, nor diagram, hung on its walls. Black-boards, globes, and Webster's Unabridged, now considered absolutely essential to the equipment of a school-room, had no place in this temple of science. The office of a school-house janitor was unknown. Boys took their turns in making fires, and the girls in sweeping. If a broom, water-pail, or any special article of furniture was needed a contribution of one cent was levied upon each scholar to pay for the same. The large open fire that blazed upon the broad hearth, while it scorched the faces of the younger scholars in front, often failed in preventing the occupants of the back seats from shivering with the cold. Among the books that were used, I remember the National Reader, American First Class Book, Woodbridge's Geography, Goodrich's History, Adams' Arithmetic, Improved Reader, and Frost's Grammar. Two or three of the older boys used Adams'

Old Arithmetic, in which occurred that famous problem of the frog in the well, over which so many young mathematicians have puzzled their brains, and also that question in rhyme about the man "who going to St. Ives met seven wives," and was thought to be so difficult of solution. In selecting dialogues or pieces for declamation the old American Preceptor and Columbian Orator were resorted to. Those who ciphered, as the phrase was, were required to use manuscripts, in which the work of every sum — we called them sums in those days — was written down. But the books and methods of teaching seemed hard and dry. The organ of memory was about the only faculty that was called into exercise and developed. As I look back upon those days and compare them with the books, methods, and advantages now possessed by those who crowd our schools, I am surprised to find that we accomplished as much as we did in the race for knowledge. The length of the school was eight or ten weeks in the winter, and ten or twelve weeks in the summer. Sometimes if the teacher was popular and so disposed, he or she could extend the term a few weeks by opening a private school, each scholar paying his or her own tuition.

My first teacher in this school, whose name I remember, was Mr. Byam from Chelmsford. And my impression is that he taught a successful school, considering all the adverse circumstances. In fact if a teacher in those days succeeded in carrying a school through to the end of the term with any kind of discipline his reputation was established. It was no uncommon occurrence for a teacher to be smoked out or driven out by a class of unruly and vicious boys, who attended school more for frolic than for study. But the boys of this school, though many of them were large, were well

disposed and obedient to its rules. I remember Artemus and Franklin Holden, Archibald and William McFarlane, Gustavus A. Bailey, Josiah Bowers, Solomon Hunt, Phineas and Henry Whiting, Osgood Dane and two colored boys, who interested my young fancy, perhaps, because of their dark features, whose names were Peter and Hosmer Freeman. Their parents had been slaves and when liberated, by the emancipation act of Massachusetts, took the name of Freeman. Among the girls I can only recall the names of Eleanor Coburn, Nancy Bowers, Maria Whiting. The identity and features of other boys and girls are impressed strongly upon my mind, but their names have escaped my memory.

The name of the teacher who followed Mr. Byam in charge of the winter school was Jefferson Coburn. He was a brother of Maj. Samuel A. Coburn, who kept the stone Mansion House many years, and was afterwards the popular landlord of the Merrimac House. His brother, Jefferson, was in his employ and tended his bar, mixing punch and sundry other liquors during the summer, while he taught school in the winter. Such a combination of vocations would hardly be tolerated at the present time. But sixty years ago rum-selling was not regarded at all disreputable. New England rum and its kindred alcoholic drinks, as I have reason to know, for I was sent after it enough times, was sold by all the grocers. In fact, they were considered as one of the prime necessities of every household. Most families would as soon think of being without flour or meat as without their rum. Let us be thankful that great progress has been made in the right direction. But I must say in justice to Mr. Coburn that, although he run the bar of a hotel in the summer, he made a most excellent teacher in the winter. Kind, but firm in the mainten-

ance of order and discipline, he won the confidence and love of his pupils, and inspired their ambition. He certainly infused into them a different spirit than he did into his summer customers. He encouraged and assisted them in every way in their studies. To sit under his instruction was a delight, and not a slavish task. As it might be expected the school under his care was a marked success. If I remember correctly, Mr. Coburn had charge of this school three or four winters. In the meantime the school was removed to a new and more commodious building, erected on School Street, near Bradt's Bakery which stood there at the time. This school-house was painted white. In the vicinity stood the slaughter-house of Benjamin Walker, and the blacksmith shop of Osgood Dane. All these places were of curious interest and frequent resort at recess and noon intermissions to us scholars.

The only female teacher that I remember in connection with the Pawtucket Falls School was Miss Martha Hunt, though there were probably others. But Miss Hunt, I feel sure, taught here a number of summers. And but one kind of testimony can be borne respecting her high qualifications as a teacher and her many virtues as a woman. Kind in spirit, she exhibited great force of character in the discharge of her duties. In school she was painstaking and industrious in promoting the advancement of her pupils, and out of school she did not forget their welfare or fail to take an interest in their success. The school flourished under her administration and gave great satisfaction to the parents and committee. I have not seen her since my school-boy days. If living I would go some distance to thank her for her kindness and patience towards one, at least, who sat under her care in that little white school-

house on the hill; if dead, let this tribute from one of her old pupils to her character and work, be a flower of grateful remembrance that he would place upon her grave.

In those days, I would say in this connection, that not only were the boys and girls taught the different branches of science, common to the schools of that period, but they were often instructed in the rules of good behavior and polite bearing towards others, in and out of school. When a class came out on the floor to recite, they were required, as it was then called, to "make their manners" before they proceeded with their lesson; that is to bow their heads simultaneously towards the teacher. This was repeated at the close of the lesson. When the committee or any person came to visit the school the scholars all rose in their seats and remained standing till the visitor was seated. When the visitor departed the same salutation was observed. We were required to bow to all persons we met, particularly to those older than ourselves. This kind of instruction, either from teachers or parents, seems now to be entirely obsolete, if one may judge from what he now sees and hears in our streets.

In the autumn of 1831 the High School in Lowell was established. The next year I was reccommended by my teacher, Miss Hunt, as a proper candidate for admission, subject to an examination which was to take place at a certain time, in the two-story school-house which stood on Merrimack Street, the next building to the First Congregational Church, where the Green school-house now stands. This building was used some few years, on Sundays, as the place of Roman Catholic worship. It afterwards was converted into a dwelling-house. To this place I turned my steps to pass the dreaded examination,

with little expectation, however, of winning the prize; and here I found about twenty other candidates as anxious and frightened as myself. The august committee were also there, ready, as it seemed to me at the time, to torture us with hard problems or entrap us with some obscure proposition. But the kind words of Rev. Theodore Edson breathed new courage into our hearts and made the task before us comparatively easy. Nearly all who presented themselves were found qualified for admission to the High School. I need hardly say that I returned home in triumph with my certificate, astonishing my parents with my success, for they had discouraged, as they supposed, my premature attempt.

The place occupied by the High School, at the time I entered it, was in the rear of the lower story of the building on Middlesex Street owned, I believe, by the Hamilton Company, one part of which was used as a chapel. Mr. Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of Rhode Island, was the teacher. And, if my memory serves me correctly, he had no assistant at first, but one was soon added in the person of Mr. John M. Clapp. Our schoolroom was small, dingy, and crowded; and in the matter of material surroundings our pursuit of knowledge seemed to be under difficulties. But we thought ourselves fortunate in having for our principal teacher one eminently fitted by his attainments, force of character, and social qualities, for that office, which relieved in some measure the disagreeable external conditions. Of course I give only a boy's impression, and he may not always be the best qualified to judge of his teacher. But I shall repeat nothing new to those who attended this school while under the administration of Mr. Clark, when I say that we all thought him about the best teacher that nature or art could produce. While digni-

fied in his bearing and sometimes stern and severe in his rebukes to the indolent and disobedient, it could not be said that his school was under exact military discipline, or that he ruled with a rod of terror. Some, indeed, might have thought that he placed himself on too familiar terms with his pupils. He certainly sought their welfare and aimed to make the school-room pleasant and attractive rather than a prison. While grave at times, he had a mirthful element in his nature which sometimes bubbled up in the school-room and communicated itself to the whole school. But woe to the scholar who aroused his indignation by any trifling with his kindness and patience. His reprimands often stung to the quick, while they invited respect and compelled obedience. I recall, as though it were but yesterday, his tall figure wrapped in a loose cloak of that day, his youthful but commanding appearance, prominent nose and scholarly features. His old pupils certainly felt that when the Episcopal Church had gained a rector the Lowell High School had lost a popular teacher.

One exercise I remember, in particular, in connection with this school. Ten minutes were occupied every morning, after the usual prayer and Bible reading, in answering questions that had been placed in a box on the teacher's desk the day previous. These questions embraced every variety of subject upon which any scholar was honestly seeking for light. And while this exercise often afforded amusement it stimulated research and proved a valuable help to the sincere seeker after knowledge. Sometimes it happened that the questions were even beyond the teacher's ability to solve.

The assistant teacher in this school, Mr. Clapp,

impressed me as a thorough student, devoted to his work, but quiet and reserved in his manners to the extent, perhaps, of approaching eccentricity. He was certainly forbearing and patient towards many of his pupils, whom I fear often tried him to the verge of discouragement and despair. Wherever he is, I hope he has forgiven his rough and unruly boys, who are now probably ashamed of the trouble they gave him.

This school, however, increased so rapidly in number that it soon outgrew its old quarters, and was removed to the South Grammar School building on the corner of South and Highland Streets, occupying the upper story. While installed in this building, and in the most flourishing condition, my connection with it for a season ceased. My father died, leaving my mother with seven children on her hands, of whom I was the oldest. The necessities of bread and shelter are always primary and imperative, and I was forced, reluctantly, to lay down my books and take up the task of a bobbin boy in Mill No. 1, of the Lawrence Corporation. Now, although a cotton mill cannot be called, technically, a school, yet this new position was to me, in an important sense, a theatre of mental development. It brought me in contact with new minds and new ideas. At that time Lowell had reason to be proud of its operatives. The world has never looked upon a class of mill girls, or men, more intelligent or moral than those who worked in its factories during the years of its early history. They were the cream of the farming communities of New England. Some of them had been school teachers, and there were others who came to earn money in order to prepare themselves for that profession. All had brought with them from their homes by the hillside and valley their church-going habits, love of reading, and generally

a strong desire for larger intellectual culture. They read and talked on the important questions of the day. And many of the questions then agitated were profoundly exciting and radical. There seemed to be a general awakening in the public mind to new thoughts and measures in the political and moral world. Abolitionism, Transcendentalism, Fourierism, Temperance, Grahamism, and other kindred topics relating to human welfare, filled the air and entered the workshops and mills of Lowell. And many were the sharp debates and comparison of notes that were held over the loom and spinning frame on those themes. This was to me a new kind of education, but it opened to me a larger world, stimulated thought, encouraged reading, and proved in the end intellectually profitable. It is possible that the Lawrence Mill No. 1, might have had more than an average share of intelligent operatives. This I cannot affirm. But I know that the description here given of the help in point of refinement and culture in this mill, is no flattery nor exaggeration.

In addition to these instruments favoring the pursuit of knowledge that the intellectual atmosphere of of this mill afforded, there were often private evening schools opened in town, giving instruction in grammar, geography, penmanship, etc. These I frequently attended. I remember, vividly, a course of lectures given by a clergyman from New York, Rev. William S. Balch, on a new and original method of teaching grammar. One of the features in this new system was that there was no such thing as a neuter verb — that all verbs were either transitive or intransitive. One of these evening schools where geography was taught is fresh in my memory from the fact that the teacher had a novel way of teaching it. A large map was suspended

before a class of fifty or more, and if the subject were the rivers of the globe, the teacher would point to their location and give the name, when the whole class would repeat the same after him twice in concert. In this way he took up every natural and civil division of the globe. This was teaching geography in twelve lessons without any book. The exercise though novel was valuable, and the method I have no doubt could be used to good advantage in our public schools.

Among other means of intellectual improvement, Lowell had its Lyceum, as it was called. This consisted of a course of lectures in the winter in the old town hall, and usually given by the different clergymen, physicians, or lawyers of the town. Sometimes a noted speaker from a distance was invited. I recall the names of Orestes A. Brownson, Theodore Parker, Horace Greeley, Caleb Cushing, as among the distinguished speakers to which I listened. I remember, also, a course of lectures on geology given by Professor Silliman of Yale College. Then, also, the Mechanics' Association had its reading-room, library, and courses of lectures. Of all these privileges I freely availed myself. And, under the circumstances, they were to me schools of education. A course of lectures before this association, which impressed me most deeply, was given by Ralph Waldo Emerson. He was then a young man and had just begun to attract public attention by his peculiar philosophy and radical views. And his fine intellectual face, melodious voice, the air and polish of an ideal scholar, and sincere earnestness, made him an attractive speaker. He uttered himself in the tones of an oracle in quaint and finished sentences. His original way of treating familiar subjects shocked, captivated, and bewildered his audience all at the same time according to their appre-

hension of his thought. His meaning was not always clear, but through the vague rhetorical mist one caught now and then the glimpse of a bright star of thought, which seemed to open to his vision a new world in the realm of truth. These lectures created a great deal of talk at the time, and occasioned a diversity of opinions. Some went even so far as to say that the man was crazy.

But about this time I graduated from the Lawrence Mills to the large machine shop of the Locks and Canals Company. Fortunately, this change also proved a school and favorable to the acquisition of knowlege and mental development. It brought me into the society of a class of intelligent young men, who, while they toiled over the engine or the lathe, had high aims and employed their leisure hours in securing that which would make their lives more useful to themselves and their fellow-beings. As one of the means of self-improvement that these young men had established was a debating society, that met weekly in a lower room on the right as you enter the Mechanics Building. This society was for many years one of the institutions of Lowell. It was largely attended. And its exercises consisting of discussions, mock trials, readings, and declamations, proved a most valuable school to those who availed themselves of its privileges. Sometimes it held public debates on the exciting questions of the day in the large Mechanics Hall. And these debates attracted large audiences. Many of those who were members of this organization have made their mark in the world, and filled prominent and useful places in the community.

I now recall the names of John Winslow, who was for many years superintendent of the Boston & Lowell Railroad; Ezekiel Straw, who became governor of New

Hampshire; Fisher Hildreth, who for many years was postmaster of Lowell, and editor of the Lowell Advertiser; Jonathan Kimball, for many years a school teacher in Lowell, afterwards school superintendent in Salem and Chelsea; Lewis Greene, afterwards an Episcopal clergyman; Joseph Skinner, a Universalist clergyman; Brooks Bradley, who became a popular theatrical actor; and had I the list of the names of the members before me, I might recall others who have filled important stations in society. In addition to these already given, I remember the names of Lewis Kirk, Wilson Eddy, a Currier, a Moody, and a Chamberlain, whose first names I have forgotten, and others who worked in the machine shop, and whose companionship was a healthy stimulus to self-improvement. And I feel that I do not misapply language when I say that that Young Men's Debating Society, of which I was a member several years, was to me a school. Certainly the training I received there quickened, inspired, and enlarged the mental faculties and stimulated the desire for a more liberal education. This desire, which had for some time been smothering in the breast, became at last the controlling impulse of the mind, and I determined, therefore, to go back to the High School again.

I had then been absent from its walls about three years, and had grown somewhat rusty in regard to certain studies that were persued in the school. I turned at once to my books, and prepared myself alone and unassisted to enter its portals the second time. But now everything was changed. The school had been removed from the South Grammar School Building back nearly to its old location in the chapel building of the Hamilton Corporation, occupying the whole of the upper story. This was the fourth change which had

been made in its location in the same number of years. There had also been a change of teachers. The familiar faces of principal Clark and assistant Clapp were no longer to be seen. Their places had been filled by the appointment of Mr. Moody Currier, as principal and teacher of the languages, and two assistants, Mr. James S. Russell as teacher in mathematics, and Mr. Seth Pooler as teacher in the English department. The school was large and crowded. Mr. Currier, who afterwards removed to Manchester, N. H., and was a few years ago elected governor of that state, was, as I remember, quiet and methodical in his ways, easy in his government, but generally receiving the esteem and love of his pupils. He seemed to suggest but little that was new or original to excite the curiosity or stimulate ambition of those under his charge, but was content with hearing the lessons and closing the school at the proper time. Mr. Russell was more lively and active. His whole mind seemed to be absorbed in mathematics. He absolutely revelled in figures and geometrical diagrams. Nothing gave him so much pleasure as to show how easily a hard problem could be demonstrated. But I thought he was often too hard on boys like myself, whose minds were somewhat obtuse, or who had not studied our lessons, perhaps, as we ought. The thing looked simple and clear to him, who had travelled that way a thousand times, and he wondered why it was not equally familiar to others. I can see him to-day, just as he looked then, standing before the black-board and showing his class the delightful complications of algebra or trigonometry, — a tall, slender, young man, filled with enthusiasm over his favorite study, with a piece of chalk between his thumb and fingers, and sometimes some of it rubbed on his face as he occasionally raised his spec-

tacles in the excitement of the moment. The feeling was quite general among the rogues in the school that they had rather fall into the hands of Mr. Currier than Mr. Russell. Mr. Pooler impressed me as being blessed with a large stock of patience and kindness. His field of labor was limited to a narrow recitation room in hearing the classes appointed to his care. His talents and virtues, therefore, as a teacher, whatever they might have been, had little opportunity to shine. But he afterwards served the city a number of years in the position of a principal in one of its grammar schools, which is sufficient evidence that he possessed qualities essential to success and usefulness in his chosen profession. I remember, with grateful feelings, his forbearance to one, at least, who sometimes had a poor lesson, and, perhaps, too often gave him trouble by a love of play and inattention.

Under these three teachers that I have named the school maintained its high character. Order and discipline of average excellence reigned with little display or noise about it. During my connection with the school I remember no instance of corporal punishment. For the disorderly and incorrigible suspension or dismissal were the only remedies or penalties. Although both periods of my connection were not long, the memories that I cherish of the teachers and pupils who studied and suffered together in the cramped accommodations of the Lowell High School in its early history are pleasant and interesting. I cannot forget the large square yard, surrounded by a high board fence, in which many a spirited foot-ball game was played where, in the struggle for championship, if the ball itself was not kicked it is certain that sundry shins were. Other recreations followed in their season. But when anything particularly comic

was sought for, laughing gas was administered to the more roguish boys. The canals and rivers of Lowell furnished excellent places for bathing. And we endeavored to keep clean by performing our ablutions in them as often as three or four times a day. To swim across Merrimack River, either above or below the Pawtucket Falls, was not an uncommon feat. The skating season was also improved by frequent expeditions up Hale's Brook and along the old Middlesex Canal as far as Billerica Mills. I have, myself, a stinging recollection of one of these expeditions from the peculiar kind of impression made upon me after reaching home one evening very late.

During Master Clark's administration the members of the school made a visit to Phillips Academy in Andover. The principal point of attraction there at that time seemed to be a museum of sundry curiosities, collected by the missionaries that had gone out to foreign lands. There still lingers in my memory the features of certain hidious idols, utensils, weapons, etc., that once belonged to the benighted natives of India and the Sandwich Islands. The next summer, in return for this act of kindness on the part of the teachers of Phillips Academy, they were invited by our High School, with their pupils, to visit Lowell. But we had no museum of curiosities to show them; nothing but factories and shops. And these would hardly interest boys. There was, however, a sandy tract of land in the western part of the town, as it was then, that had the reputation of being an old Indian burying-ground. Human bones and Indian relics had been frequently found there. This Indian burying-ground was on the farm belonging, if my memory serves me correctly, to Mr. Simon Parker, and situated in the vicinity of what is now

called the Highlands. The idea was, therefore, suggested that Phillips Academy boys could not be better entertained than by hunting for bones, arrows, and other Indian relics in this ancient cemetery of the Pawtucket tribe of red men. Accordingly, one bright forenoon about one hundred boys, with their teachers of both schools, could be seen moving in scattered ranks towards this old legendary burying-place. They were armed with all sorts of utensils — hoes, shovels, picks, and every other implement that could be used for digging. On the whole, it was a grotesque and comical group, attracting the attention of the citizens on the way, and exciting the laughter of those immediately concerned. In due time we reached the place of attack and commenced serious operations. But alas! our tour of discovery and visions of Indian skulls, were soon brought to a sudden termination. We had not been at work long before the owner of the land made his appearance in our midst, and forbade all trespassing upon his premises. He was a venerable looking man, supporting himself with a cane, but resolute in his demands. Not even the liberal offer of money could persuade him to allow us to continue our search. He not only spurned our bribe, but gave us quite a serious lecture on the sinfulness of desecrating the burial-places of the dead. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done but to march down the hill as we had marched up. And so our expedition abruptly closed, and the ashes of the red men slept undisturbed. The place, I presume, is now covered with streets and houses. It would, however, be some satisfaction to know whether in the erection of these buildings and roads any evidence was ever discovered confirming the opinion that this was the location of an ancient Indian burying-ground.

Of the boys who attended the High School during my connection with it, I remember the names of only about twenty: Abner H. Brown, Marshall Brown, George Brown, George Fox, Gustavus V. Fox, who distinguished himself as the Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the breaking out of the War of Rebellion; George Brownell, Hiram Brownell, John Waugh, Wm. Bridge, who became a Unitarian clergyman; Henry N. French, a young man of fine attainments and noble promise, but who died soon after he had entered college; Ezekiel A. Straw, afterwards governor of New Hampshire; Edward F. Sherman, a lawyer for many years in this city; John C. Dalton, a physician of considerable note, who removed to New York City; James C. Ayer, whose name will ever be identified with the history of Lowell; Benjamin Walker, whom you all know as the honored president of your Association; Lewis Greene, who entered the Episcopal ministry; James Barnaby, Edward Turner, —— Battles, —— Ordway, and Theodore H. Sweetser.

But a sketch of this kind would hardly be complete did I not mention the names of the School Committee during the time of my connection with these schools that have passed in review. Among those who looked in upon us in this capacity, from time to time, I recall the names and faces of Rev. Theodore Edson, Dr. John O. Green, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, Rev. James Barnaby, Rev. U. C. Burnap, Dr. John W. Graves, and Joshua Merrill. These men were among the most useful and honored citizens of Lowell in its early history, and actively interested in the success of its schools. But it must always be said that preëminent among them all stands the name of Rev. Dr. Edson. He served the town and city in this office for many years, and from the time that he was first chosen, he was vigilant, faithful, and untiring in the dis-

charge of his duties. Somé times in the pursuit of measures and plans that he deemed essential to the welfare and efficiency of these schools, he alienated his best friends and the members of his own church. But he kept straight on in the path that he had deliberately and conscientiously chosen, and generally time would vindicate the wisdom of his aims and methods. And to-day there is no name connected with the early history of Lowell more honored and loved than the name of Dr. Edson. And, although he sleeps in yonder cemetery called by his name, the influence of his labors and achievements in behalf of the schools and other interests of your city, will continue a living and active force through coming generations.

Sometimes my pen switches off the track of sober prose and takes on the wings, or perhaps, more properly the feet and form of rhyme. I conclude this present paper, therefore, by reading some lines suggested by a visit to one of these schools some years ago:

I tread once more the same old scene,
The unchanged hills I still descry,
The winding brook, the vale between,
O'er all these bends the same blue sky.

The quiet fields again I greet,
The dim old woods where snares we laid,
The mill-pond where we sailed our fleet
Of chips, and happy voyages made.

The little school-house painted red,
With rough stone steps beside the sill,
Where we at noon our tables spread,
I see through mist my eyelids fill.

But where are now those old school-mates,
With whom I conned my lessons o'er,
To learn our task of rules and dates,
Or stand as culprits on the floor,—

With whom I shared youth's simple joys,
And careless dreamed of naught but play,

The gentle girls, the laughing boys,
Who filled those seats, where now are they?

Where one who early moved to love
My boyish heart, and whom to win
I gave bright flowers from the grove,
The reddest apples of the bin?

I see the children rushing out,
I hear, as in long years ago,
The music of their joyous shout,
I look; alas! not one I know.

Silent and swift Time's current flows,
Friends are borne on its drifting tide,
Their sail's bright gleam a moment shows,
The breath of fate scatters them wide.

Some dwell on the far western plain,
Some by Nevada's mountain steep,
Some sought the city's crowd and gain,
While many in the church-yard sleep.

Far remote have fallen their lines,
That ne'er on earth shall cross again,
Yet memory their form enshrines,
Their virtues in the heart remains.

But where on earth they turn their feet,
Or whither on the ocean rove,
We trust one morning all shall meet,
To Master's call in school above.

V. *Annual Report, by Benjamin Walker, Vice President, Read May 3, 1892.*

WITH this meeting, the Old Residents' Historical Association enters upon its twenty-fourth year. It was organized by a few prominent, yet modest, citizens of Lowell, who realized the necessity, as well as the value, of such an organization, in gathering, collecting, and placing upon record, for ready reference, every available fact, event, and incident, by which to form a connecting link, from its first settlement as a town, when set off from Chelmsford, to the magnificent proportions it has now attained, and will continue to acquire, as a city.

There is, and always has been, something peculiarly pleasant and fascinating about Lowell. People who have ever resided within its borders for any length of time, so far as my experience goes, always have become attached to, and have a good word for, Lowell. It is exceedingly home-like in its characteristics. There is a geniality and cordiality, and a personal influence pervading it which makes the stranger happy, and the old resident proud. This Association is, in many respects, the nucleus through which these characteristics and these influences should be cultivated, henceforth, and kept more thoroughly alive than they otherwise would be; and whatever we, as individuals, do to increase its numbers and to labor for its growth, is just so much accomplished for the promotion of all that we hold so dear in

and for Lowell. The honored dead have left us a noble heritage in this respect, and the living should earnestly strive to emulate their example, if they would maintain that high and honorable public reputation so richly bequeathed to us. In no better way can this be done, in my belief, than through the channel of this Association, and for its future growth and prosperity, those who are left are and must be wholly and alone responsible.

What this Association has thus far done has been vastly to its credit. Its volumes are eagerly sought, and are regarded as authority on all subjects treated therein, as its contributors have been ladies and gentlemen of high literary ability. The contributions of latter years have also been among the best that have been read before the Association, and should inspire all its members to make an effort in this direction, without waiting to be urged by those who have the matter more directly in charge.

One year ago attention was called to the fact that the number of members of this Association had been considerably reduced, from natural causes, and it was also decided to receive lady memberships; but for want of any special action, which, perhaps, more properly belongs to the Executive Committee, there have been no acquisitions of this kind, and very few gentlemen have joined. The membership fee of $1.00 per annum is not large, and the expenses of the Association are not great, but it is through this means alone that its pecuniary wants are supplied. It is, therefore, essential for those who would enjoy its benefits and promote its interests — I desire, particularly, to emphasize this fact — that they should personally assist in increasing its numbers, and not passively allow the organization to lapse into that

condition, where it will be compelled to struggle for an existence. The objects and aims of this Association cannot fail to commend themselves to every loyal citizen, but it is not in human nature to seek admission, even to so important an organization as this without, at least, an invitation.

During the year twenty members have been taken from our ranks by death.

REV. HORATIO WOOD, who was born in Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 1, 1807; came to Lowell Oct. 1, 1844, and died May 12, 1891, aged eighty-four years. A very complete report of his life and public services is already on record, having been read before this Association, by his son, at the meeting held in August, 1891.

JAMES T. PUFFER, born in Lowell, Jan. 18, 1828, died May 25, 1891, at the age of sixty-three years. He was an active business man in Lowell for forty-five years, and accumulated considerable property. He was a deacon and one of the first members of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, where he was an active worker, also a director in the Old Lowell Bank, a member of William North Lodge of Masons, and of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Mr. Puffer was a much respected citizen and held in high esteem by all who knew him.

HENRY M. RICE was born in Sudbury, Mass., Sept. 1, 1814, came to Lowell Jan. 13, 1847, and died June 1, 1891, at the age of seventy-seven years. He carried on the provision business for many years, was a member of the First Baptist Church, and one of the oldest of its Sunday-School teachers. Mr. Rice was a quiet, unobtrusive man, who never sought nor held public office and belonged to no secret society. He was thoroughly conscientious and upright in his dealings, and respected by all who knew him.

CHARLES MUNROE was born at Newton, Mass., March 16, 1800. His early years were passed principally in Worcester and Boston, although, having an inclination for travel, he visited in his youth a large part of the United States, and made several sea voyages. At the age of twenty-five he learned the trade of carpenter and builder, serving, according to the custom of those days, a three years' apprenticeship, and located in Worcester, Mass. In 1845, Mr. Munroe came to Lowell and for twenty years was employed by the Massachusetts Mills in machinery building and repairs. During his residence in Lowell, he superintended the building of a number of houses, among the larger being that of James H. Rand, on Andover Street. He remained in Lowell until the death of his wife, which occurred in July, 1888, and then returned to Worcester to reside with his son, A. C. Munroe, where he died June 5, 1891, at the advanced age of ninety-one years, two months, and sixteen days.

BRADLEY MARSHALL was born July 30, 1817, in Chelmsford, Mass., came to Lowell in November, 1836, and died July 29, 1891, at the age of seventy-four years. Desiring to learn the mechanics' trade, he early entered the repair shop of the Appleton Company, where he was constantly employed for nearly fifty years. This remarkable record furnishes the best testimony that can be given, to his integrity of character, faithfulness and business ability. Mr. Marshall was, for many years, an exemplary and active member of the Shattuck Street Universalist Church, to which he left, by will, a substantial token of his devoted interest in the future prosperity of this church and society.

OTIS BULLARD was born June, 1809, in Northumber-

land, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1831, and died Sept. 20, 1891, in St. Johnsbury, Vt., at the age of eighty-one years. Mr. Bullard was, for many years, employed on the Lawrence corporation, after which he held the position of gauger in the Boston Custom House. Still later he was a member of the Lowell police force. During his residence in Lowell he was an active member of the Shattuck Street Universalist Society. He was an upright, conscientious man, and was highly esteemed by all who knew him.

Wyllis G. Eaton was born Dec. 4, 1808, in Killingly, Conn., came to Lowell in 1858, and died Sept. 29, 1891, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Eaton was a machinist by trade, and, while a young man, removed from Killingly to Newton Lower Falls, Mass., where he built a shop and manufactured machinery. Later he went to Lawrence, residing in that place six years. While there he served as alderman in the city government. From that city, Mr. Eaton removed to Lowell and went into the employment of the Lowell Machine Shop, as superintendent of paper machinery manufactured by that corporation, which position he held at the time of his death. Mr. Eaton was a genial, pleasant man, well known to paper makers in the New England and Middle States, and held in high repute by all who had business dealings or who were socially connected with him.

Edwin T. Wilson was born Jan. 5, 1812, in Dalton, Mass., came to Lowell in July, 1826, and died Oct. 16, 1891, at the age of seventy-eight years and nine months. Mr. Wilson was for many years employed on the Hamilton Corporation, and was a member of the Pentucket Lodge of Masons.

George Baron was born in Manchester, England,

July 14, 1825, came to this city Nov. 24, 1826, and died Nov. 20, 1891, aged sixty-six years. He was a pattern maker by trade, and one of our best known citizens.

SAMUEL T. MANAHAN was born March 13, 1805, in Deering, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1846, and died Jan. 2, 1892, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was formerly a well-known marketman, but retired from active business many years ago.

BENJAMIN N. WEBBER was born Aug. 24, 1812, at Littleton, Mass., came to Lowell in 1824, and died Jan. 9, 1892, at the age of eighty years. He was in active business during his whole career in Lowell, and in 1857 became a member of the well-known grocery firm of Buttrick & Co., of which he was the last surviving member of the firm as then constituted. Although modest and retiring in manner, he was affable, agreeable, and highly respected by all who knew him.

WILLIAM K. THOMPSON was born Feb. 11, 1816, at Leeds, England, came to Lowell Jan. 10, 1840, and died Jan. 9, 1892, at the age of seventy-six years. Mr. Thompson was for a long time proprietor of a saloon and restaurant on Market Street, well-known for the excellence of its culinary department and the English style of serving its patrons with the dainties which were there to be found. He was a quiet, correct, and unobtrusive citizen.

DARIUS C. BROWN was born at Freetown, Mass., May 2, 1814, came to Lowell in 1836, and died Jan. 18, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years. He established the business of manufacturing wire heddles many years ago, and invented ingenious machinery for their construction. Mr. Brown was a member of the Common Council in 1851-52, of the Board of Aldermen in 1859, and was otherwise prominent as a citizen of Lowell.

THOMAS F. FRENCH was born Dec. 21, 1814, in Billerica, Mass. He came to Lowell in 1827, and died at East Chelmsford, where he removed many years since, on the twenty-third of January, 1892, at the age of seventy-eight years. Mr. French had always been widely and favorably known in this city.

HIRAM N. HALL was born March 1, 1829, in Croydon, N. H., came to Lowell in March, 1846, and died Jan. 25, 1892, at the age of sixty-three years. Mr. Hall was for many years salesman in the establishment of French & Puffer, where he was held in high estimation. He was also a member of the Fire Department Board of Engineers, a prominent Mason and an Odd Fellow. Although modest and retiring in his disposition, he was well-known as an excellent business man and a most exemplary citizen.

DR. CHARLES A. SAVORY was born Dec. 25, 1813, at Beverly, Mass., came to Lowell in December, 1849, and died Feb. 2, 1892, at the age of seventy-nine years. Dr. Savory commenced the study of medicine in Hanover, N. H., receiving the degree of M. D. in 1835. He began to practice in Hopkinton, N. H., where he remained until 1844, serving the town also as postmaster in 1840, and as superintendent of the School Board from 1841 to 1843. In 1842 the college at Hanover conferred upon Dr. Savory the honorary degree of A. M. In 1844 he removed to Warren, N. H., and from thence to Philadelphia, Pa., where he was appointed professor of midwifery in a medical college of that city. In 1849, as above stated, he came to Lowell, where the remainder of his life, not including his later years, was passed in active service as a local practitioner. He made a special study of the eye and gave much attention to general surgery,

in both of which departments of medical science he acquired much eminence. In 1860 Dr. Savory was chosen a trustee of the Lowell Institution for Savings, and upon the death of Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson, in 1886, was elected to the presidency of that institution, which office he held at the time of his death. Dr. Savory always manifested a keen interest in the Middlesex North District Medical Society, and held nearly every position of honor it could bestow upon him, being president in 1860–'61–'62. He was a member of the original medical staff of St. John's Hospital, and for many years chairman of the Board. Dr. Savory's long life of usefulness, his kindly disposition, and his sympathetic qualities of character will ever linger pleasantly in the memory of those who were so fortunate as to have had a personal acquaintance with him.

Dr. Robert Wood was born April 23, 1820, in Saxmundham, England, came to Lowell in October, 1842, and died Feb. 2, 1892, at the age of seventy-two years. On his arrival in America, Dr. Wood located in Boston, where he commenced his profession as veterinary surgeon, acquiring an enviable reputation. A few years later he removed to Lowell, and soon became distinguished throughout the New England States and New York, for his intelligent treatment of animals suffering from accident and disease, and for the many skillful operations he performed. Dr. Wood served the city as alderman in 1880 and 1881, and evinced peculiarly valuable qualifications for that office. He was a member of Ancient York Lodge of Masons, also of the Board of Trade, and was prominently identified with the Humane Society from the date of its organization. In private life, Dr. Wood was singularly affable and agreeable. He was

well versed in the current topics of the day, always entertaining and witty in conversation, and had a most happy way of gathering friends about him, which he was sure to retain. It was my good fortune to be among the first to welcome him to Lowell, and an uninterrupted acquaintance of fifty years leads me to pen this slight tribute to his memory, and to show my estimation of him as a gentleman and a friend.

REUBEN M. HUTCHINSON was born June 6, 1807, in Pelham, N. H., came to Lowell March 25, 1825, and died Feb. 11, 1892, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. Soon after his arrival in this city, he entered into the employment of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, where, by his steady and persevering efforts, he gradually rose to the position of overseer of the print room. Here he remained until he retired from the more active duties of life, not many years ago, taking with him all the honors which fidelity, zeal, and a conscientious regard for the performance of his business duties could bestow. Mr. Hutchinson was quiet and unobtrusive in his manner and never sought notoriety. He was, however, prominently identified with the First Congregational Church, and was for years the leader of its musical services, for which he had rare talent and great executive ability. In fact he was a part and parcel of this element of the church service, and imbued it with a spirit of devotion, which always rendered it inspiring and grand. He has left such a heritage as will ever recall the most pleasant memories, and evoke the tenderest emotions, whenever the name of Reuben M. Hutchinson is heard from the lips of those who have been so fortunate as to have known him and enjoyed his personal acquaintance.

JOSEPH WILSON was born March 2, 1809, in Peters-

ham, Mass, came to Lowell in September, 1827, and died April 26, 1892, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Wilson was one of our oldest and most respected citizens, having been a constant resident of Lowell for sixty-five years. He was formerly engaged in the wholesale butchering business, having supplied local dealers with meats for many years before these products were shipped from the west, in which branch of trade he had little or no competition.

CALVIN T. CHAMBERLAIN was born May 30, 1822, in North Chelmsford, Mass., came to Lowell in November, 1838, and died May 1, 1892, at the age of seventy years. In early life, Mr. Chamberlain was a stage driver. Subsequently he served for a short time as a member of the Lowell police force, but for the last forty years he has carried on the business of undertaker, in which he was well and very favorably known. He was a member of Mechanics Lodge, Wannalancit Encampment, and Canton Pawtucket, I. O. O. F., S. H. Hines Lodge Knights of Pythias, Passaconaway Tribe of Red Men, Washington Commandery of the Golden Cross, Lowell Lodge of Elks, and the Veteran Firemen, in all of which he was actively and prominently identified.

During the year the Old Residents' Historical Association has received the following contributions:

Catalogue of Yale University, 1891–'2.

Dedham Historical Register, January, 1892.

Salem Historical and Genealogical Record, January, 1892.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, January, 1892.

State Library Bulletin Legislation, No. 2, January, 1892.

The Battle of Walloomsac, known as the Battle of Bennington.

Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Smithsonian Report, 1886, Part First.

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 13, 1892.

Notes on the Tornado of August 19, 1890, in Luzerne and Columbia Counties, Pa.

Edward Ball and Some of His Descendants.

Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Directors of the American Congregational Association.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, July, 1891.

Dedham Historical Register, July, 1891.

Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y., 1887–'89.

First Annual Report of the Trustees of Public Reservations, 1891.

Register of the University of California, 1891–'92.

Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Regents of New York State Library.

Extension Bulletin of the University of the State of New York.

Monograph, on the Washington Will.

Letters and Relics of Gen. George Washington.

In Memoriam of Elizabeth Haven Appleton, October 16, 1815, November 15, 1890.

The Hyde Park Historical Record, October, 1891.

State Library Bulletin, August, 1891–'92.

State Library Bulletin, Additions No. 1, July, 1891.

The Leland Stanford Junior University.

Title and History of the Henry Vassall Estate, Cambridge, Mass.

Report of the Board of Trustees of San Francisco Free Public Library, for the Year Ending June 30, 1891.

Memoir of Horatio Wood.

Dedham Historical Society, October, 1891.

Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

The University Magazine.

Sons of the Revolution.

Washington and Tilghman Correspondence.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Regents of the University of California, for the Year Ending June 30, 1891.

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, January 12, 1892.

Dedham Historical Register, Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1892.

From the foregoing, it will be observed that constant acquisitions are being made to our library, already of good proportions, which will become more and more valuable as time rolls on.

With this review and brief statement of the changes which have taken place in our numbers since the last report was made, we approach a new year with the hope that the future of this Association may enlarge its scope for usefulness, and inspire us to labor for its promotion and growth, that it may ever occupy the high and honorable position which it has thus far maintained, and continue to do the good work for which it was originally designed.

VI. St. Luke's Church, Lowell, read Aug. 2, 1892, by James S. Russell.

THE history of the civil government of any country, state, or city, is not complete without the parallel history of the churches.

Civil government can support and perpetuate itself by forced taxation. But it is otherwise with the churches; their support comes from voluntary taxation of labor, of money, and of the prayers of their members; with such assistance as general benevolence may supply.

A few persons, whose religious faith and zeal prompt them to the effort, devise ways and means to establish a church, for their own edification, and that of the community about them; they struggle in weakness and in humble quarters till, by the blessing of God, they may gain numbers and strength sufficient to attempt the building of a church, for their comfortable and decent worship.

At this stage comes the crisis, the struggle for the necessary funds. Success is not always attainable. Many such efforts have failed, involving losses and, perhaps, ruin to many whose zeal outran their judgment. The rescue from oblivion, of one such unsuccessful struggle, is the object of this paper.

Very few of the present generation ever heard of the St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Lowell.

More than half a century ago, a sort of mission was begun in St. Anne's Sunday School house, to care for the children belonging to the school, who had no seats in the church, and were an annoyance outside while waiting for the school to open. For these children, service was held in the school-room, by Mr. Calvin Cook and other laymen. Gradually the parents and friends of these children joined in the services, making quite a respectable congregation.

It was a cherished wish of the venerable Rector of St. Anne's, that the Episcopal Church in Lowell should expand into a second parish; and, through the efforts of St. Anne's people, a hall was procured and suitably fitted up for the decent performance of the Episcopal services. The hall was in the upper part of the Wyman Building, at the corner of Merrimack and Central Streets. It was named Chapel Hall.

The first service in Chapel Hall, was held on July 13, 1840. Rev. Mr. Pollard conducted services in the morning, and Rev. Amos D. McCoy in the evening. Mr. McCoy, proving the more acceptable to the congregation, was engaged for one year, and he entered upon his duties Aug. 23, 1840.

Mr. McCoy was a pleasant man; he read the service admirably; was eloquent in the pulpit, though not intellectually superior. The music was volunteered, and would not suffer in comparison with that in any of the churches. Mr. George Hedrich was the conductor and organist.

The congregation became equal to the capacity of the hall, and their prospects seemed quite encouraging. Mr. McCoy was impatient to begin the building of a church; and, in the face of the indifference of some,

and of the opposition of others, of the strongest men, both in his own congregation and in that of St. Anne's, on the twenty-third of May, 1841, he gave notice from the pulpit in Chapel Hall that he was determined to start a subscription for a house of worship. This step was premature, and it lost him the confidence of some of his best members. But, nothing daunted, he pushed the subscription at home and abroad, circulating through the diocese on begging expeditions, with considerable success.

A stock company was formed, as the Proprietors of St. Luke's Church. It is much to be regretted that the list of Proprietors, and other records of the treasurer, have not been found.

A lot of land, at the corner of High and East Merrimack Streets, was purchased of the Messrs. Nesmith, and others, at nineteen cents per foot; and upon the lot the present High Street Church was built to nearly its present state, except the finishing of the audience room, at an expenditure of nearly $14,000.

August 19, 1841, the congregation worshipping in Chapel Hall, were legally and properly organized into a parish church, by the name of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Lowell. The church was incorporated Feb. 25, 1842. James Cook, Justin J. Blaisdell, Amos D. McCoy, and others, were the corporators.

August 23, 1841, the Vestry of St. Luke's chose Mr. McCoy for their Rector, and voted him a salary of eight hundred dollars.

On the twenty-fourth of August there was a meeting of those communicants of St. Anne's, who wished to be transferred to St. Luke's. At their expressed desire, twenty-five were transferred, on the conditions agreed upon by the two Rectors.

At the first confirmation held by the Bishop at St. Luke's Church, twenty-three persons were confirmed; and at the last, six persons were confirmed. The total number of communicants at St. Luke's, while it existed, was one hundred and forty.

It was the desire of those interested in the project of Chapel Hall, that all should combine and make common cause, to build up a new society, to such strength that, when the lease of St. Anne's should run out, they, in turn, should combine with St. Anne's people, to buy their church, and thus insure the establishment of two strong Episcopal churches in Lowell. But others feared that this course would weaken St. Anne's to such an extent, that they would not be able to buy the church at the expiration of the lease. They thought the better way would be, to wait and buy St. Anne's Church first. The influence of these persons, and they were persons of influence, was a serious obstacle to the success of St. Luke's.

The manufacturing corporations of Lowell, wisely considering that the religious improvement of their operatives was for their own advantage also, sometimes had liberally assisted religious societies at their starting. The people of St. Luke's thought they had abundant encouragement that such aid would be accorded to them; but, through adverse influences, this dependence failed them. Mr. Samuel Lawrence was depended upon to further their interests with the corporation magnates. He assured Mr. McCoy that such aid would be granted them, and the Bishop endorsed Mr. Lawrence's promise. But verbal promises are not recognized by the statutes. Mr. B. F. French was opposed to St. Luke's, and doubtless had much influence with the other agents. But the final

and fatal blow came through Mr. William Appleton, the mouthpiece of the corporation treasurers.

Says Dr. Edson, April 19, 1845: "I received a letter from William Appleton, Esq., inquiring about St. Luke's Church affairs. Whether I were of like opinion to that expressed in 1841. I answered forthwith, and sent it by express, stating my views in favor of putting the church afloat. Monday, 21, I set off in the early train for Boston, was at Stimpson's at nine, where Mr. William Appleton called to see me about St. Luke's, and we talked half an hour. I tried to encourage the work of redeeming it." This interview did not alter the previous determination. "God knows best where to lay the responsibility" of defeating a most worthy object, and scattering a flock gathered with such promise.

Discouragements and debts increased to such extent, that Mr. McCoy resigned, to assume the rectorship of the Church of the Assension in Fall River. From thence he went to New Orleans; where he occupied an important position, became a delegate to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. He finally died in Vermont.

During the summer of 1845, the people of St. Anne's occupied the vestry of St. Luke's, while their own church was undergoing extensive alterations.

July 22, 1845, a committee of persons, consisting of Messrs. E. D. Leavitt, A. L. Brooks, Ethan Burnap, Benjamin Skelton, John Tuttle, and Horace Barbour, proposing to form a fifth Congregational Church, offered $7,500, to the treasurer of St. Luke's, for their property; provided a fifth Congregational Church should be organized, "the offer to be binding till the first Monday in August next."

December 11, 1845, the Proprietors of St. Luke's, for $4,000, sold the same premises, together with the church and personal property connected therewith, on a mortgage to Thomas and John Nesmith, William and Joseph Kittredge, and J. G. Abbott, to secure them as sureties on a mortgage of $3,000 to the Lowell Savings Bank, and a note of $1,000 to the Lowell Bank.

December 11, 1845, a committee of St. Luke's, consisting of William Kittredge, John Nesmith, and Horace Howard, agree, for the consideration of $7,500, to sell St. Luke's Church, land, and personal property, to a committee of High Street Church, consisting of Messrs. E. D. Leavitt, A. L. Brooks, and John Tuttle. The agreement was signed by both committees.

A dividend of about forty per cent. was paid to the stockholders. But those who paid their money without taking stock, received only the satisfaction of having "cast their bread upon the water."

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"*'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours.*"—YOUNG.

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HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO. BOSTON

XVI. Memento of Charles Hovey, read November 7, 1889, by James S. Russell.

In July, 1832, a country boy, born in the neighboring town of Acton, but then living in Cambridgeport, embarked on board a packet boat on the Middlesex Canal, on his way to Lowell, to commence the service of an apothecary's apprentice. A friend of the family had engaged the place for him, and introduced him to his future master. Till then the boy and master were total strangers to each other. Only those who have had like experiences away from home for the first time, only fourteen years of age, among strangers, in a strange business and subordinate to older apprentices, can appreciate the trials and homesickness of this lad. To enable me to imagine how he passed the long, tedious years to the remote time when he should be released from his servitude and become a free man, I have fortunately been permitted to read a diary kept by him the last six months of his apprenticeship. It exhibits so free, frank and honest expression of his mind that it is with the greatest satisfaction that I speak of the subjects that attracted my special notice. At the beginning of the book he states, his object is to improve his handwriting and acquire a facility in writing his thoughts. At the end of the ninety-third and last page, he reflects that he cannot claim to have improved his handwriting, whatever other advantages he may have gained. His writing on the earlier pages was excellent and very much like that of his later years. But later, there is appear-

BURTON HIST. COLLECTION
DETROIT
EXCHANGE DUPLICATE

ance of hurry. He often speaks of being too tired to write after ten o'clock at night and a hard day's work. His room also is too cold for writing. He always has a reason to offer if he should omit his page of an evening. His style was plain and forcible; his language was good, grammatical and well spelled. In after life he indulged frequently in writing for the press; he had an extensive correspondence, and he presented numerous and valuable papers before the Old Residents' Association, as you well know. Without doubt his diary writing had a marked influence upon his literary habits. The diary shows his commendable solicitude for the welfare of his parents. The brothers combined to build a house for them. Charles was able from his scanty savings, to furnish $200 for that object. He manifested great interest in the progress of the building, its final completion and occupation. His family affections were kept alive by constant correspondence, chiefly through his younger brother, Albert, who resided at home with his parents.

Another revelation of his diary, was his care of his personal character. He frequently resolves to be strictly honest and faithful in the service of his Master, hoping thereby to deserve well of Him in the future. He resolves to be cautious of the company he keeps, to avoid certain young lady acquaintances, because he has seen them in the company of some young men whose characters were not agreeable to him. He laments his lack of decision of character, inability to say no, and resolves to strive for that ability. If his father had had more decision, refusing to endorse for others, he might have been independent. He would never indorse beyond one-fourth of his ready means, and that not till he had $20,000 at command. He cultivated a taste for

flowers, and enjoyed excursions with intelligent friends in search for them. He conceived a favorable idea of double entry book-keeping, studied the subject and resolved to keep his own books in that way when he should be in business for himself. Indeed, he strove for self-improvement in various ways; in mental culture as well as in the technical knowledge of his business. He early anticipated engaging in business for himself, and meant to qualify himself for successful pursuit of it. He counted the days to the time when he should be a free man, and perhaps be taken into partnership by his master; for he foresaw his necessary connection with the concern. If disappointed here he would not follow the example of another apothecary of his acquaintance, who got married, bought a house, set up business with small means and burst up in a few months. He was not disappointed, however; his long and faithful service, and his knowledge of the business made him neccessary to the establishment; and he was taken into partnership on favorable terms. No other security than his own promise without endorser, was required to install him the owner of a third of the stock and business.

Mr. Hovey was born and educated in a Baptist family, and when he came to Lowell he was so well grounded in sound principles that his good moral character was well insured. He probably knew no other mode of worship than that of his family. But his master, a member and officer and constant attendant at St. Anne's Church, to be sure that his apprentice attended church on Sundays, provided for his attendance where he could look after him. Mr. Hovey imitated his master in this particular. It was not done in a proselyting spirit, though I have heard such motives attributed to him, probably from the fact that most of these boys

became attached to the church; and several of them became the staunchest of churchmen. Mr. Hovey was a consistent prayer-book churchman, a constant attendant at church and, for many years, superintendent of the Sunday School. He succeeded Mr. Carleton as treasurer, and member of the vestry, and held those offices as long as he lived, and his memorial tablet occupies a conspicuous position upon the walls of the church. The knowledge of his character and zeal as a churchman, was not limited to St. Anne's people. He had familiar acquaintance with the bishops and many of the clergy of the church. He was clerk and treasurer of the corporation of St. Mark's Episcopal School of Southborough, Mass., from its beginning till his death. He gave to the Trustees of Donations of the Episcopal Church, a liberal lot of land on Holywood Hill for an Episcopal church, in anticipation of the wants of Phœnix Village, the settlements of the syndicate's land, and the Tewksbury annex. His name as donor is inscribed upon one of the bells in the chime on St. Anne's Church.

Mr. Hovey was not, in common parlance, a popular man. He sought not popularity otherwise than to deserve well of the people. He was not much of a politician. In his minority he was a whig, not so much that he understood the principles of that party, as that he preferred to side with those for whom he had the most respect. He entered with enthusiasm into the first Harrison campaign, following the log cabin with the crowd, and was a member of a flute club, which contributed to the music of the campaign. In after years he was very conservative, quiet, and reticent on political matters. He rarely attended a caucus, but always voted, and then retired to his private business.

At the outbreak of the late rebellion, when most

people were excited to red heat, he was too calm to satisfy some of his neighbors. But no one had just cause to question his patriotism. When an apprentice, he was a member of an engine company, and in his diary speaks triumphantly of No. 3 being first at a fire.

He never sought public office, nor joined secret societies. He willingly stood aside for those whose ambition led them to seek political preference; and his benevolence was too expansive to be limited to society membership. I have heard him say that he had observed that those who gave liberally were generally blessed with means to continue giving; while those who withheld more than was meet, tended to poverty.

Mr. Hovey was a director of the Railroad Bank from 1846 to 1886, forty years. Only one other person ever served the bank so long. He was the youngest person ever elected to that office, he being only twenty-nine years old. He was made eligible to the office by being furnished with one share of the capital stock.

The result shows the foresight of the management in selecting a man, and continuing him in office to the end of his life, who furnished the bank a large amount of business not only in the conduct of his private affairs, which were extensive, but that of a trustee of numerous estates, some of which were large, requiring extensive banking privileges.

When the Mechanics Savings Bank was started in 1861, Mr. Hovey was elected a member of the corporation and at the same meeting was elected trustee, which office he held over eighteen years, till he declined reelection. During that time he served on various important committees. One of the present officials of the bank says of him: "He was an esteemed member of the Board of Trustees and gave to the duties of his office

faithful and conscientious service." The first book of deposit the bank issued was taken by Mr. Hovey, he making a deposit in favor of one of his children; who still keeps it alive not only as a valued curiosity, but as a cherished memento of a loving father.

July 1, 1850, Mr. Hovey was elected clerk of the Lowell Gas Light Company; which office he held by re-election, for eight years, until he was elected treasurer and director of the company; but these offices he held only one year. It is usual for the directors to be nearly life tenants of the office, unless their private business prevents. This exceptionally short term of service seems to call for explanation. The circumstances were well understood by all interested parties. At that time the manufacturing companies were large consumers of gas, and it was common to elect their agents directors of the company. A certain agent of the Merrimack Company was desired for director. But no room was large enough to accommodate both him and Mr. Hovey at the same time. Even the chimes upon St. Anne's Church, which contained a bell given by Mr. Hovey, was so disagreeable to the agent that he would have suppressed their sound had he been able. This hostility also calls for explanation. There was an important contest between the Merrimack Company and St. Anne's Church, to which both of these gentlemen were ardent partisans. It would have been a grief to Mr. Hovey to incur the displeasure of anyone, even, as in this case, when conscious of no dishonorable action.

At the organization of the Lowell Cemetery Corporation Mr. Hovey was elected clerk and treasurer, and he held the office eleven years, till his declining re-election, March 3, 1852. It was an office involving much interruption of business; the numerous inquries about the

choice, purchase and grading of lots, the anxious mourners solicitious about the burial of their friends, demanded not only courteous patience but exhausting sympathy. Few have held the office so long as Mr. Hovey did, until the present incumbent; who is a distinguished example of the qualities the office requires. The next year after Mr. Hovey's resignation he was elected trustee. He continued in that office for sixteen years; when the Board of Trustees was revolutionized by parties who assumed that they could improve upon the old Board; but who, in their turn, found that their gratuitous services were not duly appreciated.

Mr. Hovey was clerk of the Stony Brook Railroad Corporation for eleven years, between 1851–62. Indeed, he was ever ready at the call of any honorable service, whether gratuitous or otherwise, even to the detriment of his private business.

On examining the file of the Lowell Daily Citizen for May 4, 1886, I find some additional facts and sentiments so true and just that I cannot do better than to repeat them here: "The community was pained and shocked this morning, to learn that Mr. Charles Hovey, one of our oldest and most respected citizens, who yesterday was in the apparent enjoyment of good health, had, during the night, passed forever from the associations of half a century; from the fellowship of men whose respect and confidence he had richly earned; from the cares and pleasures of a life strongly marked with the distinguishing traits of industry and christian rectitude. Mr. Hovey, who had spent the day in his store, retired last evening at about half-past nine, and made no complaint of illness. About eleven o'clock he aroused his wife and complained that he could not breathe. At his request Mrs. Hovey opened the windows, but that failed

to give relief. Drs. Johnson and Fox were summoned. An examination showed the patient to be suffering from congestion of the lungs and, although every remedy known to science was applied, human skill could not avail, and death ensued at half-past twelve. The end was peaceful."

For fifty-four years Mr. Hovey spent the greater part of his time in the store in City Hall, where he gained a reputation for busines probity and fair dealing which was not confined to Lowell; but spread abroad to the surrounding towns, and gave the firm of Carleton & Hovey a prestige, which was mutually beneficial to the public and the proprietors. He was a warm friend to the young, manifesting an especial pleasure in counselling and aiding them, who were bereft of home influence.

Mr. Hovey was a man to command respect and invite confidence. His disposition was courteously genial, and he was kindly considerate for the faults and failings of others. His honesty was of a sterling quality, and his christianity of a practical and unobtrusive character. Another, who knew him much more intimately than myself, though he was my intimate friend, with whom I almost daily held sweet converse, says of him: "The great characteristic of his life, was certainly his goodness; and when to that is added his unfailing tenderness and delicate sense of courtesy and affability to everybody without exception, it seems to me that we have a character of unusual attractiveness."

The life of Mr. Hovey is certainly a model life, worthy of admiration and imitation. Born of pious parents, brought up in the "Nurture and admonition of the Lord," having only a common-school and limited academic education, leaving home at a tender age to make his abode among strangers to learn a life business,

to make for himself a name and praise among men, he departed not from his early training.

The limited diary which we have mentioned, reveals the development of the boy into a successful business man, the christian gentleman and the happy father of a happy family; whom he left not only to mourn their sad bereavement, but to enjoy the fair prospect of continued comfort, usefulness and happiness.

Mr. Hovey was married in Dover, N. H., December 7, 1843, to Miss Catherine, daughter of Col. Joseph Smith. He leaves a widow, one son, the Rev. Henry Emerson Hovey of Portsmouth, N. H., and one daughter, Mrs. Kate S. Martin, the widow of the late Laurin Martin of this city.

The ancestor of the Hovey family in this country, was Daniel Hovey, who landed at Ipswich, Mass., about 1637. He was born in England in 1619. From him the descent to Charles Hovey is as follows: John, born 1642, died 1695; Luke, born 1676, died 1756; Abijah, born 1719; Solomon, born 1748, died 1825; William, born 1785, died 1852; Charles, born in Acton, Mass., November 17, 1817, died in Lowell, May 4, 1886, aged sixty-eight years. These men, from Daniel down to William, Charles' father, were farmers and landholders in various parts of Middlesex and Essex counties. William was in the book business in Cambridge, Mass. On April 10, 1810, he married Sally Howe, who was born in Northboro, Mass., September 24, 1793, and died December 15, 1874.

XVII. Memoir of Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D., by his daughter, Miss E. M. Edson, read November 7, 1889.

It would seem to be scarcely necessary to present to a society claiming to be composed of old residents of the city any sketch of a life which has been lived before their eyes for many years, the incidents of which must be more or less familiar to them. Already the chief events of Dr. Edson's residence in Lowell, beginning with the circumstances of his first coming to Lowell as the Merrimack Company's minister are in print in the shape of anniversary sermons and other pamphlets, including an historical address, which is almost an autobiography, upon the semi-centennial celebration of his first preaching in the town of East Chelmsford, now the city of Lowell. And it would also seem best that the office of writing such a sketch should fall to some one who would know what would be most desirable for the Old Residents' Society and acceptable to them, and not to one whose near relationship would enjoin a strict guard over words of eulogy, in inverse proportion to her facilities for knowing the truth and justice of them.

Theodore Edson was born in Bridgewater, in this State, August 24, 1793.

His father, Benjamin, born in 1754, died December 5, 1835, in his eighty-second year.

His father, John, born 1729 and died 1777, was a pious and exemplary christian and was attached to the Church of England. On the breaking out of the American Revolution, he and his brothers, remaining loyal to

the king, became obnoxious to their fellow townsmen. They were arrested and tried and placed upon a guardship in Boston harbor for safe keeping. His health failing from the confinement, he was removed to the dwelling house of a Mr. Pierpoint where he was kindly treated, being allowed to walk upon the roof, and occasionally to visit the family. There he caught the small-pox, of which he died.

His father, Samuel, born in 1690, two years before his grandfather's death, died 1771, aged eighty-one. He gave fourteen acres of land by deed, January 23, 1747, to the Society in England for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, the income of which was to be appropriated to the support of public worship in Bridgewater, in accordance with the Church of England.

His father, Samuel, born in Salem in 1645, died 1719; aged seventy-four.

His father, Samuel Edson, was born in England, 1612, came over early to Massachusetts, resided in Salem, 1639; removed to Bridgewater about 1650, and died in 1692, aged eighty. His monumental stone is in the old town burying ground, bearing a legible inscription recording the interment of himself and wife. He was the common ancestor of all of the name in this country. He was a man of no ordinary character and ability. Previous to the year 1600, the name Edson is not found in the English vocabulary of proper names, and it is a matter of conjecture that Samuel Edson, coming away in troublous times, when the prospect was strong of civil war in England, might have dropped a syllable from some name beginning with *Ed* and ending with *son*, and came to begin a fresh life in America. He was from the beginning a considerable land owner, and before his death had acquired a large estate by his

industry and enterprise. He held several offices of trust, was a member of the Council of War, and represented the town at the General Court at Plymouth in 1696.

The Edsons were the first and prominent donors of lands for the support of schools and church endowment in Bridgewater. Josiah Edson gave the school lands, so called, to the South precincts, in 1722, for the promoting and encouraging of learning, and his nephew, Samuel, as has been said, gave the Church lands in 1747. A church was erected not long after on the glebe, but services were not kept up regularly, probably owing to a scarcity of clergy of the Episcopal Church in the diocese, and Theodore Edson was not baptized in his infancy. In accordance with a custom prevalent in country towns in those days, he was sent to live in the family of Mr. Benjamin Willis in East Bridgewater when he was in his eleventh year, and remained with them five years. While he was there the grandfather died, and he rode to Plymouth and back the same day on horseback to announce his death. He was then about thirteen. He left the Willises in August, 1809, and became apprentice to his brother John, who was seven years older than himself, and whose trade was that of a mill-wright, and they worked together in various country places in Massachusetts, having jobs as far west as Great Barrington, also at Sharon, Waltham, Easton (for Mr. Oliver Ames), at Newton quite frequently, Providence and Olneyville. At Providence he was taken sick with what proved to be typhoid fever, and returned home; he had a relapse and was much worse; in fact, he did not regain his former strength until a year from the time he was taken, which was the latter part of 1811. He was able, however, to teach the

district school during the summer of 1812, and again in the winter, living at home. Early in the year 1813, there is a record of his baptism in St. Andrew's Church, Hanover, by the Rev. Joab G. Cooper, and later in the same year he was confirmed in Dedham by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Griswold, who had been consecrated Bishop of the Eastern Dioceses about two years before. There is little doubt that from that time he had his mind upon the ministry, although there were many obstacles to be cared away. In 1814, he tried attending the Academy at Bridgewater, but was twice obliged to desist from sickness—diurnal spasms of headache—a malady with which he was not afterwards troubled.

During this year there is mention of his working with his brother in repairing the church edifice. This must have been the old church, built soon after the land was given, which was taken down soon after the repairing to make way for a new one. For in June, 1816, Bishop Griswold came to Bridgewater to consecrate the new church and to preach the sermon. At the Massachusetts Diocesan Convention of that year Mr. Theodore Edson attended as a lay delegate from Bridgewater.

He made application to the American Education Society in October. Whether the application was successful or not cannot be inferred with positive certainty from the result, but he went to Andover to fit for college, October 20, 1816.

It may be asked where and when did he get his previous education. We all know that, "where there's a will there's a way;" and this is true especially with regard to education. No boy was ever bent upon obtaining that who did not find some way open to him. The will finds the way; the desire for study discovers many avenues open which are unperceived by the eye not look-

ing for them. And let it be remembered the opportunities were less frequent and the range of studies more restricted at that time than now. Books of any kind were less easily procured, and the standard literature was much more carefully read and laid up in the memory. But a thoughtful boy or girl who had access to the Spectator, Bacon's Essays, Milton, Shakespeare, Cowper and Gray, had better models for English composition, and a better basis for a good style than one who, with all the training which public schools do give, cannot avoid the deteriorating influence of a large proportion of newspaper reading.

Of the subject of this sketch it was said that at one time in his early life, when he was at work at a paper mill, one of the proprietors remarked that his work was not very profitable, because he had to stop and read whatever his eye caught of printed matter in the loose material.

He was two years at Andover Academy during the professorship of Mr. Eliphalet Pearson. He was prominent in some literary society there, for many of his strictures upon the compositions of other students are among his papers. He taught Sunday School in Tewksbury, walking over from Andover for that purpose, during the spring of his second year there; and he entered Harvard College in August, 1818, the year after Dr. Greene's graduation. He was president's freshman, President Kirkland. During his college course, he frequently read prayers at South Boston, and during the last winter he taught school in Groton, Mass. His college themes and exercises are in existence, put together by date, and he had part in the spring exhibition, one of five in some mathematical and astronomical exercises. The subject assigned him when he was

graduated was a forensic disputation with another graduate (Bradford), "Whether excessive attachment to ancient usages be a greater evil than excessive fondness for innovation." To those who remember his conservatism, there will be little doubt which side he took in the argument.

Pausing to look back at this period, we find that his intimate academy and collegiate acquaintances were Mr. Daniel P. King of Danvers, afterwards Senator from Massachusetts, and Francis O. Watts. A file of letters from the former was carefully preserved, but necessarily the friends were separated, although not estranged. Hon. Daniel P. King died in 1850. Mr. Watts was a vestryman in St. Paul's Church, Boston, and they came frequently into contact.

His steady perseverance of study and teaching for six years, told upon his health, and he was quite sick for the last three months of 1822. For five weeks he was in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and only came out from there the last week in the year. He continued his lay-reading at South Boston, preparing in the meantime for his ordination to the Deaconate, which took place September 11, 1823, in St. Paul's Church, Boston, the Rev. William T. Potter being admitted deacon with him. After that he took charge regularly of St. Matthew's Church, South Boston, officiating and preaching every Sunday. He was there when Mr. Boott found him out, through the Rev. Dr. Eaton, and invited him to come to Lowell to preach the first service in a schoolhouse built by the Merrimack Company for the use of their employés week days and Sundays. The last finish was put to the room on Saturday night, and the Rev. Theodore Edson held service and preached twice the next day. The history of his engagement by the company

for one year, after a request drawn up and signed by the men in their employ that his services might be continued, has often been repeated, and it is in print and in the annals of the Old Residents' Society. A few items may be repeated as being new to some of the later members of this Society.

In the same building as that first occupied by the church, on the lower floor, was opened the Merrimac School, so called, for week days, and the Sunday School was opened about the same time for the same scholars and others. The "minister" had both under his superintendence.

The second year of his engagement by the company began with the consecration of St. Anne's Church, and the Rev. Mr. Edson's admission to priest's orders, the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler being admitted at the same time by the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold. The parsonage was built and occupied early in 1826. A little more than a year before, Mr. Edson had married a daughter of Bishop Parker of Boston.

The arrangement with the Merrimack Company lasted about three years. At the end of that time, the parish of St. Anne's was formed, and a lease of the church and parsonage was granted to it, through the kind offices of Mr. Boott, the agent. The lease of the property was conditioned upon the continuance of the contract with their rector at that time. It was for fifteen years at most, but was to expire at any time of his removal previously.

It may be as well to mention in this place the opportunities he had for removal. He was consulted by private letter, and urged to consider whether he would accept the Assistant Rectorship of Trinity Church, Boston. The Rev. Dr. Gardner, the rector, had been

XVIII. The Early Schools of Chelmsford, by H. S. Perham, read February 6, 1890.

If we inquire into the causes which led our New England ancestors to establish popular education, under such adverse circumstances, we shall find that they were impelled by religious motives. They sought to erect a political fabric to be dedicated to the service of God; and of this structure the Bible was the chief corner stone. Their interpretation of the Divine will, through the written Word, governed their course in all things. Their children, then, must be able to read and understand that Word, which was "a lamp to their feet and a guide to their path." It was felt that so much education as this the community owed, as a sacred duty, to every child born within its jurisdiction. Unfriendly critics point to the religious intolerance of these people, as indicating a defect in the Puritan character, and entirely inconsistent with their lofty aims. When judged by the standard of the times in which they lived, and their purposes in founding a nation here, this criticism will not be sustained. It was a time of intense religious agitation. Religious differences were the chief source of discord. It had caused the persecution which led these people to leave comfortable homes in England to found a nation in the wilderness.

What more natural, therefore, than that they should seek to avoid the possibility of similar persecution in their new home, by admitting only such as held opinions in harmony with their own. Political prudence alone

would dictate such a course. They sought to found a commonwealth composed of a united body of believers. Their attitude toward such as differed with them was well stated by Winslow, one of their foremost men. "They had come to New England," he said, "in order to make a society after their own model; all who agreed with them might come and join that society; those who disagreed with them might go elsewhere—there was room on the American continent."

In 1642 the General Court passed an act requiring the selectmen to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." The same act also required parents to "give religious instruction to their children and apprentices."

In 1647 a free school was made compulsory. If there were fifty householders, the town must appoint a teacher; and towns of one hundred householders must have a grammar school of such grade that youth "may be fitted for the University."

As early as 1636 the General Court had appropriated £400 toward the establishment of a college at Newtown. This is said to have been "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education."

The first movement toward the settlement of Chelmsford was made in 1652. In that year a committee representing families in Woburn and Concord, examined this tract, lying, as they expressed it "on the other side of Concord River." These people reported, in their petition to the General Court for a grant of the land,

that "we do find a very comfortable place to accommodate a company of God's people upon; that may with God's blessing and assistance, live comfortably upon and do good in that place for Church and Commonwealth." The grant was made for a "plantation" in the following year, and settlements immediately commenced. In 1655 it was incorporated under the name of Chelmsford.

This tract was of a much larger area than is included in the present town. It extended from Billerica on the east to Groton on the west, and from Concord and the Nashoba Indian plantation on the south to an uninhabited wilderness on the north. I am unable to define the original line of the northern boundary. The line was soon extended to the present northern limits, and a few years after to the Merrimack and Concord rivers on the northeast. The territory then included, in addition to the present town, a large part of Carlisle, the whole of Westford, and that part of Lowell which lies on this side of the Concord and Merrimack rivers.

The difficulties which beset the pioneers who first took up their abode here, would have been sufficient with a less detetermined people to prevent any attention to the educational wants of their children. The nature of their surroundings was such that they could not form a compact settlement in villages, where their children could be daily assembled, and as social considerations and the necessity for mutual protection would, likewise, have prompted them to do. The land was mostly covered by forest, the exceptions being the meadows which skirted the streams, or where fires may have swept through the woods leaving spaces where the wild grasses would spring up. Their dwellings must, therefore, be scattered wherever such openings provided feed for their cattle. That such accommodations were scanty is made known

by the language of their petition, in 1656, for an extension of their grant. This sets forth that "we have unavoidably put ourselves upon straits," and "we have no outlet for our cattle to feed on."

The energies of the people were expended in erecting their dwellings, cutting highways through the forest from house to house and "to mill and meeting-house," and felling the trees to make room for their crops. Their church and pastor must be supported and a military organization for protection from the savages.

The first settlements were distributed over the easterly section of the town. About half a dozen families with their good minister, Rev. John Fisk, were located near the meeting-house at the centre of the town, and as many more were from one to two miles west, in what is now District Five. Several families selected favorable sites near Great Brook, at the south part of the town, now the north part of Carlisle; and about four miles to the northeast of the centre, within the present limits of this city, seven or eight families established their homes. These were John Shipley (an ancestor of mine eight generations back), John Webb (*alias* Evered), Jerathmel Bowers, John Wright, John Spaulding, Joseph Parkhurst, Jonathan Butterfield, and perhaps others. These families were located in what is now the west part of the city, in the vicinity of Stedman, Baldwin and West Pine Streets. The neighborhood was known as the "neck houses." Several roads and foot-paths were laid out there by the town previous to 1675.

As to the means employed by the town to provide instruction to the children during the first forty years, the records do not enlighten us. The teaching was, probably, mainly provided by the good mothers at their homes. In cases where these lacked the necessary qualifications the good minister doubtless aided. He had

received a collegiate education in England, and he found means while in this town to prepare one of his sons for Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1662. It was the duty of the selectmen, as we have seen, to have a vigilant oversight in the matter.

We have sufficient evidence that by some means these duties were attended to. Boys then of school age were afterwards chosen to administer the affairs of the town. The records preserved to us, in their handwriting, show them to have possessed the proper qualifications for those duties. Deeds and other legal instruments are found with the names of the men affixed, usually in a plain, legible hand. Their wives, however, are often obliged to sign by the hand of another, showing that it was not, in those days, looked upon as an essential accomplishment in girls to be able to write.

The provisions for the religious instruction of the children are given in the following record made by the minister, Rev. John Fisk:

4–2d 58 | Some agitation there was about ye way of proceeding in catechising our younger persons; & for ye males concluded upon ye Lord's day in afternoon
for ye females, upon ye day after our Lecture constantly at 3 of ye clock in ye afternoon at ye pastors house.

The first record of a teacher appointed by the town is as follows:

Samuel Fletcher is Apointed to be a scolle master for the town for the year 1696 by order of the selectmen.

THOMAS PARKER, Clarke.

Of the qualifications of this first school-master, Samuel Fletcher, we must infer that they were at least fair, as he afterwards became prominent in the affairs of the town, occupying at different times the offices of town clerk, treasurer and selectman.

The town now contained one hundred families, and the statute, as we have seen, required a school of such grade as to prepare youth for the University.

A word here in regard to the condition of the town records. The earlier records were transcribed by order of the town in 1742. In this transcript I find nothing relating to the schools. If this portion of them was transcribed it must have been in another volume which is not to be found. I have been obliged, therefore, to consult the original records. They are somewhat dilapidated, dim and time-worn. I am happy to state that the town has taken measures to have a new and more perfect transcript made of what remains of them.

The record following the one I have given, is evidently incomplete. It reads as follows:

May the 12: 16:98 the towne being * * * m^r edward emerson scoolmaster for the year 1698.

This teacher belonged to that family of Emersons which numbered among its descendants Ralph Waldo Emerson of Concord. The town granted him land at different times, perhaps as compensation for his services. He married a daughter of Cornelius Waldo. His house stood where Mr. Allen Cameron now lives, in Westford Centre.

For the year following the record stands:

Chelmsford Agust the 26th 1699

the selectmen of said towne Apointed Samuel Fletcher Junr schoolmaster to Learne young persons to write: on the Day Above said Select men Apointed for Scooldames: Deacon Fosters wife Jno Wrights: Moses Barretts wife and Joshua Fletchers wife

Here recorded by me

SAMLL FLETCHER Towne Clerk.

There was, at this time, no school-house in town. The children gathered at the house of the nearest

teacher or school-dame. The selection of these teachers must be governed somewhat by their location, so as to accommodate the children in the different sections of the town. Deacon Foster lived upon the north side of Robin's Hill. Joshua Fletcher lived at the Stony Brook district, now in Westford. Moses Barrett lived south of Robin's Hill. John Wright lived at the Neck, so called, now Lowell. This section was called the Neck or the Great Neck. Concord River Neck was what is now called East Chelmsford.

For the next two years no grammar school was maintained. It was common for towns to be complained of and fined by the Court for their failure to provide suitable schools. We are obliged to record that Chelmsford was not an exception.

At a General Towne Meeting March 30th 1702 A proposition was mad whether we should apply our selves to ye General court by our Debety in Reference to our being presented to the quarter session & finned at sd court for not haveing a Grammar Scool y^t^ we may endeavor by a petision to sd general court to be eased in our greivanc on y^t^ account.

this was voted in ye Afirmitive

the day above it was voted y^t^ ye selectmen should draw up a petision to present to ye General Court & send it by our Debyty

In August, the same year the town chose a committee to "agree w^t^ A scoolmaster for sd Towne."

September 4 : 1702 captain Bowers cornet Hill & Eleazar Brown Sen Agreed w^t^ Sir Weld to be our scoolmaster half a year for £15 ye sd Sir Weld begun to keep scool on ye 1st of October 1702

This was Thomas Weld, a son of Rev. Thomas Weld, the first minister of the church of Dunstable. The title Sir was applied to college graduates. He had just completed his studies at Harvard. He died in 1704. This is the first record in which compensation to the teacher

is mentioned. The sum, fifteen pounds for six months' services, shows the amount necessary at that time to obtain teachers qualified to prepare young men for the University. The only record for the next year reads:

April the 28th 1703

on the Day Abovesaid capt Bowers and me^{r} : Emerson wer chosen to joyn with the Selectmen to Agree with a scoll master to save the Towne from A fine.

If a school was maintained in 1704 the record of it is omitted. In 1705 appears the following:

Chelmsford May the : 28 1705 the selectmen of sd towne Appointed Moses Barron and Eben wright Scole Masters to teach young parsons To Right And one the Day a bove sd the wido' Burdg the wife of John Snow the wife of Israll Prockter the wife of old tom Cory the wife of sargent Samuell Foster war Appointed scools Dames for the teaching of children to Reed

Recorded By MOSES BARRON Town cla^{r}

This record is interesting in that it defines the duties of the teachers. The school-masters were to teach writing and the school-dames reading. Fortunately we are able to judge of the qualifications of one of these writing teachers, Moses Barron, as the record stands in his hand writing. He wrote a plain heavy hand with no attempt at graceful curves or fine shading. No punctuations are used except in the date. He is profuse with his capitals, and decidedly original in his manner of spelling. It is fair to say, however, in justice to the memory of Moses Barron, that most of the records which appear in his hand-writing, as town clerk, are quite an improvement on the one I have given. He must have been a man of worth as he was chosen by the town, at different times, to the offices of selectman, representative to the General Court, and town treasurer. The latter he held at the time of his death in 1719.

Ebenezer Wright, the other school-master, lived at the Neck. This, as we have seen, was the Lowell section of the town. There were three brothers of that name, John, Joseph and Ebenezer. In 1692 they all lived in this section.

John Snow, whose wife was school-dame, dwelt in the Stony Brook valley, near where Westford Depot now stands. That neighborhood was called the Stony Brook Houses.

School-dame Corey lived in the south part of the town, near Great Brook, now in Carlisle.

An interval of several years now occurs in which the records furnish us no light upon the subject of our inquiry. The grammar school was felt to be a heavy burden and had not been sustained. In 1710 the town paid "To Moses Barron for a jurney to Boston and entring a petition to the genorall as to an easment of our gramer Scoole and to a Jurney to Cambridge as to our presentment for want of a gramer Scoole."

At "A Generall Towne Meting March the 7th: 1709–10 Voted that the selectmen shall agree With a man to teach children and youth to Wright and sifer and kep scool in Chelmsford."

In 1711 "The Selectmen are appointed By the uote of the towne to provide a Scoolmaster as the Law Derects."

Five pounds were paid, in 1712, "To m^{r} Cheney for being our Scoolmaster," and "at a genorall towne meeting December 12: 1712 the towne uoted that It was thare minds to have a Scoole master."

From this time forward the town was not without a school for some part of each year, although the grammar school had not yet become firmly established. The town was called upon to answer to the Court for want of one in 1714, 1716, 1721, and again in 1726.

At a "Town Meeting May the: 12th 1718, voted to Petition the genorall court that the fishing place at Pattuctt may be granted to Chelmsford for the benifit of seporting a scoole in chelmsford the fishing place one the south side meremack." What action was taken upon this petition does not appear. The privilege asked for was a most important one. Allen, writing in 1820, says: "The quantity of salmon, shad and alewives, caught in Chelmsford annually may be computed at about twenty-five hundred barrels, besides a large quantity of other fish of less value." The name "Merrimac signifies in the Indian language a sturgeon."

As the settlements extended each year farther from the centre of the town, the question of the location of the schools became an important one and sometimes occasioned lively contests. An article annually appeared in the warrant for the March meeting similar to the following:

To agree and Vote in what part or parts of the said town the Grammar School or other Schools shall be Kept the year ensuing and to act in that affair as shall be thought proper.

In 1716 the town

voated that the scule master shall keep scule in the fore quarters of the town one month at a time in one place

Voated that the selectmen shall determine wheir the fore quarters of the town are

This was a duty which must have taxed the wisdom of the fathers of the town.

Mr. Nathaniel Prentice, of Cambridge, was the school-master for the years 1718, 1719 and 1720. He graduated from Harvard College in 1714. He was afterwards the second minister of the church of Dunstable, where he labored until his death in 1737. The follow-

ing is the language of the contract between Mr. Prentice and the town:

Chelmsford September 22d 1719

The select men have agreed with m^r Nathaniel Prentice of Cambridge to keep scoole in Chelmsford from the firs of october next ensuing the Date untill the firs Day of Aprill 1720 the above sd Nathaniel Prentice does oblige himself to keep scoole six hours every Day in sd term exept it be Saturday Dayes which he is alowed for him self For which sd prentice is to have eigteen pounds.

The name of Mr. Prentice is signed to this contract in a bold and graceful hand There is no suggestion of Christmas Holidays in this agreement. The school, as we have seen, rotated betweed the four quarters of the town. Let us accompany Mr. Prentice in his rounds.

The first month would be at the centre of the town. At the end of that time he dismissed his pupils and moves, perhaps to the Stony Brook neighborhood, five miles away. There, in a room of some convenient dwelling, he organizes his classes, before the blazing log fire in the great open fire-place. His text-books are as primitive as the other accessories. In reading, Nasons says, "it was the New England Primer, with its rude cuts of Adam and Eve, Jonah and the whale, and rustic rhymes, such as

"The idle fool
Is whipt at school."

After his brief month here he must go to meet the the boys and girls at the South End. And, like the others, we may suppose them to have been hearty, ruddy and boisterous youth, from their active out-door life. And if Mr. Prentice's pupils did not acquire the proficiency in Algebra and Latin, which pupils of the same age in our schools possess, who shall say that they had not a compensating advantage in the possession of more robust health and lively animal spirits. Nervous dis-

orders induced by lack of exercise, and the inhaling the vitiated atmosphere of the crowded school-room, was, probably, not common at that day. The South End school was usually kept near where the South Chelmsford school-house was afterwards built, on the road leading by the house of Mr. Quimby to Carlisle.

The next month would be at the North End. This included, besides the present Number Two District, all that part of the town to the north and northeast, including what is now Lowell. The late John Parkhurst told me, that in his boyhood he had met at the old Number Two school-house, John Farrar and other boys from West Chelmsford, and the Adams boys, Benjamin and Thomas, from North Chelmsford.

We have now come to an important event, the building of the first school-house. In 1718 the town granted three rods and a half of land for that purpose, at "the most easterly corner of the buring Place." It stood where the horse sheds belonging to the First Congregational church now stand. The cost, about one hundred dollars, was paid by subscription. The names of those citizens who contributed to this worthy object have been preserved in the record which reads as follows:

The names of those that built and finished the Schoole house And What Each man gave thereto

mr Stoddard	2	0	0	Nathall Butterfield	1	0	0
Moses Barron	1	0	0	Samll Barron	1	0	0
Josiah Fletcher	1	0	0	Benone Perham	1	0	0
Deacon Waring	1	0	0	Eben Parker	1	0	0
Eben Foster	1	0	0	John Burge	0	10	0
Edward Spaulding	1	10	0	Benj. Parker	0	10	0
William Fletcher	1	10	0	Richard Stratton	1	0	0
John Bates	1	0	0	Joseph Foster	0	15	0
Stephen Peirce	1	0	0	Benjamin Adams	1	00	00
Moses Parker	1	10	0	Edward Foster	00	15	00
John Daues*	0	10	0				

* Probably meant for Davis.

The second school-house must have been built very soon after, for a road was laid out, in 1720, from the "North School house." The building stood a few rods east of the "Owls Nest Green House," at a turn of the road by the old Middlesex Turnpike. It is probable that this school-house also was paid for by subscription. There is no evidence that the town raised any money for such a purpose prior to 1794.

Mr. Prentice was succeeded by Joseph Whipple, who taught from 1721 to 1724. A difference of opinion existed as to the merits of Mr. Whipple's teaching. It was settled by a town meeting in 1724, which

"Voted that the Petition of Moses Parker and nine others freeholders who Petitioned that the Schoole master be Dismissed and a committee chose to Provide another in his Room be dismissed"

Mr. Thomas Frink, of Sudbury, followed Whipple. He taught till 1727, when the town paid John Spaulding "to wait upon Mr. Frink home."

Josiah Richardson and Isaac Richardson taught one year each. Joseph Lovett two years, Jonathan Mills one, and Samson Stoddard five, ending in 1734. The latter was a son of Rev. Samson Stoddard, and graduated from Harvard College in 1730. He became one of the leading men of the town, was a colonel in the melitia, and held many offices of trust. The town of Stoddard, N. H., was named in his honor.

After Mr. Stoddard no teacher remained longer than two years, until 1750 when Oliver Fletcher took charge of the schools and continued six years. He was a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1735. He was a man of great worth of character. Allen says of him: "His piety and integrity gave him great ascendancy over his fellow-townsmen, and secured their esteem and confidence."

In 1747 the town

Voted that the Grammar School be kept in the middle of this Town the year ensuing, and that the out scirts of sd Town shall have their proportionable part of money that is paid for schooling allowed to them for to provide Writing Schools for themselves and that all the sd Schools shall be free schools for the sd Town

Voted that the Middle of sd Town shall be allowed to extend Two miles each way from the Meeting house.

Voted That each end of sd Town shall be allowed to have three months schooling in the most suitablest season in this year ensuing for writing schools: as their proportionable part on sd Towns cost.

One clause in this vote, "that all the said schools shall be free schools," and another at a later date, that there shall be "No schools at town cost but grammar school," indicate that supplementary schools were sometimes maintained at private expense.

A record appears in 1755 which shows the character of the services which each teacher was expected to render:

Oliver Fletcher, Grammar & writing six months. Ebenezer Gould, three months writing school. Daniel Proctor three months reeding, Righting & Cyphering school.

Of the first of these, Oliver Fletcher, we have already become acquainted. He was an elegant penman. His copy most of us would be glad to be able to imitate to-day. So much, however, cannot be said for Daniel Proctor. It would be a mark of ingenuity in his pupils if they could write as badly. Let us hope that his strength lay in the other branches, "reeding & Cyphering." Thomas Rice succeeded Oliver Fletcher in the grammar school. He continued several years.

In 1764 Peter Spaulding was employed, and he was followed by Samson Stoddard, Jr., a son of a former teacher of that name and a graduate of Harvard, and after him Vryling Stoddard, also of the same honorable

family. He graduated from Harvard in 1765. Allen says of him: "He became an eminent instructor of youth in this place."

Now let us go back a little and follow the action of the town in fixing the location of its schools. This question was decided by vote in town meeting, but was often far from satisfactory to the people in the more remote sections of the town. The method usually adopted for the grammar school was to divide the time between the different sections of the town, or to "circulate according to town vote." Occasionally it would be continued throughout the year at the centre of the town. This was the case in 1724. Two citizens, Joseph Underwood and Ebenezer Wright, recorded their "decent against the settlement of the School." One of these, Joseph Underwood, lived at what is now the centre of Westford. The other, Ebenezer Wright, had removed from the Neck, and was now living upon the present site of Edwin Heyward's house near Chamberlin's Corner, in Westford. The next year the wish of the dissenters was respected and the "west end" was given four months' school. The town was soon relieved of the necessity of providing for the west end as it was incorporated as the town of Westford in 1729. In 1730–31:

At a meeting of the selectmen Pursuant to the Town vote for Removing the Scoole in three severall places in the Town it is ordered that the School master keep Schoole in the Schoole hous in the midle of the Town from the first of November Last past Thirteen weeks and then to Remove to the north end and keep schoole at the Dwelling house of Jonathan Bowers (or in some other convenient place where the neighborhood shall appoint) the space of six weeks and then to Remove to the South end of the Town and keep school at the Dwelling hous of Samll Proctor (or in some other convenient place where the neighborhood shall appoint) the term of seven weeks which will fulfill the half year agreed upon.

Jonathan Bowers here mentioned lived at the Neck.

A record in 1753 contains the first mention of a school-house at the South End. It stood near the Paignon place in South Chelmsford. It has since been converted into a dwelling, and is still standing. The North End school was kept that year at the house of James Parkhurst, which stood a few rods west of the Number 2 school-house. The reason for holding this school at a dwelling house appears in the diary of the parson, Rev. Edenezer Bridge, who records, "Catechised the children at James Parkhurst's the school-house being unfit." In 1756 the school was kept "one-half in the north end and one-half in the south end." But the plan adopted in 1757 was finally settled upon as causing the least friction. This was to divide the time between the three sections of the town, the north end, the centre, and the south end. This method continued with but one or two interruptions until the formation of the school districts in 1792.

In the distribution of the schools in 1755 it was "voted that the writing school shall be kept three months in the north end of the Town att the school house & three months at the dwelling House of Robert Peirce." Robert Peirce lived near the present residence of Orlando Blodgett on Chelmsford Street. The house faced a road, now discontinued, which ran back of Mr. Blodgett's house. This was afterwards the home of Benjamin Peirce, the distinguished father of a distinguished son, President Franklin Pierce.

In 1767 a reading and writing school was kept "2 mos at school house in the neck." This is the first mention of a school-house in this section. It stood upon School Street, not far from the old cemetery.

If I may be allowed to offer a suggestion, I think it would be a fitting act for the Old Residents' Historical

Association to erect a memorial tablet upon the site of this the first institution of learning within the limits of your city.

Other grave and important matters were now coming forward to engross the attention of the people and put school questions in the background.

The oppressive measures of the mother country soon culminated in the Revolution. In these stirring times the older of the school-boys laid aside the text-book and took up the musket. When upon the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, the minute guns sounded the call to arms, they were quick to respond, and they assisted with their elders, in the pursuit of the British from Concord to Boston. And again they stood with their brothers and fathers behind the intrenchments at Bunker Hill. And to a Chelmsford school-boy, Joseph Spaulding, belongs the honor of having fired the first gun at that battle. Upon his tombstone in the old burying ground in Chelmsford, may be found inscribed these words: "He was among the brave assertors and defenders of his country at Bunker Hill, where he opened the battle by firing upon the enemy before orders were given." His youthful ardor, however, it is said, called down upon him a severe rebuke from the impetuous General Putnam.

The Chelmsford company in that engagement was under the command of the gallant Captain John Ford, whose home was up here at the Pawtucket Falls. Their position in the battle was at the rail fence. Here Benjamin Peirce, assisted by others, drew up and placed in position an abandoned cannon which did good execution.

But during the distressing times of the Revolution the schools were by no means abandoned. In 1781, in addition to the grammar school, the town voted

Nine months Righting school 3 mos in Neck so called extending from Mr. Timothy Clarks to the mouth of Concord & to Mr. Simeon Moreses & to Mr. Joseph Pierieces So by Mr. Philip Parkers

Voted one month schooling at Newfield one month at Mr. David Spauldings one month in Concord River Neck so called & five weeks on the mill road so called & eight weeks at or near Mr. John Adams

This record is valuable as it defines the limits of the Neck district, and furnishes a basis for estimating the population here one hundred years ago. Timothy Clark here referred to, lived at Middlesex near where Baldwin Street terminates at the river. Simeon Mores lived upon what is now Moore Street. The house of Joseph Pierce was near the present city farm buildings, and Philip Parker's was upon West Pine Street near the Highland school. This district embraced, then, all of what is now Lowell excepting Belvidere, Centralville and Pawtucketville; and all of the children then living here, excepting the few who attended the grammar school four miles distant, were accommodated with a three months' school in the little red school-house upon School Street. It would require a pretty commodious building to accommodate the ten thousand school children in the same district to-day.

After the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, the times became more tranquil and prosperous, and school questions again came uppermost. The school district system now begun to develop. In 1792 the management of the schools was, for the first time, placed fully in the hands of a school committee. The change was not made without a struggle, but after repeated adjournments and reconsiderations the town voted

That a select committee be chosen to provide the grammar school masters and all other School masters & that said committee proportion Inspect and Regulate Said Schools.

Nine persons were chosen to constitute this committee, one from each district or "squadron."

The next step was to provide school-houses for those districts not already so provided for. In 1794 it was

Voted to raise 250 £ for the purpose of building school houses each squadron to draw their own money for building their school house, location decided by vote of members of squadrons.

In the year 1800 the town supported twelve schools at an expense of six hundred dollars. They were located as follows:

At the middle of the Town, now District 1. At the North School house, now District 2. Near Ebenezer Parker's, South Chelmsford, now District 3. At Mill Row, Now District 4. At Squadron by Capt. Benj. Fletcher's, now District 5. At Concord River Neck, now District 6. At School house by Simon Stevens, now District 7. At Newfield, now North Chelmsford, District 8. At Grate Neck, now Lowell. At Samuel Marshall's, also Lowell, corner Parker and Powell Streets. At school house by Joseph Adams' and at school house by Benj. Chamberlain's.

One of the two last named was undoubtedly in Carlisle, where the school-house now stands, north of Great Brook, and the other in Lowell. This portion of the town had now begun to increase in population. A map of the town made in 1794 shows on this section a clothier's mill, iron works, five saw mills, and two grist mills. The only roads shown in the same section were one from Middlesex Village to the Concord River, marked Road to Salem. This followed the present line of portions of Baldwin, West Pine, Parker, Chelmsford, Hale, Thorndike and Gorham to Moore Street, and on that to the river. A Country Road ran from Pawtucket Falls over the present line of School, Powell and Plain Street. Another beginning near the mouth of Concord River and terminating at Middlesex, correspond with Merrimack, Pawtucket, and the west end of Middlesex Streets.

Still another, marked Town Road, ran to the centre of Chelmsford.

The little red school-house was now outgrown and three new ones took its place: One at the corner of Parker and Powell Streets, another where the City Hospital now stands on Pawtucket Street, and the third at Middlesex.

By the adoption of the school district system, every family in town was provided with a school within easy reach of their home. Men teachers were employed for these schools in winter, and women for the summer terms. Another result not perhaps at first contemplated was the loss of the grammar school. The town was too poor to support a high grade school in addition to their twelve district schools.

The grammar school teachers had been men of character and scholarly attainments, and coming from the college to the school-room, with the best mental training which the times afforded, must have exerted an important influence in moulding the character, and stimulating the ambition and mental activity of the young men and women under their charge.

I have given you an imperfect outline of the development of the schools of Chelmsford during a period of nearly a century and a half. If measured by the dollar and cents standard their efforts may appear feeble from our standpoint. But they provided their children with such advantages as their means enabled them to, and they accomplished important results.

The teaching of those days was confined to a very few lines of study. But in the fundamental branches the training was thorough, and the pupils left the school with clear minds and a solid foundation upon which to build in after life.

XIX. Early Recollections of Lowell, by Benjamin Walker, read February 6, 1890.

YOUR honored President having invited me to prepare a paper to be read before this Association, I have deemed the opportunity a fitting one to take a retrospective glance, and to revive as well as record my early recollections of the place and its people, as they appeared to me more than half a century ago.

My first entrance into Lowell was made when I was four years of age. It was a beautiful afternoon, I should say in the early fall, when my father, after having located in business and commenced housekeeping in this new and prospective manufacturing village, took me from my native place, Wilmington, Mass., in a two-wheeled gig, such as was mainly used in those days by physicians and sheriffs. Young as I was, I well remember the ride through the woods of Wilmington, where we also forded the Shawsheen River, near Foster's tavern—no bridge having been built over that little stream—and how we wended our way through Tewksbury, stopping at Brown's tavern, and finally, on a clear moonlight night, arriving and treading for the first time on the soil of what is now the great city of Lowell. That spot, still so dear to me, and so fresh in my memory, and which I do not think I have ever since passed without being reminded of this (to me) important fact, was what was then known as the residence of Charles Melvin. The location is on what is now known as School Street, and the premises are the beautiful grounds in

the rear of the residence of Frederick Ayer, Esq. At the northwest corner of these grounds, and just bordering on the site of the great canal, stood this Melvin residence. As I was taken into it, I saw what appeared to me a house of somewhat gigantic proportions, a large front-room, principally lighted by the cheerful blaze of an open fire, and a stone-hearth, large enough for a modern quarry. My amazement at the scene was, undoubtedly, as great as the change that had come over my youthful eyes, and I am credited with saying, "If this is Lowell I don't like it, and I wish my father to take me back to Wilmington." Subsequent events, however, seem to show that he did not comply with this request.

The next morning I took an exterior view of Lowell, walked out to the roadway and was, quite likely, swinging on the gate, when I was accosted with, "Well, little boy, what is your name?" The individual who thus addressed me was Phineas Whiting, the gentleman who is now known as Major Phineas Whiting, one of our oldest and most highly-esteemed citizens. This leads me to refer to Capt. Phineas Whiting, the Major's father, one of Lowell's most prominent early residents, whose somewhat palatial mansion for those days, extensive barns and out-houses, and whose store, all of which were located where the residence of Frederick Ayer now stands, were a sort of nucleus and centre for the neighhood. Captain Whiting was an active and vigorous business-man, and had for his neighbors Nathaniel Wright, Jonathan Spalding, Rufus Spalding, James Bowers, Jonathan Bowers, Osgood Dane, Artemas Holden, Charles Melvin, Dr. John O. Green and, possibly, some others. The boys in this neighborhood were Charles Melvin, Phineas and Henry Whiting, Nathaniel, Thomas,

William Henry and Emory Wright, Joel Spalding, Osgood Dane, Gustavus A. Bailey, James, George and Johnnie Bowers, the latter still of Willow Dale fame, Frank and Artemas Holden, to say nothing of all the pretty and interesting young girls. The recollections of the games and the pranks of these boys, of playing in the sand-bank close by, and the finding of Indian-relics, are all very vivid in my mind.

Capt. Elisha Ford was a burning and shining light in those days, and, somehow, I connect him with the guardianship of the water-power of Merrimack River, at that time, as well as of the old mill which sawed the logs and ground the corn of those days. The Indian traditions, as connected with the saw-mill, are doubtless all true, but all that had passed away before my advent into Lowell.

In the days of which I speak, the junction of what are now known as Pawtucket and School Streets was quite a centre. Socially, it ranked among the best families, and, as a business point, it maintained a store, a bakery, and last, but not least, a slaughter-house. This structure stood upon an eminence of the place near the present Bowers round house, was quite a large building, and was graced, at either end of the ridge-pole, with an enormous pair of ox-horns, emblematic, I suppose, of what was transpiring within. The dwelling in front, and still standing, I believe, was in due time occupied by my father's family. Opposite, where it is now entirely covered with buildings, was an open pasture. My recollection of that pasture is extremely vivid, as it was a play-ground. I presume, in those days, like many other boys, a part of my life's duties was to wear my father's old clothes. You have all heard the story of the boy whose pantaloons were made from an ancestral

pair, in such a way that a person could not tell whether the boy inside was going to school or coming home; and in one of my visits to this pasture, I presume I was dressed in the same way, for the first I knew a toad was jumping about, in their amplest part, and it was not until my cries attracted attention that I was finally relieved from this awfully cold and most unwelcome interloper. This experience taught me one very important lesson, viz: that it is neither prudent nor pleasant to toady to any living thing.

At the age to which I am now referring, I did not, of course, have much thought for the business interests of Lowell, but the educational part of life early attracted my attention. The old school-house, situated at the corner of what are now Pawtucket and Salem Streets, is as clear and vivid to my mind as the noon day. At the time of which I speak the school was kept by Miss Eveline Reynolds, a bright and intelligent lady from Boxford, Mass., and to her I owe much, for, as she boarded in our family, and my father was a sort of self-constituted school committee man, there always appeared to be a special effort made to encourage my ambition, if not to cover up my deficiencies. Here at this time, I think I am safe in saying, the foundation of the Lowell public school system was laid. How it has since flourished, through the early and untiring zeal of such men as Rev. Theodore Edson, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Dr. John O. Green, Dr. Elisha Huntington and many other pioneers of public education, everybody here present well knows. That it may never be attacked or undermined, through any political manipulations or other aggressive influences, by which to divert it from its present lofty and noble purpose, is the bounden duty of every loyal citizen, and certainly of every intelligent

voter. Public schools, on their broad and comprehensive foundation, do not contemplate the encouragement and study of any political faith, or of any religious creed. The platform is broad enough and sound enough for all parties and sects, and it is here that the doctrine of free and equal rights finds a more solid and substantial basis, than upon any other one plank in the general structure and economy of that splendid institution—the public-school system.

My next appearance in the public schools of Lowell was at the High School, in what is now known as the Free Chapel, on Middlesex Street, at which time Franklin Forbes was the teacher. With a dozen others I was examined (?) by Rev. Dr. Edson, in a little ante-room of the present city government building, the entrance to which was at the east end, up one flight of stairs, at the left of the landing. The main entrance to the hall was at the head of these stairs. The little class of which I speak was subjected to a rather simple form of examination, and, as I remember, all were admitted. At any rate I was, and given a written certificate to that effect, with which I hurried home, elated beyond expression with my success. Among the boys in the class which I entered were Gustavus V. Fox, Henry N. French and James C. Ayer. What I more particularly remember of the school at this time is, that Wednesday afternoons were devoted to declamation and composition, and that on one of these occasions, James C. Ayer being called, read a very original and amusing paper upon "The Ladies' Finger-ring." It fairly bristled with sharp points and good hits, which not only excited the risibilities of both teacher and scholars, but somewhat disturbed the general good order and dignity peculiar to a well-ordered school-room. The composition was a

very bright production, nevertheless, and while so acknowledged, the principal mildly suggested that future efforts of this young man had better be devoted to subjects, looking to a discussion of the jewels of the mind, rather than of those only calculated to adorn and beautify the body.

I also remember, on one occasion, that Henry N. French, who was the son of Cyril French and who died of typhoid fever, while a member of the school, when called upon for a composition, stood up and apparently read one from "Parker's Progressive Exercises in English Composition"—a book which was then used in this branch of study—but which, in fact, he improvised on the subject given him. When it came to delivering the papers for correction, young French surprised the principal by saying he hadn't any, and whispered to me that, if insisted upon, he would "hand in his head." Henry French was not only one of the most promising young men I ever met, but a universal favorite, and his untimely death was sincerely mourned by all who knew him. I distinctly remember to this day his form, features and delightfully pleasant manners.

During my connection with the High School it had its abode in the attic of St. Mary's Church, where I first remember meeting my venerable and highly respected friend, James S. Russell, as assistant teacher. From the first Mr. Russell seemed to me to be the very incarnation of mathematical precision and skill, forcible and vigorous in his teachings, without any very remarkable stock of patience with stupidity, but enthusiastic over those who were quick and bright enough to follow him in his problems. At this time Hon. Moody Currier, since governor of New Hampshire, was principal, and helped us all along in our classical studies.

Among the prominent scholars at this time was John C. Dalton, who became eminent as a physician and recently died in New York city. Young Dalton was humorous as well as brilliant, while Mr. Currier was of that staid and sober character which was ever foreign to lightness and fun. On one of the Wednesday afternoons, above referred to, Dalton was called upon to declaim. He promptly responded, made a most deferential bow, as if about to reproduce one of Daniel Webster's greatest speeches, and most deliberately remarked, "I'm not a chicken." Then after a somewhat prolonged pause, he proceeded to recite Holmes' "September Gale," with all the gravity of a statesman. While there was no little tittering all along the line of girls and boys, Mr. Currier maintained a most stoical gravity, but at the close of the following verses

"It chanced to be our washing-day,
And all our things were drying;
The storm came roaming through the lines
And set them all a-flying;
I saw the shirts and petticoats
Go riding off like witches;
I lost—ah, bitterly I wept—
I lost my Sunday breeches!

"I saw them straddling through the air,
Alas! too late to win them;
I saw them chase the clouds, as if
The devil had been in them;
They were my darlings and my pride,
My boyhood's only riches—
'Farewell, farewell,' I faintly cried—
'My breeches! O my breeches!'"

the Lowell High School was convulsed, our worthy principal yielded with a sardonic smile, and Dalton was the hero of the hour.

The High School was afterwards transferred to the North Grammar (now Bartlett) School, and here I met Frank F. and Joseph P. Battles, George and Hiram Brownell, and many other early residents of Lowell. It

was here that I completed my school-life, and I well remember leaving, unexpectedly, some three weeks before the end of the term, never again to enjoy its pleasures and delights.

At the end of my school-days our family had left the neighborhood of Pawtucket Falls and moved to what is now 471 Middlesex Street, the present residence of Mrs. Sidney Spalding. This house was originally built and owned by my father, the architect and contractor being a Mr. Espy of Reading, Mass. This establishment was regarded as one of the best in the vicinity, at that time, being large and commodious, and included what were then and are now known as the modern conveniences for house-keeping. For neighbors we had Samuel Horn and Otis Allen, who composed the firm of Horn & Allen, and who were then carrying on quite extensive soap-works, which business was continued many years. Smith Adams, also located in this vicinity, and with his brother Elisha, built up and carried on an extensive business, which is, I believe, still in existence. Altogether the neighborhood was thriving, and more or less houses were subsequently built in the vicinity, although much of the land remained for years in its primeval state. In the process of its cultivation, however, a roadway was opened, from Middlesex Street to a point a little beyond the present Broadway, by my father, which early received the name of Walker Street. Since that time this opening has been extended to Pawtucket Street in one direction and to Westford Street in the other, and has now become a thoroughfare of no inconsiderable importance. Of course I can not but regard it as a sort of heirloom, destined to perpetuate, I hope creditably, the family name to which I belong, in its connection with the rise and progress of Lowell.

At the time of which I write, and going from what is now the corner of Central and Middlesex Streets, there was no building between the upper Appleton corporation-block, until after passing the point where the railroad now crosses Middlesex Street. Then came a brewery, a store, and one or two dwellings, but no more that I remember, until we arrived at Horn & Allen's residence, which is now occupied by Otis Allen and his son, Hon. Charles H. Allen. Beyond our own home, with possibly one exception, Middlesex Village was the next occupied territory. The location of which I speak was then considered a long distance from the business centre of Lowell, and a trip to Central Street was regarded as quite a journey.

The Merrimack corporation being the first manufacturing establishment located in Lowell, business centered near it, and Merrimack Street, with its two rows of ten-footers built from the point of the Merrimack-Street Depot to Central Street, thus became the nucleus from which Lowell has spread to its present ample proportions. Beyond where the Merrimac House now stands, to Cabot Street, buildings were gradually erected, but the original forest trees were to be seen in the locality for many years, and I well recollect how modernized this part of Merrimack Street became when they finally disappeared.

As I write this, many thoughts of the early progress and civilization of Lowell crowd upon my mind, and I recall the Adams Block, which was regarded, in its day, as quite an imposing structure, and the tailoring establishment just opposite, carried on by Francis Hobbs, who was one of the jolliest and liveliest "knights of the shears" ever in Lowell. This point afterwards became quite a business place, and Hobbs' store a headquarters for any quantity of local business and social gossip. My

impression is that Henry J. Baxter succeeded to this business, which was afterwards carried on by Baxter & Bennett on Merrimack Street, and last on Central Street. Major Baxter died many years ago, but William S. Bennett, a gentleman of most estimable character and reputation, is still a resident here.

While on this subject I cannot refrain from speaking of one other prominent tailor, in the early days of Lowell—Perez Fuller. He was so original in his character, so versatile in his accomplishments and filled such a niche in society, that he deserves more than a passing notice. It is said that it takes "nine tailors to make a man." If so, Mr. Fuller was a combination of all in one. In addition to his business qualifications, he was an amateur actor, and more than once graced the boards of the Tremont Theatre, when a member of the legislature, with the late William Warren; he was a poet, in his way, a comic singer and a musical composer, although I doubt if he knew, to borrow a unique expression, "a note of music from a clothes-pin." At weddings, oyster suppers, dinner parties, and in fact, occasionally at concerts, Perez Fuller was an indispensible factor. He was also a man of great wit and sly humor. It was, I believe, generally understood by all his patrons, and they were among the best people of Lowell, that, no matter how satisfactory his work, every customer was bound to find some fault with it. My friend, Edward M. Sargent, had the following experience, when trying on a new overcoat: "It is not large enough, Fuller," said Sargent, "take it back and let it out." "Oh! yes," said Fuller, in his little, whistling voice, "I will do so with pleasure." In a few days Mr. Sargent called in and said, "Fuller, where is my coat?" "Why," said he, "when you came in last you told me to let it out. Mr. Barrett, the conductor,

came in just after you left and wanted a coat to wear to Boston, and I loaned him yours. When it comes back, *shall I let it out again?*"

In the early days of Lowell, there were two druggists, George H. Carleton and Jacob Robbins. The store of Mr. Carleton was situated practically upon the same spot where Carleton & Hovey's now is, and, for a distinguishing feature, had two main entrances on Merrimack Street. The original sign of Mr. Carleton maintains its place and prominence to this day. The store of Jacob Robbins was near the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. I doubt if ever any marked competition existed between the two, or that they interfered in any way with each other's trade. Both were splendid men, and for years had the entire field to themselves. With Charles Hovey, whom I well remember at that time, as clerk in one, and Henry C. Gillis, who was succeeded by James C. Ayer, in the other, the medicines of those days were carefully and properly dispensed. At the present time there are probably not less than fifty druggists and apothecaries in the city.

Among the early prominent business men of Lowell, in other branches of trade, were Thomas Billings, Randall Meacham, succeeded by Oliver March and Daniel Bixby, booksellers and stationers, Atherton & Buttrick, Mansur & Reed, H. &. W. Spalding, grocers, E. D. Leavitt, hats and caps (now Brazer & Co.), Parkhurst & Richardson, afterwards Matthias Parkhurst, dry goods, Hapgood Wright, dealer in boots and shoes, Addison Brastow and I. W. & J. K. Fellows, watch-makers and jewelers, David Dana, copper, tin and sheet-iron worker (now H. H. Wilder & Co.), J. G. & W. Kittredge, blacksmiths and iron store, and, in course of time, many others. All were men of prominence, and all contributed

in giving to Lowell its early excellent commercial standing and credit. Of the names here mentioned Hapgood Wright and J. K. Fellows are still among our most highly respected citizens.

Among the members of the legal profession in the early history of Lowell, it is pleasant to recall the names of Elisha Glidden, Isaac O. Barnes, Joseph Locke, Samuel H. Mann, Luke Eastman, Thomas Hopkinson, Seth Ames, Josiah G. Abbott, Elisha Fuller, John P. Robinson, Tappan Wentworth, John R. Adams, Joel Adams, and John A. Knowles, than which it would be difficult to mention an equal number of more prominence or legal acumen. Good men and true have come after them, in the persons of Gen. B. F. Butler, A. P. Bonney, D. S. & G. F. Richardson, A. R. Brown, Ithamar A. Beard, Isaac S. Morse and others, but they were not here at the very beginning of Lowell.

Of the early clergymen, I recall the names of Theodore Edson, George C. Beckwith, William Twining, Amos Blanchard, Uzziah C. Burnap, William Barry, Thomas B. Thayer, Lemuel Porter, and afterwards Henry A. Miles, A. A. Miner, Stedman W. Hanks, Joseph H. Towne and Father John Mahoney, all conspicuous for their purity of character and mental acquirements. I doubt if any city, of the age of Lowell, was ever more greatly blessed with the excellence of its spiritual leaders and religious teachers, than has fallen to the lot of our own beloved community. As a boy I was acquainted with all, and conversant with their peculiar characteristics. Perhaps no one possessed more sound and sterling good sense, or was more puritanical and rigid in his views, than Rev. Mr. Burnap. He was the personification of dignity and solemnity, and yet his smile seemed to me almost heavenly. He had a taste for mechanics as

well as theology, and I always understood that in the art of cabinet work he had few superiors. In speaking of the Appleton Street Church (now Dr. Court's), where he went in and out before his people for so many years, he once remarked, that "when this edifice was constructed it had not been discovered that there was room enough between the heavens and the earth to build the church, and therefore the wise men who had the ordering of its construction dug down into the bowels of the latter to find a place for the vestry and Sunday school." This eminent divine evidently believed in the sunlight of the body as well as of the soul, and the modern system of church building shows how pertinent and wise were the conclusions of this thoroughly good and pious man on the subject of church architecture. He also exemplified, to me, the response of a good deacon, when once asked if his minister preserved a godly walk and a consistent carriage, replied that he did preserve a godly walk, but he didn't keep a carriage.

In its list of early physicians Lowell was especially fortunate, and when I present the names of John O. Green, Elisha Bartlett, Elisha Huntington, Gilman Kimball, Peleg Bradley, John C. Dalton, John D. Pillsbury, William Graves, and John Wheelock Graves as among the first practitioners, I cannot fail to bring to mind a degree of medical talent and skill that even now will command the highest respect and admiration. These men not only ranked high in their profession, but they were also distinguished for their culture and intellectual attainments. Dr. Green's memory is too fresh in our minds to require special mention in this connection; but who has ever seen Dr. Bartlett and not admired his rare dignity and grace; or Dr. Huntington and not been charmed with his genial manner, his unbounded sym-

pathy and love for every man, woman and child in the city; or Dr. Dalton and not marveled at his elegant and polished manners, and so on through the entire list? In this category I do not include such distinguished men as Allen, Savory, Pillsbury, Wells, Spalding, and many others, not because they have been less eminent and successful in their several careers, but because they belong to a somewhat later generation than that of which I now speak.

It does not seem that many years have passed since Dr. Bartlett's office—a little wooden structure at the corner of Central and Middlesex Streets, near the site of the present drug store of Albert Crowell—was demolished. It long remained one of the original landmarks of Lowell. Dr. Elisha Bartlett, it will be remembered, was selected by the Whig party as the first candidate for mayor, in 1836, when Lowell became a city. His Democratic opponent, if I rightly recall the name, was Eliphalet Case. At that time all the voting was done in the town hall—our present city government building—and as an illustration of the political feeling that existed between those two candidates, at that time, and which were among those halcyon days, before the necessities of the Australian ballot had ever been made manifest, these two candidates walked the length of the hall, arm in arm, each depositing a ballot for the other, amid the applause and approval of all present. Dr. Bartlett was re-elected the next year, and then appears to have retired from political life.

In the year 1839 Dr. Elisha Huntington was elected to fill the unexpired term occasioned by the sudden death of Luther Lawrence, and so popular did he become that he was, during his life, elected to this office, in all, eight times. Whenever, for any cause, the Whig party failed

to agree upon a candidate, Dr. Huntington invariably came to the front, and was always elected. The other physicians mentioned were not so much given to the political arena, although Drs. Green, Dalton, and Pillsbury served once or more in the Board of Aldermen.

Of the early banking men of Lowell, the first and foremost was James G. Carney, cashier of the Lowell Bank, and treasurer of the Lowell Institution for Savings, in the former Nathaniel Wright being president. Mr. Wright, although a lawyer, was, paradoxical as it may seem, a man of few words. He was also somewhat gruff in his manner, and such an officer as men who had notes to pay, did not like to face, when wishing to have the same renewed. In this respect he doubtless proved a valuable servant to the bank. Mr. Carney, also, was rigid and exacting to the last degree. He was a man and an officer of incorruptible integrity, and no rule of the bank was, in his view, susceptible of other than the most literal observance. In illustration of this I recall an instance of going to the bank to pay a note for my father—he gave one, occasionally, in those days—when the bank was in the old Wyman's Exchange, and I reached the counter three minutes after banking hours, the outer door not having been closed, but Mr. Carney refused to receive the money and the note was protested. I doubt if such a practice exists at the present time. Early afterwards the Railroad Bank was organized, with Luther Lawrence as president and Pelham W. Warren as cashier; and from this time, I always understood that the banking system was somewhat modified, so far as the cast-iron rules of the Lowell Bank were concerned. All this time I was only a youth, but it may show that even little errand-boys exercise some powers of observation and perhaps form correct opinions of those who, at the

moment, are so much their superiors. In due time Benjamin F. French became president, and Samuel W. Stickney cashier, and from that time to this the Railroad Bank has been one of our most prominent and successfully managed monetary institutions.

The men who appeared to me to be the mainsprings and motive power, by which Lowell derived its principal business impetus, were the corporation agents. They were, in every sense, representative as well as able business men. They directed the great enterprises upon which Lowell had embarked, and upon their business sagacity and efficiency largely depended the future of this manufacturing place. Of course I was taught to believe that at the head of all these was Kirk Boott, and I well remember how his sudden death shocked the whole community. The impression for the moment seemed to prevail that, without him, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and consequently Lowell, must suffer irreparably; but in the hands and under the direction of such men as George W. Whistler (early succeeded by James B. Francis), George Brownell, John Clark, Robert Means, James Cook, William Austin, John Aiken, John D. Prince, Charles L. Tilden, Benjamin F. French, Homer Bartlett, Samuel Lawrence, Alexander Wright, William Spencer, John Avery, and George Motley, each one of whom I very well knew, by sight at least, there seemed to be, as there certainly was, ample mental power and capacity in reserve to direct the great interests so auspiciously begun. It was through the influence and energy of such men as these, that Lowell early acquired the significant title of the "Manchester of America"—a proud distinction which it maintains to this day, notwithstanding the many wonderful and thriving manufacturing cities that are now dotted through the New England States.

There were many other men very prominently identified with the early history of Lowell, who did much for its prosperity and good name. Among them I recall Oliver M. Whipple, one of the most thriving and enterprising of its citizens, who established a large powder works on the banks of the Concord River, near the present Lowell Cemetery, and employed a great number of men. He was, probably, the first man in Lowell who always drove a pair of horses in the regular prosecution of his business, and his turnout was, for years, a distinguishing feature in our streets. In addition to his business activity, Mr. Whipple was otherwise the cause of a great deal of noise in the world, as all who remember the occasional blowing up of a powder-mill will attest.

I cannot but recall, also, the names of such men as William Livingston, Edward F. Watson, William Fiske, and Josiah G. Peabody, whose faces were familiar to me when a lad. Capt. Peabody early made a special impression upon me, and I often wondered how a man with such a red and ruddy face could always maintain such a high color, be so clear headed, and withal such an apostle of temperance. In later years when I knew him better, I fully discovered the sterling qualities with which he then was and still is possessed, and as an officer at the head of our municipality, where I have had ample opportunity to measure his length, breadth, and depth, I am prepared to say that no more energetic, painstaking, or practical business man has ever, to my knowledge, been placed at the head of city affairs. It is a personal pleasure to have this opportunity of thus publicly recording my estimate of this gentleman, both as a public officer and a private citizen. William Livingston was also a tower of strength as a business man. As a

contractor, in excavating earth, digging canals, making roads, etc., I presume he has never been surpassed, and it was mainly through his energy and indomitable pluck that the Salem & Lowell Railroad was built.

There are many more names I could mention, each of which would suggest material for an entire paper, but I will only mention one, and that shall be Leonard Huntress. I first knew him when he was connected with the *Lowell Journal*—the paper may have had some other name at that time—and of whom as a printer, editor, and gentleman, I have the most pleasant recollections. Of a truly genial nature, and most winning ways, he brought to his business every element of popularity. As a child he always called me "Benny Walker," and up to the day of his death, I am gratified to say, he never deviated from this form of expression, thus showing that no change of time or circumstances had ever been allowed to place me in any different attitude towards him, or to regard me other than one of the early boys of Lowell, upon whom he was so ready to bestow his rare gifts of kindness and good will.

The establishment of Lowell as a manufacturing town early necessitated some public means of communication with Boston, from which place most of its supplies were received, and to which its principal products were forwarded for market. For the convenience of passengers, stage-lines were early established, with a stage-office on Merrimack Street, just above the present location of the Merrimac House, and one on Central Street, by the side of Frye's Tavern—now the American House—the headquarters in Boston being Wilde's Tavern, on Elm Street. As I remember, trips were made daily, and the arrival and departure of these six-horse teams was quite an event. In addition to the Middlesex Canal,

which was early utilized in the transportation of heavy freights, by means of canal-boats which were "poled" up the Merrimack River, from the entrance of the upper canal to Middlesex Village—I say nothing here of the passenger packet—Joseph Tapley and Samuel Wood each established a line of covered baggage-wagons. As I recollect, each line comprised from four to six wagons, and each wagon was drawn by four horses. At this time I was accustomed to visit my Grandfather Kendall, near the dividing line of the towns of Woburn and Wilmington. This point was in close proximity, both to the main county road between Lowell and Boston, and the Middlesex Canal. My grandfather kept the tavern, which was mainly patronized by the boat-men and freight-carriers, although Kirk Boott occasionally stopped long enough to have his old white horse watered. This was, in fact, one of the regular stopping places. With dinner at twenty-five cents each, and New-England rum at three cents a glass, which every one drank in those days—brandy and gin being rather beyond the means of the ordinary patron, the prices ranging from four to five cents a drink—a business of no little pretension was then and there carried on.

In due time, and while I continued to make my youthful visits to this place, the construction of the Boston & Lowell Railroad was commenced, and large gangs of laborers centered at and near this spot. Such an immense work as the building of twenty-six miles of railroad, which it was at first thought must be perfectly level and in a straight line, was regarded as one of the wonders of the age. It was also, it will be remembered, laid with granite sleepers, to make it solid and enduring, but these were replaced with wood many years ago. The most difficult work in constructing the Boston & Lowell Railroad, proved to be in digging through the

great ledge in Lowell, just below where the Middlesex Street station now stands. In due time, however, all this was accomplished, and when the road went into operation, in 1836, this hill was often covered with people, who had assembled on foot and in carriages, to witness the arrival of a train of cars from Boston. John Barrett and Josiah E. Short, old stage drivers, were made conductors, although, probably not quite in accordance with the ideas which are supposed to govern the present civil-service act, and maintained their positions until the infirmities of age unfitted them for the duties of so active a life. An early feature in the passenger accommodations of the road, was the Belvidere car, which was built somewhat after the present style of an open horse-railroad car, although neither half so good looking nor so comfortable. Joel Stone was one of the regular patrons of this car, and always carried a cushion under his arm, on the way to the train. This was a very airy way of going to Boston for fifty cents.

Of course I recall the stage lines to Concord, N. H., to Nashua, and to Groton. I remember when passengers by the Boston & Lowell Railroad were transferred from the Merrimack Street station to the steamer "Herald," at the landing where the Vesper Boat Club now is, for Nashua. This fact will remind my readers of Joseph Bradley, through whose energy and perseverance this avenue of travel was opened, and thought, at the time, to be a great improvement over former methods. After a while, however, the Nashua & Lowell Railroad was constructed and made a connection with the Boston & Lowell, the steamer "Herald" was withdrawn from service, as also from the upper Merrimack. Subsequently it was trundled through the necessary streets of Lowell, re-launched above Hunt's Falls, and taken to Newburyport to enter upon other service.

When this very brief reference to the facilities for travel in and out of Lowell, not much more than fifty years ago, is contrasted with its present system of railroads, and its direct connection to almost any point in the United States and the Canadas, it seems almost incomprehensible that so much should have been accomplished. Yet we now accept all these changes and improvements, with scarcely a thought of the sagacity, ingenuity, skill, and enterprise, which have developed so much within the comparatively brief period of half a century. The annihilation of time and space, through the agencies of steam and electricity, are simply marvelous, yet we calmly sit and wait for such other wonderful inventions and improvements as we all admit await those whose lot it shall be to see the end of the next fifty years.

There are many other interesting themes connected with the early history of Lowell, which I could easily introduce, but which would exceed the intended limit of this paper.

The early immigration of the Irish people, who largely contributed that "bone and sinew" so indispensable in the formation and expansion of a city like ours; their colonization on the "Acre"; their turf huts and primitive methods of living; the talented young men now in our midst, whose origin may be directly traced to this colony, and who now are active in the legal, literary and religious professions, all afford subjects which may be utilized, and which are well worthy the pen of any historic writer, who would give to this nationality the place and prominence it deserves in the records of our city's formation and steady growth.

It would be a pleasant task, also, to follow the rise, progress, and even downfall, of some of the many societies of a public character, which have existed for a

longer or shorter period of our existence, both as a town and a city. Musical societies and associations have ever maintained no little prominence, as a paper recently read before this association by Solon W. Stevens, a brief sketch in the *Daily Citizen*, not long since, and a letter in the Boston *Sunday Globe* of January 26, amply show. I may add that, when I commenced this paper, it was my intention to have embodied some of my own early experiences and later observations, on a subject of so much general interest, and so fruitful for even an amateur musician, but the reason for dismissing it, at this time, must be apparent, and perhaps painfully so.

Having thus brought to mind a few of the pioneers and early business men of Lowell, the pleasant duty still remains for some gallant citizen or member of this community, to perform the graceful act of placing upon record the virtues and singing the praises of its early women. There were many distinguished for their eminent characters, literary talents, poetic attainments, and even dramatic power. The lady or gentleman who will venture on this field of labor, will not only acquire the title of *eminent domain*, in this particular branch of Lowell's history, but will be entitled to all the encomiums incident to so fascinating a theme.

In conclusion, I desire to express the hope, that if neither new facts nor original ideas have been advanced, possibly old memories have been awakened, and suggestions made which will incite exertion, by some of the many competent and able members of the Old Residents' Association, to add to its already many excellent sketches, which have, in the past, afforded such valuable information, thus showing to those who shall come after us—to borrow the title of an admirable little book, once published by Rev. Henry A. Miles—"Lowell as it was and as it is."

XX. A Memoir of Mrs. Jane Ermina Locke, by her daughter, Grace Le Baron (Locke) Upham, read May 7, 1890.

To MANY of the members of this Association the past history of the City of Lowell is one of sweet, sad, memories of places and buildings, that the tide of progress has swept from sight; and of people whose names were so identified with its public and social life, as to make it most fitting, that, as an association of old residents, as your very name signifies, you should hold such memories in reverence, and make them a part of your history.

To many, then, the name of Mrs. Jane Ermina Locke, will come as a voice out of the long past, recalling one, whose literary and social reputation, both here and in her later home in Boston, were fast making for herself, an enviable place in the "world of letters," when, alas! the Angel of Death so prematurely snapped the chords of her poetic lyre, and robbed the world of one, with a future yet unsolved before her, and one whom Lowell should feel proud to claim as her own, if not by birthright, by adoption from long residence, and in recognition of her talents, and their ever ready use in its behalf.

Mrs. Locke was born on the 25th of April, 1805, at Worthington, Hampshire County, Mass., situated on the southern declivity of the Green Mountains, being a portion of what is now known as the Berkshire Hills. She

was the youngest child of Deacon Charles and Deborah Starkweather, her father being one of the leading men of the town, and her mother a gentlewoman of "ye olden time." She was but a tiny bit of humanity, tipping the scales when dressed in her first spring costume, at less than three pounds! and the family legend goes, that when first introduced to her brothers and sisters (nine of them), the little stranger was exhibited, "placed in an old-fashioned quart mug, with a tiny saucer turned over it!"

This little frame, with its attendant frailty, was but indicative of the physical weakness which followed its owner through all the years of her life. Her only advantages for education were those of the district school, and being a bright, apt scholar, she gleaned only the rudiments, so to speak there, and perfected herself by studious application to books through life, so that she became a scholar of no little note. She was an ardent admirer of the German language, speaking and reading it, while German poetry and song had always their charms for her.

The first intimation that her family and friends had, of her ability to compose and write for publication, was by the appearance of an article under her signature, in the old *Hampshire Gazette* a weekly paper of the county, entitled: "Old Cleveland, the Fisherman," written at the age of fifteen years! A contemporary writes of this article, "that it was such a truthful and romantic description of the old man of the country about, that it surprised everybody that knew her, and gave her notoriety as a writer." And it was, indeed, a realistic story of great pathos, and bespoke the promise of greater achievements still in the literary line, which were fulfilled in her later years.

Miss Ermina Starkweather as she was then called, became the wife of Mr. John G. Locke, a lawyer, in 1829, whose family name, though now extinct in Lowell, was once honorably identified with it; Mr. Locke, himself, having been in the public service of the city, as Clerk of the Common Council, and Auditor of Accounts for nine consecutive years; his father, the Hon. John Locke, being an associate of Hon. Daniel Webster in Congress, and his uncle and brother, having respectively filled the offices of Clerk and Judge of the Municipal Court of Lowell.

After her marriage, Mrs. Locke accepted the double prerogative of changing both her surname and Christian name as well, and prefixed the name of Jane to her more euphonious one of Ermina, although when using an abbreviation, it was always the new name that was sacrificed, her signature oftener appearing as Mrs. J. Ermina Locke.

Mr. and Mrs. Locke moved first to Buffalo, N. Y., and although making a home amongst strangers, her worth was speedily acknowledged, and her ever ready pen cheerfully lent itself to all charities, and public celebrations of all kinds. The following ode, printed, and distributed, while on the march of the procession which formed a part of the celebration of Washington's birthday in Buffalo in 1831, became very popular, and its words would inspire love for the Father of our Country from even John Bull himself, although he might, perhaps, differ in sentiment with it:

ODE TO WASHINGTON.

With pride we hail this natal morn,
The birthday of our sire;
Our hearts with filial feelings burn,
Our souls with patriot fire.
Our spirits take a lofty tone,
And swell the name of Washington.

Let songs of gratitude employ,
The aged and the young,
And chastened mirth, and hallowed joy,
Break forth from every tongue.
Our land is free, our soil is won—
Our Hero, was our Washington.

His deeds we'll praise in lofty strains,
His precepts call to mind;
'Twas he who rent the tyrant's chains,
And none again shall bind.
We'll spread our banners to the sun,
And shout the name of Washington.

Columbia's daughter well may wear,
Chased gold and diadem;
And sparkling in their drapery, bear
The jewel and the gem.
We're children of a noble one,
The great, immortal Washington.

The vine is clustering o'er our heads,
The fig its fruitage lends;
The valley its bright verdure spreads,
The forest graceful bends,
Untithed, these blessings are our own,
And purchased by our Washington.

This day let gratitude employ
The aged, and the young,
And chastened mirth, and hallowed joy,
Break forth from every tongue.
We'll spread our banners to the sun,
And shout the name of Washington.

Mrs. Locke's stay in Buffalo was but for two years only, and good fortune brought her to Lowell in 1833, and here she dwelt with you for almost twenty years. Some of the members of this Association, can, no doubt, recall to mind the little lady, small in stature, and of great personal magnetism. Hers was no ordinary face. 'Twas of that intellectual beauty of mind, that spoke through the grey-blue eye of expression, the sweet smile of love for all that was refined in life, and a purity of face and heart that bespoke a veneration for all things spiritual—a beauty more enviable than the outlines of her pure Grecian profile, which gained for her the title

in younger days of the "belle" of her mountain home. 'Twas here she became the mother of her "little flock," as she poetically termed her family of seven children. Domestic duties pressed heavily upon her, and sickness, her greatest foe, ever spent its shafts upon her delicate constitution. With all her accumulating literary work, she was the ever devoted wife and mother, and the dedication to her first volume of poems, published in 1842, best presents her as the guardian of her household:

"What others prize, I cheerfully forego,—
All outward circumstances, all pomp and show;
Nay, count them mean, so much I hold above
Domestic quiet, spiced with wedded love;
And ne'er to others threshold press for joy
While free my heart, from grief's to sad alloy;
Or join the dance, or song, or giddy crowd,
While pure around my home is sky from cloud,
Thus do I prove where dwells my chiefest joy."

But one by one, she saw her little family go heavenward, and the graveyard of Lowell received three of her little ones into its keeping, within a few years, and her little cottage which she appropriately named Wamesit Cottage, situated on what has since been called Wamesit Street echoed many a cry of "Rachel mourning for her children," whose grief found palliation only in the comforts of her Christian faith and that outlet of her broken heart, and busy brain—her active pen.

As before said, in 1842, she published her first volume of poems, which she prefaced with the words—"They have, for the most part, been written for my own amusement—to relieve the soul of what would cumber it unuttered, or hush the clamors of a native gift. Some of them in my veriest youth, and many of them in seasons of extreme debility." This last was but a sad truth, for shortly after its publication her fatal foe, consumption, began insidiously its slow work of destruction, and

although but little else than an invalid for the last dozen years of her life, her activity and usefulness were wonderful.

This, her first published volume, was imbued with a sentiment of sorrow that her many afflictions dictated. Many of the little poems were but chapters in her life; many were dedicated to the memory of her loved ones; some to that large circle of literary friends, bright stars in the literary world, it was her good fortune to have about her, for she counted amongst them, those of her contemporaries, William Cullen Bryant, Edgar A. Poe, N. P. Willis, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Sigourney and Mrs. Francis Sargent Osgood.

In 1842, Mrs. Locke gave to the religious world a little book for children, called "Rachel, or the Little Mourner," which had wide circulation amongst the Sunday Schools of the day, and had for its frontispiece, a true portrait of one of her own little girls.

In 1846, she published a lengthy poem called "Boston," which met with such a warm reception and ready sale as to warrant other editions, and was handsomely noticed by the able critics of the times. N. P. Willis wrote of this poem: "The name of Jane E. Locke is familiar to the readers of periodical literature, as the author of many interesting prose articles in the magazines. She appears here not less pleasing in the character of poet. The little book before us, is something quite new in American literature. It is a map of the mind of the Athens of America. The value of a work of this kind, both to those who know and love Boston, is very great. Mrs. Locke's little gem of a book ought to be in the hands of every patriotic American, as a faithful guide-book, and intellectual record, in which useful information is embellished with the graces of poetic art."

During all this busy time the pen of the poetess was by no means idle in behalf of the City of Lowell, and a résumé of her private scrap-book, will not only show how active she was in all its public interests, but will, as well, freshen the memories of some of the older members of this Historical Association, by serving to recall incidents of the long ago.

On one page is recorded the military celebration on the fourth of July (year unknown), of the Mechanics Phalanx and the Lowell City Guards, on which occasion the poetess was chosen by the ladies of Lowell, to present a military standard to these companies, in the old John Street Church. Her graceful speech was gallantly replied to by Capt Beals, in command. Many toasts were given in her honor at the banquet which followed, the one by Capt. Varnum substantiating her reputation in the world of letters: "The lady who presented the standard—She has shown herself this day, well worthy of the literary reputation she has long enjoyed."

On another page is the circular issued by her as President of the Female Total Abstinence Society of Lowell, showing her to be in fullest sympathy with all good work. While interspersed between the time-dimmed pages, are recorded her "original hymn at the ordination of the evangelist, Mr. Edwin J. Gerry"; another, sung at the dedication of the Colburn Grammar School; an ode for a fourth of July celebration; a song for the Harrison Glee Club; still another for the Beethoven Club; hymns and odes respectively for the eleventh anniversary of the South Congregational Sunday School; the Cold Water Army celebration in 1841; a spirited ode for a supper given at the Temperance Hotel, by its host, to those in sympathy with him. While to the Unitarian interests of Lowell she was ever ready

to respond with hymns and songs as requested for their sacred services or their jubilees. Has not Lowell then a just claim to its loyal towns-woman, and a more just cause for revering her memory!

Through her wide-spread literary acquaintance of the day, she became interested in the unfortunate poet, Edgar A. Poe, and, in 1848, introduced and entertained him, in Lowell, when he came to deliver his lecture on "Poetic Principle"; and in his hours of misfortune, she was forward in the movement for his relief, although the fact that she did not always approve his spasmodic hallucinations of love, for his still more susceptible inamorata, in the closing years of his life, has served to fill up the pages for an over-zealous biographer of Poe, who, in misrepresenting her, has added one more to the over-crowded list of those, who, in their literary career, have suffered from ill-deserved criticism. When confronted by one of Mrs. Locke's family this same biographer magnanimously offered to erase the objectionable lines from all following editions, adding that he supposed Mrs Locke left no descendants! What Christian charity! What professional courtesy! What a fate awaits those poor mortals who shall leave no posterity! Their unsullied reputation left to the mercies of critics, whose reverence ceases with the death of their innocent victims, and the force of whose malicious shafts is deadened only by the fear of some living champion to avert their poisonous thrusts! That Poe died in appreciation of Mrs. Locke's generous interest, and with a "brotherly affection, and highest esteem" for his kind friend, who, while acknowledging his masterly poetic talent, could not remain ignorant of his weaknesses, the evidence of letters held by her family, go far to show.

In 1850, Mr. and Mrs. Locke bade adieu to Lowell,

and took up their residence in Boston, the former having received an appointment in the Custom House in the latter city. Mrs. Locke continued her labors as correspondent for the *Boston Journal* and *Daily Atlas*, and was still the busy contributor to the magazines and other periodicals of the day. She was engaged by James Monroe & Co., publishers, to preface many English publications reproduced in this country, and, in 1854, they published her second volume of poems, by name "The Recalled and other Poems." This was most favorably received, its critics being such wise judges as Rufus Choate, Thomas Starr King, and N. P. Willis, while Edgar A. Poe is credited in the author's preface as having given "words of encouragement, that have also given strength and confidence to the whole volume."

The volume closed with a rhymed Eulogy on Webster, which the press of the day loudly praised, calling it "a remarkable effort of poetic inspiration,"—enough alone for the fame of any writer to repose upon; having been very flatteringly complimented by the Hon. Rufus Choate, and such parts of it as were in print during the life of "The Defender," by Mr. Webster. If the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Choate and Webster is worth anything, it is a poem of most sterling merit. Mrs. Locke was a personal friend and a devoted admirer of the Marshfield sage, of whom she says:

> "Country and clime are naught, and men grow less,
> When Webster's shadow trails the wilderness."

The requiem for her unfortunate but talented friend, Mr. Poe, is a most beautiful and tender tribute to the great poet, whose harp strings can, alas! be only stirred by the breezes of memory, attuned to that plaintive rhythm of his most weird and wonderful poem, "Never-

more, ah! nevermore—nameless here forevermore!" Mrs. Locke's poem is filled with that sentiment of Christian charity, so marked in her private and public life, as well.

REQUIEM FOR EDGAR A. POE.

Strike the anthem, bards and brothers,
  Softly sweep your many lyres;
Let the low and solemn requiem,
  Linger on their silver wires!

One hath broken from your number—
  Think not of his errors here—
And hath laid him to a slumber,
  Beyond earthly hope or fear!

One hath broken from your number,
  With a harp of mightiest tone;
And hath passed through Death's dread slumber,
  Onward to the eternal throne!

Let the turf press lightly on him,
  Lay his lyre upon his breast;
And the laurels fame had won him,
  Hang them o'er his place of rest.

Though they bear full many an earth-stain,
  Death's dark stream should wash away
All the mildew clinging to them,
  All the soiling of the clay!

Earth-stained laurels hanging heavy;
  With the cold and midnight dew!
Weep ye, brothers, it is mournful,
  Thus to decorate the yew!

Had the prayers of those availed him,
  O'er whose path his shadow fell,
Darkening with its raven pinions
  Life's dim way,—it had been well.

But yet strike the anthem, brothers—
  Think not of his errors now—
Mourn him, mourn his harp strings broken,
  And the crushed wreath on his brow!

Take ye—take the scattered fragments,
  Lay them kindly at his breast;
Of the lyre he swept so wildly,
  Let them mark his place of rest!

Strike the anthem low and solemn,
  Let its mournful echo swell
Through the "haunted woodland" openings,
  Where the Ghouls of Wier do dwell.

O'er the "dank tarn" of the "Auber"
Let its mournful numbers swell,
And through "Cypress vales Titanic,"—
Paths his spirit loved so well!

Nevermore shall strains so mighty
Wind along that lakelet "dim";
Nevermore shall float such music,
None could sweep the lyre like him!

Strike the anthem, then, ye brothers—
Think not of his errors now—
Mourn him, mourn his harp strings broken
And the crushed wreath on his brow!

Mrs. Locke appeared also, as a lecturer, before the Ladies' Physiological Society of Boston, and was complimented by a request for a repetition of her lecture, to which she acceded.

Consumption had, in these later years, asserted itself beyond control, and won its final victory over her, on March 8, 1859, and the cypress entwined itself with the laurel, that surrounded her rising fame and name.

The last poem she published was one called "The Midnight Voice," and reads sadly prophetic, when we remember that its author passed away from earth almost before the printer's ink had inscribed its words of ominous prophecy:

Oh spirit, spirit, come again,
And whisper to my soul!
Nay, call aloud, nor call in vain,
But keep the heart's control!

And what thou wouldst oh, speak it all!
And what thou wouldst with me;
So will I wait thy midnight call,
And answer back to thee.

With that inborn love of the beautiful in Nature, her great desire seemed to be to look once more upon country skies and the snow-covered hills, and she was taken, at her own request, to the little town of Ashburnham, Worcester County, on March 1, 1859, but the change was beyond her feble endurance, and she died on

the eighth of the same month, closing her eyes to the long-wished-for joys, and murmuring the words, "Peace, peace, all is peace." The sweet song of her life was finished, and the loud "amen" of resignation, from her pure lips, found its echo with the waiting cherub choir of her own loved ones beyond the stars.

The magazines and public press of the day, to which she had for so long lent her words, were full of kindly tribute to her memory and her literary worth. The following from the pen of Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, the writer, who was her nearest personal friend, is a loving testimonial to Mrs. Locke, in her sweet womanliness and as the devoted guardian of her household: "Hardly had I written my last article, when the sorrowful news came of the departure of my friend, Mrs. Jane Ermina Locke. She was one of the many who die with their genius but half acknowledged by the world. Her life was nobler, sweeter, than any of her expressions by the pen. Generous and loving, she had always something to say or do for others, quite forgetful of self. She sacrificed her genius that she might redeem the duties of her household and family; therefore, I am sure, her great song will respond to heavenly harp-strings."

And the following brief extract from a lengthy obituary notice in the *Great Republic Monthly*, a then popular magazine, is as just a tribute to Mrs. Locke's literary talent: "Jane Ermina Locke has gone from us, at an age when men are in the prime of their powers, and the very bloom of intellect. She died with her capabilities unrevealed either to herself or the world. That she has done much and well, a volume of poems of hers published several years since, abundantly testifies; but these were but the promise of her genius. Those who knew her best felt that much of reserve power remained.

She has written a large number of articles in prose, critiques, essays, and stories, characterized by great vigor of expression, analytical, subtile, and inventive, in a high degree. She was a keen observer of the progress of opinion in our country, and not unfrequently wrote pithy and stirring articles anonymously, in aid of what seemed highest and best to her own mind. Generous in her appreciation of others, she did not fail to give her testimony in their behalf. An enemy to all shams, cliques, and pretenders, she more than once exposed those dark shadows upon the horizon of American literature."

The old graveyard of the city of Lowell, is to-day the guardian of all that is, of the perishing dust of the woman, and the poetess—Mrs. Jane Ermina Locke—above whose grave, the waving grass and the humble daisy, appeal to the hearts of those who knew and loved her, in that language of sweet simplicity, which marked her life: and the Angel of Death, as he closed the portals of her short life, greeted with holy reverence, that other Angel of Memory, whose indelible crayon has graven sweet words of remembrance, of one, whose memory is a benediction, as her life was a sweet, sad poem.

XXI. The Lowell Cemetery by James S. Russell, read, May 7, 1890.

FROM the earliest times, man has desired the lifeless bodies of himself and family to be placed near together, and their graves defended from desecration.

Abraham provided a burial place for himself and posterity. Jacob, after blessing each of his sons separately, charged them, saying, "I am to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying place. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebecca his wife; and there I buried Leah."

In more modern times churchyards have been sought for burials; and vaults under cathedrals.

At the present time, appropriate places are set apart for the burial of the dead; and families secure private lots, more or less exclusive, for themselves and posterity.

This very common desire for grouping the dead of separate families, may be in part accounted for from the facility it affords the survivors to visit the scene of their last look upon the departed, for contemplation, raising a prayer, and dropping a tear.

Before the extraordinary influx of people into East Chelmsford, the sparse population had its local grave yards; one at the present corner of School and Branch

Streets, which is now in good condition; and is still used by the descendents of the old inhabitants. The other was in the edge of Tewksbury; but now on the high ground in Belvidere, between East Merrimack Street and the Merrimack River. But there is no trace of it left. Some of the bodies were removed to other places, and the remains of others mingled with the soil and gravel excavated from cellars; and used in the grading of house lots.

To protect their dead from such desecration, sensitive people form themselves into incorporated companies, to procure suitable burial places, and provide for their perpetual care. The corporation perpetuates itself, and will never fail to defend the interests of the proprietors.

At the opening of manufacturing in Lowell, the people that flocked here from all quarters, were chiefly in the prime of life, and here temporarily, as they supposed, while they could secure profitable employment; having no idea of leaving their bones here. But, in process of time, the population assumed a more permanent character; and men began to consider what should finally be the disposition of their lifeless bodies; whether they should be transported away to lie beside their fathers; or whether they themselves should start anew, be the heads of their own families, and provide a resting place for themselves and their posterity.

As early as 1840 the subject of a private and exclusive cemetery, began to be agitated among leading minds. James G. Carney is credited as being the first to move in the matter; and Oliver M. Whipple bought a lot of land in anticipation of the demand for it for cemetery purposes.

On August 1, of that year, a meeting was called of those disposed to encourage the undertaking. At this

meeting a committee of thirty, of which Dr. Elisha Bartlett was chairman, was appointed to consider the subject, and report at a subsequent meeting. The result of their report was the purchase of the Whipple land for $5,000, comprising about forty-four acres. But by subsequent additions, from time to time, the lot now includes nearly one hundred acres.

In the language of Dr. Blanchard, "How suited to its contemplated uses is this enclosure; embracing every variety of surface and of scenery for the gratification of every variety of taste; embosomed in some parts in the soft brown shade of the natural forest; and open in others for the ornaments of artificial cultivation; watered by a brook, which waits only the bidding of art to swell into glossy lakes and to fall in silver cascades; accessible at all times, yet so remote from the marts of business, as not to be liable to be encroached upon by the spreading abodes of the living; sequestered from the din and bustle of active life, yet, by its easy approach, and its winding avenues and paths, inviting the visits of bereaved fondness, and of pensive reflection; is it not just suited to its present destination?"

On February 13 and March 8, the act of incorporation was accepted, by-laws adopted, and the officers chosen, as follows, viz.: Oliver M. Whipple, president; James G. Carney, treasurer; Charles Hovey, clerk; for trustees, John Aiken, James Cook, Jonathan Tyler, Samuel Lawrence, John W. Graves, Seth Ames, John C. Dalton, Alexander Wright, David Dana, Eliphalet Case, John Nesmith, and William Livingston.

In view of this list of names, we may truly infer that the men engaged in this enterprise were among the foremost men of the city, embracing agents of mills, professional men, men in trade, and in the various business industries.

The minimum price of lots of three hundred square feet, was fixed at $10; and a public sale of the choice of lots, was held November 30, 1841. The premiums bid averaged about $5 a lot, for the lots sold; and $5 was added to the price of lots for future sales. The price has been increased, from time to time, till now only improved lots are sold, and those at $250, or 83⅓ cents per square foot; equal to the price of building lots in the populous parts of the city of the living.

The ground was consecrated by appropriate religious ceremonies on Sunday, June 20, 1841. The following account of the occasion is from the *Lowell Courier* of that date: "Though the afternoon was a little showery, a vast concourse of people resorted to the spot, and were attentive to the exercises. The extensive plot obtained for the cemetery, is yet in so rough a state as to present no attractions, except the ever-pleasing decorations of nature. Hill and dale are there in delightful proportions; and there too are the native oaks and pines, which have stood since the days of the tomahawk and wigwam. Enough can be seen to satisfy any observer that it is well chosen, and capable of being made one of the most appropriate and interesting places of sepulture to be found in the country.

"It was a solemn place—a graveyard; but, as yet, no graves were there. The assembly was composed of all the variety of our population. The aged and the young, male and female, rich and poor, were there; all in one throng. We were under the wide-spread branches of native oaks, and so situated as to give all a favorable opportunity to see and hear.

"The exercises commenced by singing the following hymn, in that tune which, for grandure and melody, has few equals, Old China. The singing was well con-

ducted by the worthy president of the Lowell Union Singing Society, J. C. Aiken.

"There is a land of pure delight,
Where Saints immortal reign;
Infinite day excludes the night,
And pleasures banish pain.

There everlasting spring abides,
And never-withering flowers;
Death, like a narrow sea, divides
That heavenly land from ours."

* * * * * * *

"An appropriate prayer was then offered by Rev. Lemuel Porter. Next came the address by Rev. Amos Blanchard, which for its appropriate extent of subjects, its richness of thought and felicity of expression, is seldom equaled on any public occasion. We cite some passages from that eloquent address:

"'How imposing, my friends, is this scene! From worshipping God in your respective temples, you have assembled, a congregation vast, with one accord in one place. You come from houses made with hands, to pray and praise amid these venerable columns, and beneath this verdant roof, reared and woven by His own omnipotence. Here is perpetual worship; grandure, strength and grace proclaim the divine presence. The occasion of our concourse is as touching as the scene is solemn. The living city has poured forth its thousands to lay, with appropriate solemnities, the foundations of a city of the dead. We are here to set apart a depository for our bodies, when our spirits shall have joined the great congregation of the dead. We consecrate this as the place where the monuments and the inscriptions shall utter their monitory voice, and art and classic taste shall conspire with Autumn's fading leaf, and Winter's snowy livery, and the jubilee shout of the Springtime, and Summer's golden glories, and the flowing river, and the

leaping brook, and the insects' hum, and the zephyr's requiem, and the wabbling of the birds, and the lovely landscape around, and the blue heavens above; to soothe, to tranquilize, and elevate the soul. Here will shortly arise the urn, the shaft, the table, the mausoleum, and the plain headstone, as so many monuments, on the confines of both worlds, presenting to us at once, the end of life's inquietudes and the image of eternal rest. Here "the wicked will cease from troubling, and the weary will be at rest."'.

"After the address, followed the consecrating prayer, offered by the Rev. Henry A. Miles, of which we can only say, it was what it should be. Then was sung the hymn:

"Why should we start, and fear to die,
What tim'rous worms we mortals are;
Death is the gate of endless joy,
And yet we dread to enter there."

* * * * * * * *

"The exercises were then closed with the benediction, by the Rev. Dr. Packard, whose pastoral charge once included the domain of our city."

Among the names of the clergy engaged in the enterprise and taking parts in the consecration exercises, we fail to notice that of the venerable Dr. Edson. But he chose that his body should finally rest with those people among whom he chiefly labored while living. It lies in the ground honored by his name, in a lot no otherwise distinguished than by a massive stone cross, lying flat upon the surface of the ground. The eligible and well-kept grounds of the Edson Cemetery are open to all, and no one need feel agrieved at the apparent exclusiveness of the Lowell Cemetery.

The construction of a suitable gateway was long delayed for lack of funds. But at length, aided largely by liberal subscriptions from many ladies, a noble struc-

ture, beautiful in architecture, rose at the entrance; and more recently, an appropriate stone building, for an office for the superintendent, reception, and committee rooms, has been placed beside the gateway.

It is much to be regretted that the Lowell & Andover Railroad has been constructed along the front of the cemetery and crossing the public road at grade. The numerous daily trains greatly endanger the frequent funeral processions at the crossing. The $5500 award of damages is a trifle compared with the detriment to the corporation. Previous to this obstruction to the present entrance, the trustees had endeavored to secure a much desired entrance on the Belvidere side. These efforts have hitherto been without avail. But recently the way was thought to be opened, and the object attained, by the purchase of about ten acres of additional land. The offer was made and accepted, and the deed awaited for. But when presented it was found to contain certain new conditions, which were incompatible with the interests of the cemetery. This is a severe disappointment, not only to the proprietors of the cemetery, but to half of the city, who have long looked for a Belvidere entrance to the cemetery, and had supposed it secured. The reason for such restrictions ought to be obvious and sufficient. But, so far as can be learned, they are simply personal, and the persons concerned are willing to brave the indignation of their fellow-citizens. It is hoped that more reasonable counsels will yet prevail.*

The description of the natural scenery, by Dr.

* Since the above was written, the annual meeting of the corporation has occurred, when this subject was fully discussed. It was determined to take sides with neither of the outside parties, but to do what seemed best for the interests of the cemetery when all things were considered. It was voted to accept the deed with its restrictions. Now the Belvidere entrance may be considered as secured; and, though the cemetery does not acquire all the advantages it expected, from the acquisition of the additional land, it is hoped that eventually all parties will be satisfied.

Blanchard, is not only eloquent but very nearly truthful. We fail to notice the "brook swelling into glossy lakes, and falling in silver cascades." The only watercourses are under cover, serving for the drainage of the surface water; and pipes conducting water from the city reservoir. There is, however, at the base of Fort Hill, a living spring, which I hope to see developed into an eligible drinking fountain, under a shady bower, offering shelter and comfort to the weary and thirsty visitors. His prevision of the development of the possibilities of the situation, was still more eloquent and truthful, as a casual observation will verify.

The granite curbing and iron fences of a former fashion, are gradually giving way to a simpler style. A raised mound, without fencing, conforming to the natural lay of the land, and covered with a thick, green sward, and well trimmed, is coming into vogue. But a simple granite curbing interferes little with the green turf, and has the advantage of defending the lot, and defining its limits.

Each year shows advancement, not only in the substantial and permanent, but in the ornamental and æsthetic features. One of the latest is the extensive greenhouse, attached to the grounds, where flowers, in great variety, may be had at all seasons. There is a great demand for flowers, by persons of taste and sentiment, who place them at the head of the graves of their loved ones, pleasantly imagining, perhaps, that the senseless body beneath perceives, or at least the gratified spirit is a witness to, these tokens of affection. The practice is simple, and refining to the living. But not so the extravagant display of flowers now common at funerals, detracting from the solemnity of the occasions. A few chaste blossoms of varieties appropriate to the age of the subject, are in good taste and to be commended.

Private gifts for the public benefit have not been wanting; but what is worthy of remark is, that women have been foremost in conferring such favors. The magnificent gateway is crowned with "sounding praise," by the generosity of one noble woman. The chapel, at great cost, beautiful in design and construction, appropriate and useful, is the gift of another noble woman. Still another has generously provided for the care and preservation of the chapel for all time. The early subscriptions by the ladies, already mentioned, is properly repeated in this connection. The Glidden fountain and statuary is also worthy of all praise. May others, in the future, emulate these examples.

As early as 1860 the corporation, with commendable forethought, assumed the perpetual care of lots, whose owners made with them deposits of money, the interest of which should be devoted to that object. The depositors have increased in number until there are now many hundreds. The funds are deposited in savings banks. An account is kept with each separate lot. It is credited with the income, and charged with what is expended on the lot. At the annual meetings of the corporation the treasurer reports the condition of each account. This record involves much labor and responsibility. The average of the deposits is now about $120. This sum is amply sufficient for all contingencies—any additional sum would serve only to increase the burden of its care.

The accumulations of some thirty or forty of the accounts, above the expenditures, amount to seventy per cent. of the deposits. Unless there should be some provision made for withdrawing these excessive accumulations, the burden of the care will become intolerable in the future.

This system of perpetual care is invaluable. The longest lives must come to an end. Their successors may be indifferent, or may have removed to distant parts of the world, or even already buried; and the neglected lots left to disfigure the ground. There are already neglected and delapidated lots for which there is no provision made for their improvement. Shall the corporation assume the care of such lots and thus encourage the heedless and penurious in their negligence? There is one notable example where a person has made provision that the surplus earnings of his deposit shall, at stated times, flow over into the surrounding lots that need attention.

The officers of the corporation serve gratuitously, except the clerk and treasurer, whose salary is none too much for the labor he performs. Oliver M. Whipple, the first president, held the position for nearly thirty years; his successors have held the office for shorter times. Many of the trustees have served for long periods. The present treasurer has been in office nearly twenty years. A house is provided, near the cemetery, for the superintendent, who has in his employ twenty men, more or less, at different seasons of the year.

Much has already been done; but more remains to be done, and the time is probably very remote when it may be said, No more improvement is possible.

XXII. President's Report, read May 7, 1890.

For another year the Old Residents' Historical Association has steadily pursued its quiet and unobtrusive course. Seventeen new members have been added to our ranks, and sixteen of our members have died—a number larger, it is believed, than that of any preceding year. The influenza, which during much of the year has prevailed throughout the city, seems to have had a fatal tendency to conspire with every other disease in decimating our ranks. Of those who have died due notice will be taken in the proper place.

During the year the following documents have been added to our library, the titles of which, as furnished me by our faithful secretary, are as follows:

Narrative of the Captivity of Stephen Williams, Deerfield Memorial Association.

Annual Report of the Buffalo Historical Association, January 8, 1889.

Proceedings of the Davenport, Iowa, Academy of Natural Sciences, from 1884 to 1889.

Annual Report of the Dedham Historical Society, 1889.

Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Congregational Association of Boston.

Catalogue of Portraits, State Historical Society, Wisconsin.

Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, N. Y., 1887 to 1889.

Aboard and Abroad; an Account of His Trip to Europe, by Benjamin Walker, Esq.

Annual Report of the University of California, for year ending June 30, 1889.

Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Biographical Sketch of Hon. Edward Lovell Dana, Wyoming Historical Society.

Annual Report of the Woburn Public Library for 1889.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, parts 1 and 4, 1887.

Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1889–90.

Records of the New London County Historical Society, Vol. 1, Part 1.

Early Chicago and Illinois, Chicago Historical Society.

Report of Yale University, by the President, 1889.

I take this opportunity to urge again upon the members of this Association, the importance of fulfilling their individual obligations to contribute their own personal reminiscences in forwarding the cause for which the society was established. In this good work our brother, Benj. Walker, Esq., has led the way. The remark cannot be too frequently repeated, that acts and events which seem trivial and common place to-day, may, in future years, be read by those who come after us, with interest and even with delight. What pleasure is now afforded us by even a glimpse at the life of our ancestors one hundred years ago.

The following record of the lives of those of our members who have died during the last year, is necessarily very brief.

Hon. Ephraim B. Patch died of paralysis, July 2, 1889, at the house of his daugher, in Chelmsford, at the age of eighty-three years. He was born at Ashby in 1806, and came to Lowell in 1831. From 1831 to 1841 he was engaged in the dry goods business. Then for about three years he was a teacher of penmanship in the public schools. From 1844 to 1889 he was a well-known auctioneer on Prescott Street. For several months

before his death his ill health prevented his engagement in active labor. Mr. Patch was an assessor of the city in 1857 and 1858. He served on the school committee nineteen years, was state senator in 1860, was one of the original trustees of the Old Ladies' Home, in the support of which he performed a great amount of gratuitous labor. He was president of the Ministry-at Large, and in time of the war he was chairman of the committee for managing the Sanitary Fair. He bore the reputation of a benevolent, upright man. Few citizens have been so much missed in the streets of Lowell.

Langley H. Boardman died at his residence on Willow Street, July 24, 1889, at the age of sixty-seven years. He was born in Essex, Mass., and came to Lowell in his youth. Through his whole life in Lowell he was engaged in the shoe trade, first as clerk under Hapgood Wright, Esq., and afterwards as proprietor of a shoe store. In this business he was engaged for more than forty years. He was a quiet, intelligent and honorable man, whose time was devoted to the discharge of his private business.

Jacob Ames died August 27, 1889, at the age of eighty-three years. He was born in Hancock, N. H., in 1806. At the age of ten years he went to New Ipswich, N. H., and was subsequently employed as carpenter with his father: In 1827, at the age of twenty-one years, he came to Lowell, and worked at his trade for twenty-five years, being employed by the Massachusetts Corporation. He was a devout member of the John Street Congregational Church, and was known as a man of few words, of vigorous will and of strict integrity.

Oliver W. Flint died September 6, 1889, at the age of eighty-four years. He was born in Dracut, but for about sixty years resided in Lowell. He was formerly

an overseer on the Tremont & Suffolk Corporation, but in later years was engaged in keeping a livery stable. He belonged to the Veteran Firemen's Association. He died at the home of his daughter.

Frank F. Battles died at his home, on Mt. Washington Street, September 19, 1889, at the age of sixty-nine years. He was born in Dorchester, Mass., and came to Lowell with his father when twelve years of age. His father was an overseer on the Tremont Corporation. Having been educated in our public schools, he was employed first as clerk in the Railroad Bank, afterwards as paymaster of the Dwight Mills in Cabotville, and of the Prescott Mills in Lowell, and also as superintendent of the latter Mills. Subsequently, for forty-three years, he was agent of the Massachusetts & Prescott Mills. He was a director of the Railroad Bank, and served as Alderman in 1870 and 1871. He was greatly beloved by all who were in his employ as agent, and was known as a man of benevolent heart and of great moral worth.

Andrew T. Nute died at his residence, on Elm Street, September 24, 1889, at the age of eighty-four years. He was born in Milton, N. H., and came to Lowell when about twenty-two years of age. For several years he was an overseer on the Suffolk Corporation. He next engaged in the meat business, but in his latter years he was a member of the firm of Woods & Nute, manufacturers of scales. He served as Alderman in 1855 and 1857. He was a member of the St. Paul's Methodist Church, and belonged to the Veritas Lodge of Odd Fellows and the William North Lodge of Masons.

Luke McFarlin died at his residence, on Arlington Street, on October 18, 1889, at the age of seventy-nine years. He was born in Lowell, and was, through life, identified with the city. In early life he was engaged in

salmon fishing, etc., on the Merrimack. In company with his brother William, he was long engaged in the ice business in Lowell, and occupied the position in the trade now occupied by Daniel Gage, to whom the McFarlins sold out their business. Mr. McFarlin was at one period engaged in teaming stone from the quarry on the Mammoth Road, in Dracut, to supply the building operations in the city of Lowell. In his last years, being in failing health, he employed himself in letting boats on the Merrimack. Mr. McFarlin was never married.

Joshua Merrill died November 9, 1889, at his home, on Tenth Street, at the age of eighty-seven years—an age greater than that of either of the members of this Association who have died during the past year, Col. Bancroft being younger by nearly one year. Mr. Merrill was born in Milford, N. H., March 17, 1802, and was a farmer's son. When twenty-five years of age he came to Lowell, where for eighteen years he was a well-known teacher of the city, having been the instructor of many of the leading men of Lowell. Upon leaving the profession of teaching (in 1845) he became a bookseller, having, for several years, one of his sons as partner. His time, during many of the last years of his life, was divided between his bookstore and his farm. He was fond of agricultural pursuits. He was always an ardent friend of the temperance cause, and was a prohibitionist in politics for many of his latter years. In 1850 he was a member of the Common Council, and for fourteen years a member of the Lowell School Board. He was one of the founders of Universalism in Lowell, and a prominent man in the churches of that persuasion.

Jefferson Bancroft died upon his farm, in Tyngsborough, January 3, 1890, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was born in Warwick, Mass., April 30, 1803.

He came to Lowell in 1824, at the age of twenty-one years, and found employment in the Satinet Manufactory of Thos. Hurd. Later he was an overseer in the Appleton Mills. In 1831 he was appointed by Sheriff Varnum as Deputy Sheriff, and this office he held through the rest of his life—a period of fifty-nine years. Few men have been better known in Lowell or held more positions of trust and honor. He was in the City Council in 1839 and 1840; on the Board of Aldermen in 1841 and 1842; and Chief Engineer of the Fire Department in 1844, 1845 and 1846. He was also Colonel of the Fifth (now Sixth) Regiment, and was Mayor of the city in 1846, 1847 and 1848. He was also Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, and was four times elected Representative of the city in the General Court of Massachusetts. He was everywhere acknowledged to be a man of high character and marked ability.

Oliver E. Cushing died February 17, 1890, at the age of sixty-one years. He was educated in our public schools and in Phillips Academy, and became a civil and mechanical engineer. For twenty-five years he was the agent of the Lowell Gas Light Company. He was a trustee of the Five Cent Savings Bank, and for more than thirty years clerk of St. Anne's Parish. He was an Alderman of the city in 1885, and at the time of his death president of the Lowell Cemetery. As agent of the Gas Light Company he was a popular officer, and his administration was marked with ability.

Jacob Nichols died at his home, on Summer Street, on February 16, 1890, at the age of seventy-six years. He came to Lowell from Amherst in early life. Having acquired a good knowledge of machinery, he once went to Mexico as superintendent of a mechanical plant in that country. He subsequently engaged in the furniture

business on Market Street, Lowell. Having acquired property he dealt largely in real estate. He became proprietor and treasurer of the Cutter & Walker Manufacturing Company. He was a director in the Old Lowell National Bank, and of the Andover & Lowell Railroad. He had the reputation of an upright man of business.

Amos B. French died at his residence, on Bridge Street, March 23, 1890, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was born in Billerica in 1812, but resided in Lowell after he was about twelve years old. For many years he was well known to the people of this city as the keeper of its most popular restaurant. For many of his later years he was a member of the firm of French & Puffer, in the crockery business. He was on the Board of Aldermen in 1870 and 1871, and was a director of the First National Bank and of the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and trustee of the Lowell Institution for Savings. He was known as a quiet, unobtrusive man, of very agreeable address, and, above all, of the strictest integrity.

Nathan M. Wright died March 31, 1890, at his residence, on Nesmith Street, at the age of seventy-five years. He was born in Concord, Mass., May 20, 1815, and was educated in the High School and other public schools of that town. He came to Lowell July 10, 1831, and served as clerk in the shoe store of his brother, Hapgood Wright. In 1836 he began the shoe business on his own account, and continued it until a few months before his death. He was known as a man of very courteous manners, of good ability, and of upright character.

Col. Josiah A. Sawtelle died April 3, 1890, at his home, in Sawtelle Place off School Street, at the age of sixty-six years. He was born in Townsend, and came to

Lowell when a boy, where, after his school days, he engaged with his father in the work of bridge building and other kindred employments. He was a man of military tastes and belonged to the Fifth (afterwards the Sixth) Regiment at an early date. In the famous march of this regiment through Baltimore, April 19, 1861, he was Captain of Company A. He was afterwards appointed Major, and for gallant conduct was promoted in 1862 to the office of Lieutenant Colonel. Since the war he has engaged in bridge building, etc.

William Nichols died at Monterey, Cal., March 30, 1890, at the age of seventy-two years. He was born at Wilmington, February 20, 1818, and came to Lowell in his boyhood. At the age of ten years he entered a grocer's store as clerk and at length began the grocer's business on his own account. Except for a brief period in which he was engaged in business in Norfolk, Va., and in Canada, he has followed the grocer's business in Lowell, until the time of his death. At one time he was in company with Abner W. Buttrick, and afterwards as partner with Ransom Reed. For many years subsequent to 1849 he was a member of the well-known firm of Nichols & Fletcher, which was followed by the firm of William Nichols & Co. Mr. Nichols was engaged in the grocers' business for sixty-two years. He was a director of the Appleton Bank, and trustee of the City Institution for Savings. He was a modest man of the highest character and the strictest integrity. He was remarkable for his devotion to his business and the vigorous health and activity of his last years of life.

Daniel P. Galloupe died at his residence, on Methuen Street, May 4, 1890, at the age of eighty-three years. He was born in Topsfield, Mass., January 20, 1807, and very early in life began the business of teaching in his

native town. He had been for many years a teacher in one of the grammar schools of Salem, Mass., when he received his appointment as principal of the Varnum School in Lowell in 1853. In this school he was the faithful and successful teacher for twenty-five years, resigning his position at the age of about seventy-one years. Since his resignation he for several years served upon the School Committee of Lowell, and also in the office of Superintendent of the schools of the town of Dracut. Mr. Galloupe was known as a wise and conservative educator, and at a public convention in Boston, a few years since, he was publicly and formally recognized as the original proposer of the formation of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association.

It is a remarkable fact that the average age of those of our number who have died during the past year is more than seventy-seven years, the oldest, Mr. Merrill, being eighty-seven years of age, and the youngest, Mr. Cushing, sixty-one. The age of only four was below seventy years.

XXIII. Letter from Hon. Wm. A. Richardson.

COURT OF CLAIMS CHAMBERS,
Washington, D. C., February 15, 1890.

Alfred Gilman, Esq., Secretary:

I appreciate the compliment of my election as an Honorary and Corresponding Member of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, notice of which has just been received, and I accept the same with pleasure.

I am led to recall how much I have been connected with Lowell and its institutions. My mother, Mary (Adams) Richardson, and her father, William Adams, and other ancestors, were born in Chelmsford before the town of Lowell was set off from its territory.

I went to Lowell in 1843, immediately after graduation at Harvard College, and studied law with my brother, Daniel S. Richardson, who had settled there in 1839. In July, 1846, after leaving the Harvard Law School, I took up my permanent residence in Lowell and went into partnership in the practice of the law with my brother Daniel, and so continued until my appointment as Judge of Probate and Insolvency, in 1858, when my brother, George F. Richardson, took my place in the firm, which still continues under the style of D. S. & G. F. Richardson. I still kept up my residence in Lowell, having an office in Boston, until 1863 or 1864, when I removed to Cambridge.

In 1849 I was a member of the Common Council, elected (unanimously) to fill a vacancy, in March, I think. In 1853 and 1854 I was a member and president of the Common Council.

I was a resident of Lowell when, in 1855, I was appointed one of the Commissioners to revise the General Statutes of the Commonwealth, in 1856 when I was appointed Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, and in 1858 when I was appointed Judge of Probate and Insolvency for Middlesex.

I was for many years one of the directors of the Appleton Bank, both before and after it became a National bank; president of the Wamesit Bank before and when it was changed to a National bank, and afterwards. I was vice-president, president and trustee of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, and took an active part in resuscitating it when it was threatened with decay and destruction. I was one of the corporators, trustees, and finance committee of the Lowell Five Cent Savings Bank, in which I took an active interest. For a few years I was also a director of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company.

In Masonic institutions I was a member of Ancient York Lodge, and for some years secretary of Mount Horeb Royal Arch Chapter, and was one of the founders and first recorder of Pilgrim Commandery of Knights Templars.

My only child was born in Lowell, now Mrs. Isabel Richardson Magruder, wife of Dr. Alexander F. Magruder, surgeon in the United States Navy, and now residing here in Washington.

I regard Lowell as the place where was laid the foundation of whatever success in my life has been attained, and I not only look back upon it with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, but my interest in the city and its people has never abated.

I am very respectfully and truly yours, etc.

WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON.

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"'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours."—YOUNG.

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Very truly yours
James B. Francis

XXIV. Kirk Boott and his experience in the British Army, read by James B. Francis, May 5, 1887.

A FEW months since I learned that a letter had been received by a member of the Boott family of Boston, from the Rev. George R. Gleig, an Englishman, making inquiries about the late Kirk Boott, with whom he was associated in the British army. As anything relating to Mr. Boott could not fail to be interesting to the members of the Old Residents' Historical Association, I ventured to write to Mr Gleig, asking for information relating to him, and have received the following letter in reply.

BYLANDS, WINCHFIELD, HANTS,
9th of April, 1887.

DEAR SIR—I have delayed replying to your letter of 12th of March, in the hope that I might be able to find out for you some scraps of knowledge bearing on the early education of my old comrade, Kirk Boott. I am sorry to say that I cannot trace his career further back than the period in which he joined the 85th Light Infantry, nor follow it beyond his retirement from that regiment. I am still prosecuting my inquiries, and should they bring me any information worth transmitting I shall not fail to send it on.

By way of preface to what follows, I must tell you that prior to the year 1813, the 85th, though an excellent fighting regiment, was so torn by factions among the officers, that the Duke of York, then commander-in-chief, after trying every other plan for restoring concord among them, made up his mind to disperse them all through different regiments in the service, and to bring in a set entirely new, from the colonel commanding down to the youngest ensign. To be selected as one of this body of young men was a great compliment.

It showed that in the regiment from which they were moved into the 85th they had been well thought of, and in this compliment Kirk Boott and I equally shared. From what regiment he came I never enquired, but we joined the 85th at Hythe in Kent, on the same day, he, I think, as a lieutenant and I an ensign.

We went with the regiment to Spain, and on the 19th of August, 1813, landed at Passages. He was present at all the actions of which I have given an account in the Subaltern, viz.: the capture of San Sabastian, the passages of the Bidaossa, the battle of the Nieve, and the Nivelle, the latter lasting four days, the passage of the Garonne and the siege of Bayonne. He, like myself, was too young an officer ever to be entrusted with a separate command, but he was a gallant soldier and a great favorite in the corps. He was, moreover, remarkably good looking and one of the best billiard players I ever saw.

The 85th being ordered to America, Boott, like a good patriot, refused to occompany it. He left us before we began our march to Bordeaux; he embarked at Passages for England. What became of him afterwards I do not know. I returned with the 85th to England in May, 1815, and after serving with it a year or two in various home stations I also retired from the army.

I see that in your sketch of him you state that he studied at what was then our staff college, the senior department at Sandhurst; it may have been so, but I never saw or heard of him after bidding him good-bye in the camp under the walls of Bayonne.

This letter will, I fear, be of little use to you. I do not like, however, to leave yours any longer unanswered, and will supplement my story with further details, if at a future period I obtain further information.

It is evident to me that Kirk Book exhibited the same energy in civil life that he did as an officer in the British army. He really was a very fine felllow.

Sincerely yours,

G. R. GLEIG.

JAMES B. FRANCIS, Esq.

I learn from other sources that Mr. Gleig is now in his ninety-first year, and is a prominent Episcopal clergyman, and was chaplain-general of the British army from 1844 to 1872.

I found in the library of the Boston Athenæum, "The Subaltern," referred to in Mr. Gleig's letter, as

containing an account of the actions in which he and Mr. Kirk Boott were engaged in Spain and France. Mr. Boott was about twenty-three years old when he joined the 85th Light Infantry as a lieutenant, in May, 1813, with Mr. Gleig, who was about seven years younger. As Mr. Boott's experience in the British army must have had an important effect in fitting him for the position he subsequently held in Lowell, I have made some extracts from The Subaltern, giving an account of it.

The 85th Light Infantry landed at Passages, in the north of Spain, about ten miles from St. Sabastian, August 18, 1813. The siege of St. Sabastian, occupied by the French, was then in progress. On the night of July 24th an attempt had been made to take the place by assault, which failed. The siege, however, was not abandoned, and the 85th Light Infantry was ordered to take part in it.

An additional force of artillery having been provided, on the morning of August 27 the batteries, consisting of sixty pieces of artillery of eighteen to sixty-four pounders and twenty mortars, opened fire, which was continued to the evening of the 30th, when two breaches in the rampart had been made. In front of the rampart was the river Gurumea, which was fordable at low tide. Noon of August 31 had barely passed when the low state of the tide giving evidence that the river might be forded, the word was given for the forlorn hope of the storming party to advance. Silent as the grave, the columns moved forward. In one instant the leading files had cleared the trenches and the others followed in quick succession, when the work of death began. The enemy having reserved their fire till the head of the column had gained the middle of the stream, then opened with the most deadly effect. Grape, canister, musketry, shells,

grenades, and every species of missile, were hurled from the ramparts, beneath which our gallant fellows dropped like corn before the reaper, insomuch that in the space of about two minutes the river was literally choked up with the bodies of the killed and wounded, over whom, without discrimination, the advancing divisions pressed on. The opposite bank was soon gained, and the short space between the landing-place and the foot of the breach rapidly cleared, without a single shot having been returned by the assailants. But here the most alarming prospect awaited them. Instead of a wide and tolerably level chasm, the breach presented the appearance of an ill-built wall, thrown considerably from its perpendicular, to ascend which, even though unopposed, would be no easy task. It was, however, too late to pause; besides, men's blood was hot, and their courage on fire; so they pressed on, clambering up as they best could, and effectually hindering one another from falling back, by the eagerness of the rear rank to follow those in front. Shouts and groans were now mingled with the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry; our front ranks likewise had an opportunity of occasionally firing with effect, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful.

At length the head of the column forced its way to the summit of the breach, where it was met in the most gallant style by the bayonets of the garrison. When I say the summit of the breach, I mean not to assert that our soldiers stood upon a level with their enemies, for this was not the case. There was a high step, perhaps two or three feet in height, which the assailants must surmount before they could gain the same ground with the defenders, and a very considerable period elapsed ere that step was surmounted. Here bayonet met bayonet, and sabre met sabre in close and desperate strife, without

the one party being able to advance or the other succeeding in driving them back. Things had continued in this state for nearly a quarter of an hour, when Major Snodgrass, at the head of the 13th Portuguese regiment, dashed across the river by his own ford, and assaulted the lesser breach. This attack was made in the most cool and determined manner; but here, too, the obstacles were almost insurmountable, nor is it probable that the place would have been carried at all, but for a measure adopted by General Graham, such as perhaps had never been adopted before. Perceiving that matters were almost desperate, he had recourse to a desperate remedy, and ordered our artillery to fire upon the breach. Nothing could be more exact or beautiful than this practice. Though our men stood only about two feet below the breach, scarcely a single ball from the guns of our batteries struck amongst them, while all told with fearful exactness among the enemy. This fire had been kept up only a very few minutes when all at once an explosion took place such as drowned every other noise and apparently confounded, for an instant, the combatants on both sides. A shell from one of our mortars had exploded near the train, which communicated with a quantity of gunpowder placed under the breach. This mine the French had intended to spring as soon as our troops should have made good their footing or established themselves on the summit, but the fortunate accident just mentioned anticipated them. It exploded when three hundred grenadiers, the *élite* of the garrison, stood over it, and instead of sweeping the storming party into eternity, it only cleared a way for their advance. It was a spectacle as appalling and grand as the imagination can conceive, the sight of that explosion. The noise was more awful than any which I have ever heard before or

since. Both parties stood still to gaze upon the havoc which had been produced, insomuch that a whisper might have caught your ear for a distance of several yards.

The state of stupefaction into which they were thrown at first, did not, however, last long with the British troops. As the smoke and dust of the ruins cleared away they beheld before them a space empty of defenders, and they instantly rushed forward to occupy it. Uttering an appalling shout the troops sprang over the dilapidated parapet, and the rampart was their own. Now then began all those maddening scenes, which are witnessed only in a successful storm, of flight and slaughter, and parties rallying only to be broken and dispersed, till finally, having cleared the works to the right and left, the soldiers poured down into the town.

To reach the streets they were obliged to leap about fifteen feet, or to make their way through the burning houses which joined the wall. Both courses were adopted, according as different parties were guided in their pursuit of the flying enemy; and here again the battle was renewed. The French fought with desperate courage; they were literally driven from house to house and street to street, nor was it till a late hour in the evening that all opposition on their part ceased. Then, however, the governor, with little more than a thousand men, retired into the castle, whilst another detachment of perhaps two hundred, shut themselves up in a convent.

As soon as the fighting began to wax faint, the horrors of plunder and rapine succeeded. Fortunately there were few females in the place, but of the fate of the few which were there I cannot even now think without a shudder. The houses were everywhere ransacked, the furniture wantonly broken, the churches profaned, the images dashed to pieces, wine and spirit cellars were

broken open, and the troops, heated already with angry passions, became absolutely mad by intoxication. All order and discipline were abandoned. The officers had no longer the slightest control over their men, who on the contrary controlled the officers; nor is it by any means certain that several of the latter did not fall by the hands of the former, when they vainly attempted to bring them back to a sense of subordination.

Night had now set in, but the darkness was effectually dispelled by the glare from burning houses, which one after another took fire. The morning of August 31st had risen upon St. Sabastian, as neat and regularly built a town as any in Spain; long before midnight it was one sheet of flame, and by noon on the following day little remained of it except its smoking ashes. The houses being lofty, like those in the old town of Edinburgh, and the streets straight and narrow, the fire flew from one to another with extraordinary rapidity. At first some attempts were made to extinguish it, but these soon proved useless, and then the only matter to be considered was how personally to escape its violence. Many a migration was accordingly effected from house to house, till at last houses enough to shelter all could no longer be found, and the streets became the place of rest to the majority.

The spectacle which then presented was truly shocking. A strong light falling upon them from the burning houses, disclosed crowds of dead, dying and intoxicated men, huddled indiscriminately together. Carpets, rich tapestry beds, curtains, wearing apparel, and everything valuable to persons in common life, were carelessly scattered about upon the bloody pavement, whilst ever and anon fresh bundles of these were thrown from the windows above. Now you would see a drunken fellow whirl-

ing a string of watches around his head, and then dashing them against the wall; then another, more provident, stuffing his bosom with such smaller articles as he most prized. Next would come a party rolling a cask of wine or spirits before them, with loud exclamations, which in an instant was tapped and in an incredibly short space of time emptied of its contents. Then the ceaseless hum of conversation, the occasional laugh and wild shout of intoxication, the pitiable cries or deep moans of the wounded, and the uninterrupted roar of the flames, produced altogether such a concert as no man who listened to it can ever forget.

Of these various noises the greater number now began to subside as night passed on, and long before dawn there was a fearful silence. Sleep had succeeded inebriety with the bulk of the army. Of the poor wretches who groaned and shrieked three hours ago many had expired, and the very fire had almost wasted itself by consuming everything on which it could feed. Nothing, therefore, could now be heard, except an occasional faint moan, scarcely distinguishable from the heavy breathing of the sleepers, and even that was soon heard no more.

The besiegers lost about twenty-five hundred men, and the besieged about three thousand, besides nine hundred, the remains of the garrison, prisoners of war.

Various marches, skirmishes, and rest in winter quarters, occupied the time until February 23, 1814, when they arrived before the city of Bayonne, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by about fifteen thousand picked men of the French army under the command of General Thouvenot; the main French army under Marshal Soult being in the immediate neighborhood. The city was regularly invested, and the siege

soon after was commenced. About midnight of April 11, intelligence arrived that the allies were in possession of Paris, and that Bonaparte had abdicated. This of course put an end to the war, and a flag of truce was sent into the city with the information. General Thouvenot refused to credit it; he had received, he said, no official communication from Marshal Soult, his immediate commanding officer. Under these circumstances no proposals were made on either side to cease from hostilities. Three days after, at three o'clock in the morning, we were waked up by heavy firing, and found that a desperate sortie had taken place, and in less than a quarter of an hour we were hotly engaged in action. A terrible fight was kept up until daylight, when the French were driven back into the city, losing upwards of a thousand men, the allies losing about nine hundred.

Soon after this General Thouvenot received an official order, which he considered himself bound to obey, and an armistice followed which ended hostilities, and on the morning of the 28th of April the white flag of the Bourbon was hoisted over the ramparts of the city. On the 8th of May the regiment struck its tents and commenced its march to Bordeaux, from which port it sailed for America, where it took part in the actions near Washington and subsequently in the battle of New Orleans.

XXV. A Sketch of the Life and Works of George W. Whistler, Civil Engineer, by George L. Vose, President of the Boston Society of Civil Engineers.

[In placing my name at the head of this sketch, I do so more as a compiler than as an author. My only object has been to collect such facts, from those of our older engineers who knew Major Whistler, as would enable me to place before the younger members of the profession some record of one of its most brilliant ornaments; to hold up an illustrious example of all that is worthy of imitation; to show them something of one who was equally admired as an engineer, and beloved as a man. Whatever of value may be found in the sketch must be credited to that rapidly decreasing band of veteran engineers who have recalled for me their early years and their early labors; men who saw the beginning of the railroad system in America, and many of whom had the good fortune to begin their career under the great master whose memory is so fondly cherished by all who were connected with him. Not only have I availed myself to the fullest extent of the recollections of these men, without which I could have done nothing; but I have also used their exact language whenever I could, as the reader is thus placed in closer communication with the subject of the sketch than would be possible in any other way. It is a most delightful thing to see how the old enthusiasm and the youthful admiration of these veterans in the profession kindle anew as they recall their early service under Major Whistler. It was indeed no common man who could inspire his assistants and associates, and who could leave so indelible an impression, not only upon their minds, but in their hearts.

I am especially indebted for the material which is here presented, to Gen. George S. Greene of New York, to Col. Julius W. Adams of Brooklyn, to Messrs. William Raymond Lee and Charles S. Storrow of Boston, to James B. Francis of Lowell, and to the

George W. Whillen

late E. S. Chesborough of Chicago, nearly all of whom in their early life were associated with Major Whistler. I am also under obligations to Dr. William Gibbs McNeill Whistler of London, to G. H. Prince, Esq., of St. Petersburg, to Messrs. William E. Worthen and John Bogart of New York, to Mrs. Gen. D. H. Rucker of Washington, to Lieut. G. N. Whistler of the United States Army, to Thomas D. Whistler of Tarrytown, to the superintendent of the United States Military Academy, to Dr. George D. Stanton of Stonington, to Samuel Nott of Hartford, to E. H. Hazard of Providence, and to John B. Winslow and Joseph Ropes of Boston. The officers of the several libraries in Boston, and of the historical societies in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, have aided me in many ways in obtaining information; and the managers of the several railroads with which Major Whistler was connected have given me access at all times to their archives.

The portrait given here is from an engraving published in New York about the time of Major Whistler's death, and shows him in the prime of manhood. It is considered an excellent likeness by those who knew him.

In conclusion, I may use the words of one of America's foremost engineers, who even as I write has closed his long and useful life, leaving behind a reputation unsurpassed for sound judgment, great practical ability, and the most sterling worth: "Whenever the true historian of civil engineering in this country shall arise, he will give to Major Whistler a position of which its younger members to-day appear to have no conception, and of which many of the older appear to have very inadequate ideas."]

FEW persons, even among those best acquainted with our modern railroad system, are aware of the early struggles of the men to whose foresight, energy and skill the new mode of transportation owes its introduction into this country. The railroad problem in the United States was quite a different one from that in Europe. Had we simply copied the railways of England, we should have ruined the system at the outset for this country. In England, where the railroad had its origin, money was plenty, the land was densely popu-

lated, and the demand for rapid and cheap transportation already existed. A great many short lines connecting the great centres of industry were required, and for the construction of such in the most substantial manner the money was easily obtained. In America, on the contrary, a land of enormous extent, almost entirely undeveloped, but of great possibilities, lines of hundreds and even thousands of miles in extent were to be made, to connect cities as yet unborn, and to accommodate a future traffic of which no one could possibly foresee the amount. Money was scarce, and in many districts the natural obstacles to be overcome were infinitely greater than any which had presented themselves to European engineers.

By the sound practical sense and the unconquerable will of George Stephenson, the numerous inventions which together made up the locomotive-engine had been combined in a machine, which, in connection with the improved roadway, was to revolutionize the transportation of the world. The railroad as a machine was invented. It remained to apply the new invention in such a manner as to make it a success, and not a failure. To do this in a new country like America, required infinite skill, unbounded energy, the most careful study of local conditions, and the exercise of well-matured, sound business judgment.. To see how well the great invention has been applied in the United States, we have only to look at the network of iron roads which now reaches from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

With all the experience we have had, it is not an easy problem, even at the present time, to determine how much money we are authorized to spend upon the construction of a given railroad. To secure the utmost benefit, at the least outlay, regarding both the first cost

of building the road, and the perpetual cost of operating it, is the railroad problem which is, perhaps, less understood at the present day than any other. It was an equally important problem fifty years ago, and certainly not less difficult at that time. It was the fathers of the railroad system in the United States who first perceived the importance of this problem, and who, adapting themselves to the new conditions presented in this country, undertook to solve it. Among the pioneers in this branch of engineering, no one has done more to establish correct methods, or has left behind a more enviable or a more enduring fame, than Major George W. Whistler.

The Whistler family is of English origin, and is found towards the end of the fifteenth century in Oxfordshire, at Goring and Whitechurch, on the Thames. One branch of the family settled in Sussex, at Hastings and Battle, being connected by marriage with the Websters of Battle Abbey, in which neighborhood some of the family still live. Another branch lived in Essex, from which came Dr. Daniel Whistler, president of the College of Physicians in London in the time of Charles II., a person frequently mentioned in "Pepys' Diary." From the Oxfordshire branch came Ralph, son of Hugh Whistler of Goring, who went to Ireland, and there founded the Irish branch of the family; being the original tenant of a large tract of country in Ulster under one of the guilds, or public companies, of the city of London. From this branch of the family came Major John Whistler, father of the distinguished engineer, and the first representative of the family in America. It is stated that in some youthful freak he ran away, and enlisted in the British army. It is certain that he came to this country during the Revolutionary War, under Gen. Burgoyne, and remained with his command until its

surrender at Saratoga, when he was taken prisoner of war. Upon his return to England he was honorably discharged; and soon after, forming an attachment for a daughter of Sir Edward Bishop, a friend of his father, he eloped with her, and came to this country, settling at Hagerstown in Maryland. He soon after entered the army of the United States, and served in the ranks, being severely wounded in the disastrous campaign against the Indians under Major-Gen. St. Clair, in the year 1791. He was afterwards commissioned as lieutenant, rose to the rank of captain, and later had the brevet of major. At the reduction of the army in 1815, having already two sons in the service, he was not retained; but in recognition of his honorable record he was appointed military-storekeeper at Newport, Ky., from which post he was afterwards transferred to Jefferson Barracks, a short distance below St. Louis, where he lived to a good old age, and died, and was buried.

Major John Whistler had a large family of sons and daughters, among whom we may note particularly: William, who became a colonel in the United States Army, and who died at Newport, Ky., in 1863; John, a lieutenant in the army, who died of wounds received in the battle of Maguago, near Detroit, in 1812; and George Washington, the subject of our sketch. Major John Whistler was not only a good soldier, and highly esteemed for his military services, but was also a man of refined tastes and well educated; being an uncommonly good linguist, and especially noted as a fine musician. In his family he is stated to have united firmness with tenderness, and to have impressed upon his children the importance of a faithful and thorough performance of duty, in whatever position they should be placed.

George Washington Whistler, the youngest son of

Major John Whistler, was born on the 19th of May, in the year 1800, at Fort Wayne, in the present State of Indiana, but then a part of the North-west Territory, his father being at the time in command of that post. Of the boyhood of George Whistler we have no record, except that he followed his parents from one military station to another, receiving his early education, for the most part, at Newport, Ky., from which place, on July 31, 1814, he was appointed a cadet to the United States Military Academy, being then fourteen years of age.

The course of the student at West Point was a very satisfactory one. Owing to a change in the arrangement of the classes after his entrance, he had the advantage of a longer term than had been given to those who preceded him, remaining five years under instruction. His record during his student life was good throughout. In a class of thirty members he stood number one in drawing, number four in descriptive geometry, number five in drill, number eleven in philosophy and in engineering, number twelve in mathematics, and number ten in general merit. He was remarkable, says one who knew him at this time, for his frank and open manner, and for his pleasant and cheerful disposition. A good story is told of the young cadet, which shows his ability, even at this time, to make the best of circumstances apparently untoward, and to turn to his advantage his surroundings, whatever they might be. Having been, for some slight breach of discipline, required to bestride a gun in the campus for a short time, he saw, to his dismay, coming down the walk the beautiful daughter of Dr. Foster Swift, a young lady who, visiting West Point, had taken the hearts of the cadets by storm; and who, little as he may at the time have dreamed it, was destined to become his future wife. Pulling out his handkerchief, he

bent over his gun, and appeared absorbed in cleaning the most inaccessible parts of it with such vigor as to be entirely unaware that any one was passing; nor did the young lady dream that a case of discipline had been before her, until in after years, when on a visit to West Point, an explanation was made to her by her husband.

It was at this time of his life, that the refinement and taste for which Major Whistler was ever after noted began to show itself. An accomplished scientific musician and performer, he gained a reputation in this direction beyond that of a mere amateur, and scarcely below that of the professionals of the day. His nickname, "Pipes," which his skill upon the flute at this time gave him, adhered to him through life among his intimates in the army. His skill with the pencil, too, was something phenomenal, and would, but for more serious duties, have made him as distinguished an artist as he was an engineer. Fortunately for the world, this talent descended to one of his sons, and in his hands has had full development. These tastes in Whistler appeared to be less the results of study on his part than the spontaneous out-growth of a refined and delicate organization, and so far constitutional with him that they seemed to tinge his entire character. They continued to be developed till past the meridian of life, and amid all the pressure of graver duties furnished a most delightful relaxation.

Upon completing his course at the Military Academy, he was graduated, July 1, 1819, and appointed second lieutenant in the Corps of Artillery. From this date until 1821 he served, part of the time on topographical duty, and part of the time he was in garrison at Fort Columbus. From Nov. 2, 1821, to April 30, 1822, he was assistant professor at the Military Academy, a posi-

tion for which his attainments in descriptive geometry and his skill in drawing especially fitted him. This employment, however, was not altogether to his taste. He was too much of an artist to wish to confine himself to the mechanical methods needed in the training of engineering students. In 1822, although belonging to the artillery, he was detailed on topographical duty, under Major (afterwards Col.) Abert, and was connected with the commission employed in tracing the international boundary between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. This work continued during the four years from 1822 to 1826, and subsequent duties in the cabinet of the commission employed nearly two years more. The field service of this engagement was anything but light work; much of it being performed in the depth of winter, with a temperature fifty degrees below zero. The principal food of the party was tallow and some other substance, which was warmed over a fire on stopping at night. The snow was then removed to a sufficient depth for a bed, and the party wrapped one another up in their buffalo-robes until the last man's turn came, when he had to wrap himself up the best he could. In the morning, after warming their food and eating, the remainder was allowed to harden in the pan, after which it was carried on the backs of men to the next stopping-place. The work was all done upon snow-shoes; and occasionally a man became so blinded by the glare of the sun upon the snow, that he had to be led by a rope.

Upon the 1st of June, 1821, Whistler was made second lieutenant in the First Artillery in the re-organized army. On the 16th of August, 1821, he was transferred to the Second Artillery; and on the 16th of August, 1829, he was made first lieutenant. Although belonging in the artillery, he was assigned to topograph-

ical duty almost continually until Dec. 31, 1833, when he resigned his position in the army. A large part of his time during this period was spent in making surveys, plans, and estimates for public works; not merely those needed by the National Government, but others, which were undertaken by chartered companies in different parts of the United States. There were at that time very few educated engineers in the country besides the graduates of the Military Academy; and the army engineers were, therefore, frequently applied for by private corporations, and for several years Government granted their services.

Prominent among the early works of internal improvement was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and the managers of this undertaking had been successful in obtaining the services of several officers who were then eminent, or afterwards became so. The names of Dr. Howard,—who, though not a military man, had been attached to the corps of engineers,—of Lieut.-Col. Long, and of Capt. William Gibbs McNeill, appear in the proceedings of the company as "Chiefs of Brigade;" and those of Fessenden, Gwynne, and Trimble, among the assistants.

In October, 1828, this company made a special request for the services of Lieut. Whistler. The directors had resolved on sending a deputation to England to examine the railroads of that country; and Jonathan Knight, William Gibbs McNeill, and George W. Whistler were selected for this duty. They were also accompanied by Ross Winans, whose fame and fortune, together with that of his sons, became so widely known afterwards in connection with the great Russian railway. Lieut. Whistler was chosen for this service, says one who knew him well, on account of his remarkable thoroughness in all the

details of his profession, as well as for his superior qualifications in other respects. The party left this country in November, 1828, and returned in May, 1829.

In the course of the following year, the organization of the road, a part of which had already been constructed under the immediate personal supervision of Lieut. Whistler, assumed a more permanent form, and allowed the military engineers to be transferred to other undertakings of a similar character. Accordingly, in June, 1830, Capt. McNeill and Lieut. Whistler were sent to the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, for which they made the preliminary surveys and a definite location; and upon which they remained until about twenty miles were completed, when a lack of funds caused a temporary suspension of the work. In the latter part of 1831, Lieut. Whistler went to New Jersey to aid in the construction of the Paterson and Hudson-River Railroad (now a part of the Erie Railway). Upon this work he remained until 1833, at which time he moved to Connecticut to take charge of the location of the railroad from Providence to Stonington, a line which had been proposed as an extension of the road already in process of construction from Boston to Providence.

In this year, Dec. 31, 1833, Lieut. Whistler resigned his commission in the army; and this not so much from choice as from a sense of duty. Hitherto his work as an engineer appears to have been more in the nature of an employment than a vocation. He carried on his undertakings diligently, as it was his nature to do, but without much anxiety or enthusiasm; and he was satisfied with meeting difficulties, as they came up, with a sufficient solution. Henceforward he followed his profession from a love of it. He labored that his resources against the demands of matter and space should be over-abundant;

and if he had before been content with the sure-footed facts of observation, he now added the luminous aid of study. How luminous and how sure these combined became, his later works show best.

In 1834 Mr. Whistler accepted the position of engineer to the Proprietors of Locks and Canals at Lowell. This position gave him, among other things, the direction of the machine shops, which had been made principally for the construction of locomotive engines. The Boston and Lowell Railroad, which at this time was in process of construction, had imported a locomotive from the works of George and Robert Stephenson at Newcastle, and this engine was to be reproduced, not only for the use of the Lowell road, but for other railways as well; and to this work Whistler gave a large part of his time from 1834 to 1837. The making of these engines illustrated well the features in his character which then and ever after were of the utmost value to those for whom he worked. It shows the self-denial with which he excluded any novelties of his own, the caution with which he admitted those of others, and the judgment which he exercised in selecting and combining the most meritorious of existing arrangements. His preference for what was simple and had been tried did not arise from a want of originality, as he had abundant occasion to show during the whole of his engineering life. He was, indeed, uncommonly fertile in expedients, as all who knew him testify; and the greater the demand upon his originality, the higher did he rise to meet the occasion. The time spent in Lowell was not only to the great advantage of the company, but it increased also his own stores of mechanical knowledge, and in a direction, too, which in later years was of especial value to him.

In 1837 the condition of the Stonington Railroad

became such as to demand the continual presence and attention of the engineer. Mr. Whistler, therefore, moved to Stonington, a place to which he became much attached, and to which he seems during all of his wanderings to have looked with a view of making it finally his home. While engaged upon the above work, he was consulted in regard to many other undertakings in different parts of the country; and prominent among these was the Western Railroad of Massachusetts.

This great work, remarkable for the boldness of its engineering, was to run from Worcester through Springfield and Pittsfield to Albany. To surmount the highlands dividing the waters of the Connecticut from those of the Hudson, called for engineering cautious and skilful, as well as heroic. The line from Worcester to Springfield, though apparently much less formidable, and to one who now rides over the road showing no very marked features, demanded hardly less study; as many as twelve several routes having been examined between Worcester and Brookfield. To undertake the solution of a problem of so much importance, required the best of engineering talent; and we find associated in this work the names of three men who in the early railroad enterprises of this country stood deservedly in the front rank, — George W. Whistler, William Gibbs McNeill, and William H. Swift. McNeill had graduated from the Military Academy in 1817, and risen to the rank of major in the topographical engineers. Like Whistler, he had been detailed to take charge of the design and construction of many works of internal improvement not under the direction of the General Government. These two engineers exercised an influence throughout the country for many years, much greater than that of any others. Indeed, there were very few works of importance under-

taken at that time, in connection with which their names do not appear. This alliance was further cemented by the marriage between Whistler and McNeill's sister. Capt. William H. Swift had also graduated from the Military Academy, and had already shown marked ability as an engineer. Such were the men who undertook the location and construction of the railroad which was to surmount the highlands between the Connecticut and the Hudson, and to connect Boston with the Great West.

The early reports of these engineers to the directors of the Western Railroad show an exceedingly thorough appreciation of the complex problem presented to them, and a much better understanding of the principles involved in establishing the route than seems to have been shown in many far more recent works. In these early reports, made in 1836 and 1837, we find elaborate discussions as to the power of the locomotive engine; and a recognition of the fact, that in comparing different lines we must regard the *plan* as well as the *profile*, "as the resistance from curves on a level road may even exceed that produced by gravity on an incline;" and in one place we find the ascents "*equated* at eighteen feet, the slope which requires double the power needed on a level road," resulting in a "*virtual increase.*" We find also a very clear expression of the fact that an increased expenditure in the power needed to operate the completed road may overbalance a considerable saving in first cost. To bear this principle in mind, and at the same time to work in accordance with the directors' ideas of economy, in a country where the railroad was regarded very largely as an experiment, was by no means an easy task. The temptation to make the first cost low, at the expense of the quality of the road, in running up the valley of the Westfield River, was very great, and

the directors were at one time very strongly urged to make an exceedingly narrow and crooked road west of Springfield; but Major Whistler so convinced the president, Thomas B. Wales, of the folly of such a course, that the latter declared with a most emphatic prefix that he would have nothing to do with such a twopenny cow-path, and thus prevented its adoption.

Major Whistler had many investigations to make concerning the plans and policy of railroad companies, at a time when almost everything connected with them was comparatively new and untried. When he commenced, there was no passenger-railroad in the country, and but very few miles of quarry and mining track. If at that time an ascent of more than one in two hundred was required, it was thought necessary to have inclined planes and stationary power. It was supposed that by frequent relays it would be possible to obtain for passenger-cars a speed of eight or nine miles an hour. Almost nothing was known of the best form for rails, of the construction of the track, or of the details for cars or engines. In all of these things Major Whistler's highly gifted and well-balanced mind enabled him to judge wisely for his employers, and to practise for them the truest economy.

Major Whistler's connection with the Western Railroad began while he was still engaged upon the Stonington Line. Associated with his friend McNeill, he acted as consulting engineer for the Western road from 1836 to 1840. From 1840 to 1842 he was its chief engineer, with his headquarters at Springfield. The steep grades west of the Connecticut presented not only a difficult problem in location, but in locomotive engineering as well. At the present day we can order any equipment which may best meet the requirement upon any railroad

and the order will be promptly met by any one of our great manufactories; but in the early days of the Western Railroad it was far otherwise, and the locomotive which should successfully and economically surmount with heavy trains a grade of over eighty feet to the mile was yet to be seen. The Messrs. Winans of Baltimore had built some nondescript machines, which had received the name of "crabs," and had tried to make them work upon the Western road; but after many attempts they were finally given up as unfit for such service. These "crabs" were eight-wheeled engines, weighing about twenty tons, with a vertical boiler. The wheels were three feet and a half in diameter; but the engine worked on to an intermediate shaft, which was connected with the driving-wheels in such a manner as to get the effect of a five-feet wheel. These engines did not impress Major Whistler at all favorably. His experience in Lowell was here of great value to him; and he had become convinced that the engine of George Stephenson was, in the main, the coming machine, and needed but to be properly proportioned, and of sufficient size, to meet every demand.

With Major Whistler's work upon the Western Railroad, his engineering service in this country concluded, and that by an occurrence which marked him as one of the foremost engineers of his time. Patient, indefatigable, cautious, remarkable for exhaustless resource, admirable judgment, and the highest engineering skill, he had begun with the beginning of the railroad system, and had risen to the chief control of one of the greatest works in the world,—the Western Railroad of Massachusetts. Not only had he shown the most far-sighted wisdom in fixing the general features of this undertaking; but no man surpassed him, if indeed anyone

equalled him, in an exact and thorough knowledge of technical details. To combine the various elements in such a manner as to produce the greatest commercial success, and to make the railroad in the widest sense of the word a public improvement, never forgetting the amount of money at his disposal, was the problem he had undertaken to solve. He had proved himself a great master in his profession, and had shown how well fitted he was to grapple with every difficulty. He was equally a man of science and a man of business; and to all this he added the most delicate sense of honor, and the most spotless integrity. He was in the prime of manhood, and was prepared to enter upon the great work of his life.

It was not long after the introduction of the railroad, that intelligent persons saw very plainly that the new mode of transportation was not to be confined to the working of an already established traffic in densely populated regions, but that it would be of equal service in awakening the energies of undeveloped countries, in bringing the vast interior regions of the continents into communication with the seaboard, in opening markets to lands which before were beyond the reach of commerce. And it was seen, too, that in event of war a new and invaluable element had been introduced, viz., the power of transportation to an extent never before dreamed of.

Especially were these advantages foreseen in the vast empire of Russia; and an attempt was very early made to induce private capitalists to construct the lines contemplated in that country. The Emperor, besides guaranteeing to the shareholders a minimum profit of four per cent., proposed to give them gratuitously all the lands of the state through which the lines should pass, and to place at their disposal, also gratuitously, the timber and raw materials necessary for the way and works,

which might be found upon the ground. It was further proposed to permit the importation of the rails and the rolling-stock free of duty. Russian proprietors also came forward, and not only agreed to grant such portions of their land as the railroads might pass through, gratuitously, but, further, to dispossess themselves temporarily of their serfs, and surrender them to the use of the companies, on the sole condition that they should be properly supported while thus employed.

With regard to the great line, however, which was to unite the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, it was decreed that this should be made exclusively at the expense of the state, in order to retain in the hands of the government, and in the general interest of the people, a line of communication so important to the industry and the internal commerce of the empire. The local proprietors agreed to surrender to the government, gratuitously, the lands necessary for this line.

It was very early understood that the railroad problem in Russia was much more analogous to that in the United States than to that in England. The Emperor, therefore, in 1839, sent the Chevalier De Gerstner to the United States to obtain information concerning the railroads of this country. It was this person who had obtained from the Emperor the concession for the short railroad from St. Petersburg to Zarskoe Selo, which had been opened in 1837, and who had also made a careful reconnoissance in 1835 for a line from St. Petersburg to Moscow, and had very strongly urged its construction on the American plan. The more De Gerstner examined our roads, the more impressed he was with the fitness of what he termed the American system of building and operating railroads, to the needs of the Empire of Russia. In one of his letters, in explaining the causes of the

cheap construction of American railways, after noting the fact that labor as well as material is much dearer in America than in Europe, he refers to the use of steep grades (ninety-three feet to the mile) and sharp curves (six hundred feet radius) upon which the American equipment works easily; to the use of labor-saving machinery, particularly to a steam-excavating machine on the railroad between Worcester and Springfield; and to the American system of wooden-bridge building; and says, "The superstructure of the railroads in America is made conformable to the expected traffic, and costs, therefore, more or less accordingly;" and he concludes, "Considering the whole, it appears that the cheapness of the American railroads has its foundation in the practical sense which predominates in their construction." Again, under the causes of the cheap management of the American roads, he notes the less expensive administration service, the low rate of speed, the use of the eight-wheeled cars, and the four-wheeled truck under the engines; and concludes, "In my opinion, it would be of great advantage for every railroad company in Europe to procure at least one train like those used in America. Those companies, however, whose works are as yet under construction, I can advise, with the fullest conviction, to procure all their locomotive engines and tenders from America, and to construct their cars after the American model."

Notwithstanding this report, the suggestions of De Gerstner were not at once accepted. The magnitude of the enterprise would not admit of taking a false step. Further evidence was needed; and, accordingly, it was decided to send a committee of engineer officers to various countries in Europe and to the United States, to select such a system for the road and its equipment, as

would be best adapted to Russia. These officers, Cols. Menlikoff and Krofft, not only reported in the most decided manner in favor of the American methods, but also stated that of all persons with whom they had communicated, no one had given them such full and satisfactory information upon all points, or had so impressed them as possessing extraordinary ability, as Major Whistler. This led to his receiving an invitation from the Emperor to go to Russia, to act as consulting engineer for the great road which was to connect the imperial city upon the Baltic with the ancient capital of the Czars.

When we consider the magnitude of the engineering works with which the older countries abound, we can but regard with a feeling of pride the fact that an American should have been selected for so high a trust, by a European government possessing every opportunity and means for securing the highest professional talent which the world could offer. Indeed, the engineers of the Russian service were perhaps the most acomplished body of men to be found in any country. Selected in their youth, irrespective of any artificial advantages of birth or position, but for having a genius for such work, and trained to a degree of excellence in all of the sciences unsurpassed in any country, they stood deservedly in the front rank. Such was the body of men with whom Major Whistler was called to co-operate, and whose professional duties, if not directed specially by him, were to be controlled by his judgment.

Accepting the position offered to him in so flattering a manner, he sailed for St. Petersburg about mid-summer, in 1842, being accompanied on his voyage by Major Bouttattz of the Russian Engineer Corps, who had been sent to this country by the Emperor as an escort. Arriving in St. Petersburg, and having learned the general

character of the proposed work, he traveled, partly by horse and partly on foot, over the entire route, and made his preliminary report, which was at once accepted.

The plan contemplated the construction of a double-track railroad, four hundred and twenty miles long, perfect in all its parts, and equipped to its utmost necessity. The estimates amounted to nearly forty millions of dollars, and the time for its construction was reckoned at seven years. The line selected for the road had no reference to intermediate points, and was the shortest attainable, due regard being paid to the cost of construction. It is nearly straight, and passes over so level a country as to encounter no obstacle requiring a grade exceeding twenty feet to the mile, and for most of the distance it is level. The right of way taken was four hundred feet in width throughout the entire length. The roadbed was raised from six to ten feet above the ordinary level of the country, and was thirty feet wide on top.

One of the most important questions to be settled at the outset, in regard to this great work, was the width of the gauge. At that time the opinion in England, as well as in the United States, among engineers, was setting very strongly in favor of a gauge wider than four feet eight and a half inches; and the Russian engineers were decidedly in favor of such increased width. Major Whistler, however, in an elaborate report to Count Kleinmichel, argued very strongly in favor of the ordinary gauge. To this, a commission of the most distinguished engineers in Russia replied, urging in the most decided manner a gauge of six feet. Major Whistler rejoined in a report which is one of the finest models of an engineering argument ever written, and in which we have, perhaps, the best view of the quality of his mind. In this document, no point is omitted; each part

of the question is handled with the most consummate skill; the bearing of the several parts upon the whole is shown in the clearest possible manner, and in a style which could only come from one who from his own knowledge was thoroughly familiar with all the details, not only of the railroad, but of the locomotive as well.

In this report the history of the gauge is given, with the origin of the standard of four feet eight inches and a half. The questions of strength, stability, and capacity of cars, of the dimensions, proportions, and power of engines, the speed of trains, resistances to motion, weight and strength of rails, the cost of the roadway, and the removal of snow, are carefully considered; the various claims of the advocates for a wider gauge are fairly and critically examined; and while the errors of his opponents are laid bare in the most unsparing manner, the whole is done in a spirit so entirely unprejudiced, and with so evident a desire for the simple truth, as to carry conviction to any fair-minded person. The dry way, too, in which Major Whistler suggests that conclusions based upon actual results from existing railways are of more value than deductions from supposed conditions, upon imaginary roads, is exceedingly entertaining. The result was the adoption of the gauge recommended by Major Whistler; namely, five feet. Those who remember the "Battle of the Gauges," and who know how much expense and trouble the wide gauge has since caused, will appreciate the stand taken thus early by Major Whistler; and this was but one among many cases which might be mentioned to show how comprehensive and far-reaching was his mind.

The roadway of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Railroad was thirty feet wide on top, for a double track of five feet gauge, with a gravel ballasting two feet deep.

The bridges were of wood, of the Howe pattern, no spans being over two hundred feet in length. The stations at each end, and the station and engine houses along the line, were on a plan uniform throughout, and of the most ample acommodation. Fuel and water stations were placed at suitable points; and engine-houses were made fifty miles apart, built of the most substantial masonry, circular in form, a hundred and eighty feet in diameter, surmounted by a dome, and having stalls for twenty-two engines each. Repair-shops were attached to every engine-house, furnished with every tool or implement that the wants of the road could suggest.

The equipment of rolling-stock and fixed machinery for the shops was furnished by the American firm of Winans, Harrison, & Eastwick, who from previous acquaintance were known by Major Whistler to be skilful, energetic, and reliable. Much diplomacy was needed to procure the large money advances for this part of the work, the whole Winans contract amounting to nearly five millions of dollars; but the assurance of Major Whistler was a sufficient guaranty against disappointment or failure.

In 1843 the plans for the work were all complete, and in 1844 the various operations along the line were under way, and proceeding according to the well-arranged programme. In 1844 work had progressed so far that the construction of the rolling-stock was commenced. The locomotives were of two classes,—freight and passenger. The engines of each class were made throughout from the same patterns, so that any part of one engine would fit the same position on any other. The passenger-engines had two pairs of driving-wheels, six feet in diameter, coupled, and a four-wheeled truck similar to

that under the modern American locomotive. The waist of the boiler was forty-seven inches in diameter, and it contained a hundred and eighty-six two-inch tubes ten and a half feet long. The cylinders were sixteen inches in diameter, with a twenty-two-inch stroke. The freight-engines had the same capacity of boiler, and the same number and length of tubes, cylinders eighteen inches in diameter, and a stroke of twenty-two inches, and three pairs of driving-wheels four and a half feet in diameter, all coupled, and a four-wheeled truck, all being uniform throughout in workmanship and finish. The passenger-cars were fifty-six feet long and nine and a half feet wide, the first-class carrying thirty-three passengers, the second-class fifty-four, and the third-class eighty. They all had eight truck-wheels each, and elliptic steel springs. The freight-cars were all thirty feet long and nine and a half feet wide, made in a uniform manner, with eight truck-wheels under each. The imperial saloon carriages were eighty feet long and nine and a half feet wide, having double trucks, or sixteen wheels under each. They were divided into five compartments, and fitted with every convenience.

Early in 1847 the Emperor Nicholas visited the mechanical works at Alexandroffsky, where the rolling-stock was being made by the Messrs. Winans, in the shops prepared by them, and supplied with Russian labor. Every thing here was on the grandest scale, and the work was conducted under the most perfect system. Upon this occasion the Emperor was so much gratified at what had already been accomplished, that he conferred upon Major Whistler the decoration of the Order of St. Anne. He had previously been pressed to wear the Russian uniform, which he promptly declined to do; but there was no escape from the decoration without giving

offence. He is said, however, to have generally contrived to hide it beneath his coat in such a manner that few ever saw it.

Technically, Major Whistler was consulting engineer, Col. Melkinoff being constructing engineer for the northern half of the road, and Col. Krofft for the southern half; but, as a matter of fact, by far the larger part of the labor of planning the construction in detail of both railroad and equipment fell upon Major Whistler. There was also a permanent commission, having the general charge of the construction of the road, of which the president was Gen. Destrem, one of the four French military engineers whom Napoleon, at the request of the Emperor Alexander, sent to Russia for the service of that country.

The year 1848 was a very trying one to Major Whistler. He had already on several occasions overtasked his strength, and had been obliged to rest. This year the Asiatic cholera made its appearance. He sent his family abroad, but remained himself alone in his house. He would on no account at this time leave his post, nor omit his periodical inspection along the line of the road, where the epidemic was raging. In November he had an attack of cholera, and while he recovered from it he was left very weak. He remained, however, upon the work through the winter, though suffering much from a complication of diseases. As spring advanced he became much worse; and upon the 7th of April, 1849, he passed quietly away, the immediate cause of his death being a trouble with the heart.

Funeral services were held in the Anglican (Episcopal) Church in St. Petersburg. His body was soon afterwards carried to Boston, and deposited beneath St. Paul's Church; but the final interment took place at Stoning-

ton. The kindness and attention of the Emperor, and of all with whom Major Whistler had been associated, knew no bounds. Everything was done to comfort and aid his wife; and when she left St. Petersburg, the Emperor sent her in his private barge to the mouth of the Baltic.

"It was not only," says one who knew him well during his long residence abroad, "through his skill, ability and experience as an engineer, that Major Whistler was particularly qualified for and eminently successful in the important task he performed so well in Russia; his military training and bearing, his polished manners, good humor, sense of honor, knowledge of a language (French) in which he could converse with officers of the government; his resolution in adhering to what he thought was right, and in meeting difficulties only to surmount them; with other admirable personal qualities, —made him soon, and during his whole residence in Russia, much liked and trusted by all persons by whom he was known, from the Emperor down to the peasant. Such is the reputation he left behind him, and which is given to him in Russia to this day."

In 1849 the firm of Winans, Harrison, & Eastwick had already furnished the road with 162 locomotives, 72 passenger and 2,580 freight-cars. They had also arranged to instruct a suitable number of Russian mechanics to take charge of the machinery when completed. The road was finished its entire length in 1850, being opened for passenger and freight traffic on the 25th of September of that year, in two divisions, experimentally, and finally opened for through business on Nov. 1, 1851. In all of its construction and equipment it was essentially American of the best kind, everything being made under a carefully devised system, by which the greatest econ-

omy in maintenance and in management should be possible. The use of standard patterns, uniformity of design, and duplication of parts, was applied not only to the rolling-stock, but to the railroad as well, wherever it was possible. Indeed, the whole undertaking, in all its parts, bore the impress of one master mind.

On the death of Major Whistler, the government with jealous care prevented any changes whatever being made in his plans, including those which had not been carried out, as well as those already in process of execution. An American engineer, Major T. S. Brown, was invited to Russia to succeed Major Whistler as consulting engineer. The services of the Messrs. Winans, also, were so satisfactory to the government, that a new contract was afterwards made, upon the completion of the road, for the maintenance and the future construction of rolling-stock.

While the great railroad was the principal work of Major Whistler in Russia, he was also consulted in regard to all the important engineering undertakings of the period. The fortifications at Cronstadt, the Naval Arsenal and Docks at the same place, the plans for improving the Dovina at Archangel, the great iron roof of the Riding House at St. Petersburg, and the iron bridge over the Neva, all received his attention. The government was accustomed to rely upon his judgment in all cases requiring the exercise of the highest combination of science and practical skill; and here, with a happy tact peculiarly his own, he secured the warm friendship of men whose professional acts he found himself called upon in the exercise of his high trust, in many cases, to condemn. The Russians are proverbially jealous of strangers; and no higher evidence of their appreciation of the sterling honesty of Major Whistler, and of his sound, discriminating judgment, could be afforded than

the fact that all his recommendations on the great questions of internal improvements, opposed as many of them were to the principles which had previously obtained, and which were sanctioned by usage, were yet carried out by the government to the smallest details.

While in Russia, Major Whistler was sometimes placed in positions most trying to him. It is said that some of the corps of native engineers, many of whom were nobles, while compelled to look up to him officially were inclined to look down upon him socially, and exercised their supposed privileges in this respect so as to annoy him exceedingly; for he had not known in his own country what it was to be the social inferior of any one. The Emperor, hearing of this annoyance, determined to stop it; so, taking advantage of a day when he knew the engineer corps would visit a celebrated gallery of art, he entered it while they were there, and, without at first noticing anyone else, looked around for Major Whistler, and seeing him, went directly towards him, took his arm, and walked slowly with him entirely around the gallery. After this the conduct of the nobles was all that could be desired.

Major Whistler's salary, while in Russia, was twelve thousand dollars a year, a sum no more than necessary for living in a style befitting his position. He had abundant opportunity for making money, but this his nice sense of honor forbade. It is even stated that he would never allow any invention to be used on the road, which could by any possibility be of any profit to himself or to any of his friends. He was continually besieged by American inventors, but in vain. The honor of the profession he regarded as a sacred trust. He served the Emperor with the fidelity that characterized all his actions. His unswerving devotion to his duty was fully appreciated; and it is said that no Ameri-

can in Russia, except John Quincy Adams, was ever held in so high estimation.

Major Whistler married for his first wife Mary, daughter of Dr. Foster Smith of the United-Sates Army, and of Deborah, daughter of Capt. Thomas Delano of Nantucket. By her he had three children: Deborah, his only daughter, who married Seymour Haden of London, a surgeon, but later and better known for his skill in etching; George William, who became an engineer and railway manager, and who went to Russia, and finally died at Brighton in England, Dec. 24, 1869; Joseph Swift, born at New London, Aug. 12, 1825, and who died at Stonington, Jan. 1, 1840. His first wife died Dec. 9, 1827, at the early age of twenty-three years, and is buried in Greenwood Cemetery, in the shade of the monument erected to the memory of her husband by the loving hands of his professional brethren. For his second wife, Major Whistler married Anna Matilda, daughter of Dr. Charles Donald McNeill of Wilmington, N. C., and sister of his friend and associate William Gibbs McNeill. By her he had five sons: James Abbot McNeill, the noted artist, and William Gibbs McNeill, a well-known physician, both now living in London; Kirk Boott, born in Stonington, July 16, 1838, and who died in Springfield, July 10, 1842; Charles Donald, born in Springfield, Aug. 27, 1841, and who died in Russia, Sept. 24, 1843; and John Bouttattz, who was born and who died at St. Petersburg, having lived but little more than a year. His second wife, who outlived him, returned to America, and remained here during the education of her children, after which she moved to England, where she died, Jan. 31, 1881, at the age of seventy-six years, being buried at Hastings.

At a meeting held in the office of the Panama Railroad Company in New York, Aug 27, 1849, for

the purpose of suggesting measures expressive of their respect for the memory of Major Whistler, William H. Sidell being chairman, and A. W. Craven secretary, it was resolved that a monument in Greenwood Cemetery would be a suitable mode of expressing the feelings of the profession in this respect, and that an association be formed to collect funds, and to take all necessary steps to carry out the work. At this meeting Capt. William H. Swift was appointed president, Major T. S. Brown treasurer, and A. W. Craven secretary; and Messrs. Horatio Allen, W. C. Young, J. W. Adams, and A. W. Craven were appointed a committee to procure designs and estimates, and to select a suitable piece of ground at Greenwood Cemetery. The design was made by Mr. Adams, and the ground was given by Mr. Kirkwood. The monument is a beautiful structure of red sandstone, about fifteen feet high, and stands in "Twilight Dell." Upon the several faces are the following inscriptions:—

IN MEMORY OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON WHISTLER,
CIVIL ENGINEER.
BORN AT FORT WAYNE, IND., MAY, 1800.
DIED AT ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA,
APRIL, 1849.

EDUCATED AT THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY. HE RETIRED FROM THE ARMY IN 1833, AND BECAME ASSOCIATED WITH WILLIAM GIBBS McNEILL. THEY WERE IN THEIR TIME ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AT THE HEAD OF THEIR PROFESSION IN THIS COUNTRY.

HE WAS DISTINGUISHED FOR THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ABILITY, COUPLED WITH SOUND JUDGMENT AND GREAT INTEGRITY. IN 1842 HE WAS INVITED TO RUSSIA BY THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS, AND DIED THERE WHILE CONSTRUCTING THE ST. PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW RAILROAD.

THIS CENOTAPH IS A MEMORIAL OF THE ESTEEM AND AFFECTION OF HIS FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS.

While the monument thus raised to the memory of the great engineer stands in that most delightful of the cities of the dead, his worn-out body rests in the quaint old town of Stonington. It was here that his several children had been buried; and he had frequently expressed a desire, that when he should die he might be placed by their side. A deputation of engineers, who had been in their early years associated with him, attended the simple service which was held over his grave; and all felt, as they turned away, that they had bid farewell to such a man as the world has not often seen.

In person, Major Whistler was of medium size and well made. His face showed the finest type of manly beauty, combined with a delicacy almost feminine. In private life he was greatly prized for his natural qualities of heart and mind, his regard for the feeling of others, and his unvarying kindness, especially towards his inferiors and his young assistants. His duties and his travels in this and in other countries brought him in contact with men of every rank; and it is safe to say,

that, the more competent those who knew him were to judge, the more highly was he valued by them. A close observer, with a keen sense of humor and unfailing tact, fond of personal anecdote, and with a mind stored with recollections from association with every grade of society, he was a most engaging companion. The charm of his manner was not conventional, nor due to intercourse with refined society, but came from a sense of delicacy and refinement of feeling which was innate, and which showed itself in him under all circumstances. He was, in the widest and best sense of the word, a gentleman; and he was a gentleman outwardly, because he was a gentleman at heart.

As an engineer, Whistler's works speak for him. He was eminently a practical man, remarkable for steadiness of judgment and for sound business sense. Whatever he did was so well done, that he was naturally followed as a model by those who were seeking a high standard. Others may have excelled in extraordinary boldness, or in some remarkable specialty; but in all that rounds out the perfect engineer, whether natural characteristics, professional training, or the well-digested results of long and valuable experience, we look in vain for his superior; and those who knew him best will hesitate to acknowledge his equal.

XXVI. Memoirs of Thomas and John Nesmith, read by C. C. Chase, Nov. 10, 1886.

I KNOW of no more appropriate work for this Association than the preparation and the preservation of short memoirs of those who were prominent actors in the early days of our city. It would, for example, be pleasant to have a brief sketch of the lives of all the men and women of early days, for whom our streets have been named. Our grammar schools are also called by honored names of men, every one of whom, except General Butler, has now passed away. I propose this evening to present a sketch of the lives of Thomas and John Nesmith, for whom one of our most beautiful streets is named, and who for years were known as the most wealthy and most prominent citizens of Belvidere, having been once the owners of almost all the land in that part of our city.

The Nesmiths came from the north of Ireland and are of Scotch descent. Most of the people of Ireland are descendants of the aboriginal Celts, but in the northern part were many people of Saxon origin, who in early days settled in the island. There were also emigrants from England and Scotland who in later times found a home in Ireland's fertile fields. Among the Scotch immigrants to Ireland, who in 1690 settled on the river Bann, in the county of Londonderry, were the earliest known ancestors of the Lowell Nesmiths. Two years after their settlement in Ireland, Dea. James Nesmith, the great-grandfather and earliest American ancestor of

the Lowell Nesmiths, was born. When twenty-seven years of age, in 1719, Dea. Nesmith emigrated from Ireland and settled in Londonderry, N. H., our neighboring town. The name Londonderry was obviously given in affectionate remembrance of the old home in Ireland. I may here remark that the reason why the Irish county of Derry is also called London Derry is because, after the native chiefs had by rebellion forfeited their rights, the county was granted by King James I. to twelve London companies, and hence London was prefixed to the old name of Derry.

When Dea. Nesmith came to America he had been married five years. Of his two children born in Ireland one had died in infancy and the other, James, born just before embarking, was cradled in the arms of his mother in the passage to America. This child, though not the progenitor of our Lowell Nesmiths, became an ardent patriot in the days of the Revolution, rallying to the first call of his country and, marching with the minute men, he took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. The father, Dea. James Nesmith, was one of the proprietors of Londonderry, a true and upright man, who derived his title of Deacon, I suppose, from the fact that upon the formation of the West Parish Presbyterian Church, in 1739, he was appointed one of the elders. He was then forty-seven years of age.

Of Dea. Nesmith's nine children, Thomas, the eighth, was the grandfather of the Nesmiths of Lowell, and from him Col. Thomas Nesmith received his name. He was born in Londonderry, in 1762, was married at the age of twenty-nine years, and settled in the town of Windham. Here the grandparents of the Nesmiths began their wedded life, and by industry and economy accumulated a large property, for those days. It was said that their

house was ever the home of the poor and needy. He died in his fifty-eighth year, but his wife survived him thirty-four years, dying at the age of eighty-one years. Of the four children of Thomas Nesmith, born in Windham, John, the youngest, was the father of the subjects of this sketch. He succeeded his father on his farm in Windham, and with him lived his aged mother. The farm contained about four hundred acres, and the old house, with its seventeen rooms, was demolished only a few years since. There was attached to it a store and a large hall, a famous place for balls and dances in "ye olden time." In his store Mr. Nesmith kept a respectable assortment of goods and a good business was done. He purchased goods, perhaps most of his goods, in Newburyport, which in early days was comparatively a far more important place of business than it now is. But in the midst of his successful business he died in 1806, at the age of only forty-four years, leaving a widow and nine children. Of these children, the second, Col. Thomas Nesmith of Lowell, was then eighteen years old, and the fourth, Mr. John Nesmith of Lowell, a boy only thirteen years of age.

Here, let me remark, we find, perhaps, the most important secret of the success of these two brothers. They were a widow's sons. They learned to bear the yoke in their youth. They were early called to bear burdens and assume responsibilities. A widowed mother, five brothers and sisters younger than themselves, called for aid and sympathy, and early led them to assume the duties and bearing of men. It is truly remarkable how many of the leaders of men are widows' sons. The mother of the Nesmiths, being thus left a widow with nine children, the oldest of whom, Jacob, was only twenty years of age, resolved, with the aid of her sons, to continue the busi-

ness of the father. She was a woman of great ability for business, and though so lame as to be compelled to use a crutch, she accomplished what only a few women have succeeded in doing. Probably Jacob, the oldest son, who remained at the homestead for fourteen years, assumed the greater part of the responsibility and labor of conducting the business of the store. The widow, after seven years, became the wife of Dea. Daniel McKeen of Derry, and removed to the home of her new husband, taking with her her two youngest children. Thomas remained at home for four years and John soon after his father's death became a clerk in the store of John Dow of Haverhill, Mass., where he served for five years until 1812, when the brothers, Thomas and John, formed a partnership in trade and opened a store in Windham—their respective ages being then twenty-four and nineteen years. After ten years they gave up their store in Windham and removed to the neighboring town of Derry, and there for about eight years they continued in a successful trade. After a short time spent in commission business in the city of New York, the two brothers, having now, by their economy and shrewdness in trade, accumulated a very handsome property, resolved to engage in the business of the purchase and sale of real estate. With this view, in 1831 they came to Lowell and purchased the well-known "Gedney estate" in Belvidere, of 150 acres, for $25,000. The spacious mansion upon this estate, so long known to us all as the "Old Yellow House," was for many years one of the most conspicuous landmarks of our city in its early days. The timber of this house is said to have been brought from England, and the building was erected by one Timothy Brown about 1750. Here Mr. B. kept a tavern and also superintended the ferry across the Concord River. Mr.

Brown sold to one Woodward, who in turn sold to Philip Gedney. Gedney sold it to Major Whitemore of Cambridge, who sold it to Judge Livermore, of whom the Nesmiths made the purchase in 1831, as stated above. "The mansion house," says Mrs. Abbott, wife of Judge J. G. Abbott, and daughter of Judge Livermore, "was beautifully situated at the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers. Standing at an elevation of forty or fifty feet above the water, it commanded a distant and lovely view of both the streams. Back of the house, on the opposite side of the Merrimack, rose Dracut heights as if to shield the spot from the north winds. It was certainly a lovely old mansion." Here Mrs. Abbott resided with her father, Judge Livermore, in the earliest days of our city. It would be pleasant to trace back the ownership of this land to the early days of our country, but this I am unable to do. However, our worthy secretary, Mr. Gilman, has clearly shown, in his communication to be read this evening before you, that the earliest civilized owner of all the land on which Belvidere now stands, and perhaps, too, that on which this hall stands, was the widow of John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. After the death of Governor Winthrop, the General Court granted to his widow 3,000 acres of land bounded on the west and east by the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. This grant must have included all of Belvidere and a part of the town of Tewksbury lying adjacent.

After purchasing this land the Nesmiths proceeded to lay out appropriate streets, to one of which, ten feet wider than the rest, they gave their own name. The investment proved a very remunerative one, for the building lots were very eligible, and the purchase having been made only nine years after the formation of the Merri-

mack Manufacturing Company, which started the first mills in Lowell, the Nesmiths reaped the full benefit of the rapid growth of the new and prosperous city. Their fortunes were now secure. Their wealth was large, but all honorably made. The remainder of their honorable lives they both spent on this land, Thomas dying in 1870 at the age of eighty-two years, and John in 1869 at the age of seventy-six years.

The two brothers were not alike, and I will close this article by recalling a few of the prominent characteristics of each. On coming to Lowell in 1845 and settling in Belvidere, I had the good fortune to have both of them as near neighbors, and to receive from them many favors for which I shall ever be grateful. Thomas through life was known for those affable and courtly manners which marked the gentleman of the old school. Though in the last of his life he sought the quiet and seclusion of home, persistently avoiding almost all participation in public affairs, yet while in trade in Windham he took an active part in public affairs of the town, and was the town clerk in 1821. He was enterprising in business and was the man who, in 1813, brought the first wagon to the town of Windham. He had a taste for military affairs, and a short experience in a soldier's life. In the war of 1812 he was enlisted as a soldier for three months, and served as third lieutenant in Capt. Bradley's company, stationed at Portsmouth. In 1820, when thirty-four years of age, he was chosen colonel of the eighth regiment of New Hampshire militia. But after coming to Lowell and serving two years as a member of the city government, I know of no public office, either civil or military, which he ever held. He was, however, a director of the Merchants Bank and a member of the Old Residents' Association. It is to the honor of both the head and heart of

Col. Nesmith that in his last will he left to the town of Windham the sum of $3,000 for founding and perpetuating a public library, $1,000 to the High Street Church Sabbath School in Lowell, the school his own children had attended, and $25,000 as a fund for the support of the poor of Lowell. Col. Nesmith's early education was limited to his attendance at the district school, and the high school in Derry, now known as the Pinkerton Academy.

It was while trading in Derry that Col. Nesmith first met Miss Lucinda Fay, who was then the principal of Adams Female Academy in Derry, and who in 1832 became his wife. He was, at the time of his marriage, forty-four years of age. His wife was a lady of much personal beauty and of high moral character. She was highly educated, having been a pupil in the celebrated school of Mrs. Grant in Ipswich, Mass. Many of us knew her well. She died in Lowell in 1852, when only forty-two years of age.

Col. Nesmith did not marry again, but for the remaining eighteen years of his life he sought and enjoyed the retirement of home, finding meantime sufficient employment in caring for his large estate. At the time of his decease he had reached the good old age of eighty-two years.

The children of Col. Nesmith, who survived him, were: (1) Lucy E., who resides at the homestead. (2) Maria Louisa, who, on Dec. 6, 1875, married Walter H. McDaniels, Esq., of Lowell. She died Aug. 29, 1876. (3) Henrietta Washburn, who, on Sept. 28, 1870, married Edward Hastings, Esq. Her husband having died, she now resides at the homestead. (4) Thomas, who graduated at Harvard College, married Florence, daughter of Fisher A. Hildreth, Esq., March 23, 1875, and now resides in Lowell.

John Nesmith, who was younger by five years than Thomas, possessed a mind far more speculative and aspiring than that of his brother. He had left home, as we have seen, when only fourteen years of age, and knew more of strangers and had enjoyed less of home life. His spirit was inquisitive and aggressive. Besides caring well for his large estate he was a student and inventor. He devoted his odd hours to philosophical and mechanical studies. He was enthusiastic, versatile. He invented machines, one, for example, for making wire fence and the other for making shawl fringe. He engaged in the manufacture of blankets, flannels, printing cloths, sheetings, and other fabrics. As agent or owner he was interested in mills in Lowell, in Dracut, in Chelmsford, in Hooksett, and other places. In these enterprises he met with almost uniform success. Though more inclined to business and invention than to politics, his prominence and success as a man led him into political life. He was twice chosen as presidential elector. He was appointed United States collector of internal revenue. He rose to the high position of Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. Of distinguished men of business he was among most far-seeing and prescient of the future. It was he that suggested the purchase of Lake Winnipiseogee as a water supply for the mills upon the Merrimack River. He foresaw the fitness of the city of Lawrence for the purposes of manufactures, and there made large purchases of land on both sides of the river. Mr. Nesmith was far more of a moralist than a politician. The temperance and anti-slavery causes found in him a life-long friend and a liberal contributor to their pecuniary support. I well recollect a meeting of the leading temperance men of Lowell in his office, at which he took the noble position, that men of humble means and small

earnings, should not be expected to sustain pecuniarily these great moral enterprises, but the wealthy from their abundance should freely and cheerfully bear these expenses, and lift the burden from the shoulders of those who needed all their slender means for the support of their families. Few rich men are wont to talk like that, and few rich men give so generously and cheerfully as did he.

Mr. Nesmith possessed an ardent and aggressive nature. His convictions were positive, and it was hard for him meekly to bear the opposition of those who differed from him. He even sometimes defied public opinion, and it cannot with truth be said that he had no enemies to question his sincerity and judge him severely. The great amount of real estate owned by him brought him in contact with a great number of tenants and debtors who presented many opportunities for criticism and complaint. In his declining years he was not the man to give up labor, to retire to the quiet of domestic life and sit down in the easy chair of old age. He worked while strength lasted. At his home he spent freely to make that home one of comfort and even of beauty. His graperies and hot-houses, his fruit trees and shrubbery, his lawn adorned with noble ornamental shade trees, all attest his tender care for the happiness of those he loved, his fine taste and his love of the beautiful. His will makes handsome provision for the foundation of a "Nesmith Fund" for the maintenance of the indigent blind of New Hampshire, and also for a public park in the town of Franklin in that state. He died in 1869, at the age of seventy-six years. His brother Thomas survived him only a few months.

Mr. Nesmith had three wives. The first was Mary, daughter of Samuel Bell of Chester, N. H., who held the high offices of United States senator and governor of

the state, during the administration of President Monroe. She died only six years after her marriage, leaving two children, both of whom died in early childhood. His second wife was Eliza T., daughter of John Bell of Chester, N. H., who in President J. Q. Adams' administration was governor of the state. She died in Lowell in 1836 at the early age of thirty-two years, leaving two children, one of whom still survives. Mr. Nesmith's third wife was Harriet R., daughter of Aaron Mansur, Esq., of Lowell, who still survives him, living in the homestead which her husband had done so much to adorn. Of his large family of children several died in infancy. Those who survived him were: (1) Eliza Bell, who, on Dec. 4, 1873, married John Bouton, Esq., author and journalist. They reside in the city of New York. (2) Harriet Bell, who, on Oct. 29, 1868, married Horace B. Coburn of Lowell. She died March 1, 1871. (3) Isabel, who, on Oct. 1, 1872, married Hon. Frederick T. Greenhalge, one of the mayors of Lowell. (4) James E., who, on June 30, 1884, married Miss Alice Eastman, and resides in Lowell. (5) Joseph A., who graduated at Harvard College, and resides with Mrs. Nesmith. Two unmarried daughters, also, reside at the homestead.

I will only add that I entertain a profound respect for that class of wealthy men, who, using no false pretences or lying advertisements, devouring no widows' houses, taking no advantage of the poor man's ignorance, scorning, by watering stocks and other such devices, to sell as pure metal what is only a shameful counterfeit, a base alloy, dealing just with all men and loving mercy, have, by their diligence, wisdom and foresight, acquired the means of adorning their own lives, and blessing by their example and benefactions the lives of their fellow men. To this class belonged the brothers, Thomas and John Nesmith.

XXVII. Sketch of Hon. John A. Knowles, by J. K. Fellows, read May 5, 1887.

NONE, perhaps, of all the early residents of Lowell, have left a better example or record than Hon. John A. Knowles. Coming here in 1827, when there was but little manufacturing, the place a mere skeleton, scattered wood houses and shops here and there, streets unpaved and without sidewalks, Mr. Knowles lived to see all this transformed into a city of about 70,000 inhabitants,—mingling with two generations of men and acting his part well for nearly threescore years. John A. Knowles was born in Pembroke, N. H., April 25, 1800. He was the youngest of thirteen children of Simon and Deborah Knowles, and the last to survive. The parents were natives of Hopkinton, N. H. He received his early education at the district school of Pembroke. When fifteen years old he left home and went to Hopkinton, N. H., where he worked at the trade of wagon making, going to school part of the time. When nineteen years old he applied for a school in Hopkinton. The committee agreed that he surpassed the other candidates in most branches, but did not equal them in writing, and another youngster was elected as teacher. Young Knowles immediately went to a neighboring town, joined the class of a writing-teacher, and devoted all his time for two or three weeks to improving his handwriting. He then applied for another school, which he obtained, and was highly complimented by the examining committee upon

his handwriting. For the next five years he went on alternately teaching and attending school.

In 1822, the writer, a boy, was at work in a hay-field, with the man of the farm, who seemed to be made of iron, when a young man, known by boys as the school-master, tall, thin and pale, passed on the road with books on his arm, on his way to Mr. Ballard's school. The iron-clad man said to me, "There goes a lazy fellow that is trying to get a living without work." This was one of the class of men in those times, who thought work was the chief end of man and boy, and books of no account. Mr. Knowles had been teaching school the winter previous in Hopkinton, or just across the line in Concord, and "boarding 'round," as was the custom at that time. His abode for a week or two was with a man who kept a small grocery store. At the request of the proprietor, who was occasionally called to other duties, mornings and evenings, Mr. Knowles was left in charge. We have heard him mention the circumstances, saying he was not favorably impressed with the grocery trade, as then carried on, although he was meditating upon some pursuit for life. While sitting in the store, the first customer waited upon was a well-dressed woman with a red nose—one of her boys in his school—who took from her handkerchief two eggs, and a small bottle which she wished to have filled with Medford rum in exchange for the eggs. At another time she brought three eggs and remarked that he must be generous and fill the bottle full, as the eggs were large. Of course the bottle was filled. He had been all through life disgusted with the liquor traffic and had often thought of the exchange or trade with that woman, and—doubting as to the justice done—said that "wherever the carrion was the buzzards were sure to be about."

He was several terms at Sanbornton Academy and at the private school of Mr. John O. Ballard of Hopkinton, where he remained for a considerable time, and the benefit derived from this school and his connection with his teacher, Mr. Knowles often mentioned as one of the "fortunate circumstances of his life." A rare teacher, a thorough scholar, a cultivated gentleman. Some years later we had the opportunity to know and heartily endorse the old teacher as above.

For three or four years he continued his studies, teaching a district school winters; and during this time he had gone through a course of studies usually pursued preparatory to entering college, but being in feeble health and limited as to means, he gave up his plan of a college course of education. A pedestrian trip as far as Utica, N. Y., did much to restore his health, and he resumed teaching in Rutland, Vt. During the next two years he taught school in Keene, N. H., and Taunton, Mass. In the autumn of 1827, Mr. Knowles came to Lowell, a manufacturing village at that time numbering only three thousand inhabitants, and had only the year before been incorporated as a town. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Mr. Knowles that he came here at this time, to this fresh and vigorous community, and here established himself and here grew up with its growth, sharing its prosperity. He opened an evening school; penmanship was the leading branch, of which he was an expert. His autograph in later years was a curiosity, he having a trembling hand and become partially blind. He entered his name as a student at law in the office of Elisha Glidden, Esq., Dec. 10, 1827, soon relinquishing his school. Here he remained with Mr. Glidden, boarding in his family, until 1830, when he went to Dedham to attend the law lectures of Hon. Theron Metcalf, afterwards Judge Met-

calf. In 1832 he was admitted to the bar. He immediately opened an office in Lowell, and from that time to 1850, when he retired from the active business of his profession, he never knew the want of office business. One of his first clients was an elderly man, Luther Marshall, born where he was then living, in the west part of the town. He had loaned a lawyer six hundred dollars. The claim, Mr. Knowles told him, was worthless, that he should have taken some security. "Oh!" said Mr. M., "I thought lawyers were always rich, especially those who wore gold-bowed spectacles." Without charge Mr. Knowles advised his client to reverse his views as to lawyers always being rich. For this advice he took no fee, although in need. In 1833 he was married to Sarah, daughter of William Appleton of Portsmouth, N. H. He was a whig in politics, but not a politician. When the police court of Lowell was established, in 1833, Hon. Joseph Locke being the first judge, Mr. Knowles, then a young lawyer, was clerk of the court for several years. In 1835 he was chosen representative to the legislature, also in 1844 and 1845. In 1847 he was elected senator from Middlesex County, and declined a renomination in 1848. He was on the school committee of 1836, with Jacob Robbins, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Dr. J. O. Green and Thomas Hopkinson, and also served in later years. In 1847 he was elected president of the Appleton Bank, which office he held for nearly thirty years with honor and fidelity, resigning in 1867 on account of impaired eyesight. In 1848 he was elected treasurer of the Lowell & Lawrence Railroad, which office he resigned after several years of faithful service. His religious views were of a liberal character, and his feelings kind and charitable towards the faults of his fellow-men. A pillar in the Unitarian Church, of which he was an officer for half a century. He was present at the house of Mr.

Thomas Ordway, at the very first meeting called to consider the expediency of introducing Unitarian worship into Lowell. In September, 1829, he was at the old stone hotel on Pawtucket Street, kept by Mr. Samuel A. Coburn, when the Unitarian Society was organized. There were present at that meeting Ithamar A. Beard, Abram Howe, Abner Ball, Seth Ames, Samuel A. Coburn, Edward Callender, John A. Knowles, John P. Robinson, and John Avery. Mr. Knowles was the last survivor of them all. He was always an earnest, life-long advocate of temperance, opposed to licensing the drink traffic in any form, and his influence on all the great subjects of the day was on the right side. Principle, not policy, was his motto. His sympathy was always practically manifested towards the worthy poor and unfortunate, cheerfully aiding them when needed.

Mr. Knowles was one of the organizers of the Old Residents' Historical Association in 1868, and has done much to interest its members. In the fall of 1872 he prepared and read a paper on the life of Hon. Joseph Locke; later a sketch of the life of Paul Moody, who died in 1831; also of Warren Colburn, who died in 1833, Elisha Glidden, and Dr. John C. Dalton. In May, 1874, he gave a vivid recollection of society in Lowell in 1833, tending to show the changes time had worked out since then. November, 1877, interesting narratives of his recollection of the early days of Lowell and of his professional experiences. November, 1878, Mr. Knowles recited from memory, which was remarkable with him, passages from Pope's Essay on Man, and his Universal Prayer, thus vindicating his name from the charge of infidelity. He stated he had not consulted either for fifty years. Notwithstanding this fact, he gave the passages with the correctness and vigor of recent and youthful study.

Poetry, with him, was a study and a pleasure. He could quote passages from nearly all the old writers as well as modern authors. He was himself quite a poet. Being modest, however, but little perhaps has appeared in print. He was sharp as a wit and quick at repartee; full of humorous sayings, anecdotes and stories, all tending to enliven and make happy those who came in contact with him, in business or society.

The following was often quoted by Mr. Knowles:

> "Honor and Shame from no condition rise,
> Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

Mr. Knowles died July 25, 1884, aged eighty-four years and three months to a day, Mrs. Knowles having died in 1871. Three children survive, two daughters and one son. The oldest son, highly respected and prosperous in business, died suddenly, in this city, but a short time previous (two months) to his father, bearing his name, John A. Knowles, Jr.

The following touching lines on "Old Age," were written by Mr. Knowles a few years before he died:

> I long to see the summer,
> And hear the robins sing;
> The bluebird's note so near my home
> Reminds me it is spring.
> But piercing winds pass o'er my frame,
> My blood runs thin and cold;
> My hand shakes when I write my name,
> I fear I'm growing old.
>
> My friend oft rises when we meet
> To help me doff my cloak,
> And says, "Please take this easy seat,
> How very frail you look!
> I thought you went not out at night,
> At least when 'tis so cold."
> All kindly said; but is't polite
> To remind one he is growing old?
>
> Again this truth is brought to view,
> As often as I shave;
> And if my glass reflects me true,
> It's enough to make me grave.
> But if you love me still, my friends,
> As you've so oft me told,
> There's one thing you need never fear—
> My heart's not growing old.

XXVIII. Address delivered before the G. A. R., by Rev. A. St. John Chambre, D.D., in Huntington Hall, May 30, 1887.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND COMRADES: — Five hundred thousand living men, once soldiers of the republic, are represented in the exercises of this day. The day itself has become a national holiday—may I not say a holy-day?—in the spirit and purpose of all who cherish the memory of heroic deeds, and who rejoice in a nation's glory secured and perpetuated by patriotic courage and sacrifice.

Historically, we may date the existence of this "Memorial" from the close of our great civil war, after four years of severest service in the field, when President Andrew Johnson issued his proclamation of amnesty, on the 26th of May, 1865—just twenty-two years ago. The thirtieth of May dawned thus upon a country at peace, after its long and weary conflict. The storm of rebellion was at length allayed, and there remained only the gradual "mustering out" of a million of soldiers and their absorption once more into the walks of civil life. On the second of June, of that year, was issued the last order of General U. S. Grant (whose memory a grateful nation cherishes), thanking the army for its valor, and congratulating it upon its victories, and the ending of its labors and its dangers. Therefore it is that this day has been set apart by the loyal soldiers, organized under the title of "The Grand Army of the Republic," to be forever the day upon which the dead of many

fields shall be honored in decking their resting places with fragrant flowers, and in commemorating their achievements for the preservation of the Union.

There are a great many significances attaching themselves to this day, for which now there is not the time for consideration. The more obvious ones have again and again, no doubt, claimed your attention. Let it be my privilege, however, to ask your attention to some points not often made prominent.

These attach themselves to

1. Individuals,
2. Society, and
3. Politics.

1. Some of you will remember, no doubt, how common the saying was before the war that the age of heroism had passed away. It certainly appeared to be so. There had been peace so generally and so long in our country, that war was a dream which could scarcely, it was thought, become actual to any considerable number of our people. Men were engaged, apparently engrossed, in the business of making money or of seeking pleasure. The whole land seemed enwrapped in a selfish regard for personal or community interests; and it did seem that from such men no great, or noble, or heroic deeds could come—certainly no such sacrifices as would involve privations, and wounds, and even death itself, and this not for gain, not always even for honor, but simply for principle and for the salvation of the nation. But it was soon seen that the verdict was wrong, and that heroism was only in abeyance. When at length the tocsin of war sounded, and it was understood that the national integrity was threatened, the whole land awoke, and sprang to arms with a suddenness, a unanimity, a determination, such as in modern ages has been altogether

unique. I do not say here that all took arms, or that all were ready to make sacrifices, or even that all who went to the field were actuated by a pure patriotism—but the multitude who responded to the call for military service was, for the most part, composed of men of whom the nation may be forever proud. How real was this heroism, and how true was this patriotism, results made manifest. Weary months and weary years passed, and during much of the time there was only darkness upon the land. But the trials and labors called for and endured, only developed more and more the virtues of patience, endurance, and of obedience.

Has it ever occurred to you how much the nation needed to develop these virtues? How largely upon these virtues (especially the virtue of obedience) a nation's power and integrity must depend? Those who remember what was the national spirit before the war, know well that we were not a people willingly subservient to law. To a very great extent there was a feeling of independence of all external authority. As from the people all power sprang, according to the theory of many, it was too much the thought that the people were not bound by any power or any law. "Every man for himself," was the idea. If anything came in the way of that, put it out of the way! The war changed that feeling. While it still remained as true as it ever was, that power sprang from the people, it was discerned that law bound the people also. It was discerned that freedom itself is circumscribed, and that it must be even yielded sometimes for the greater advancement of freedom throughout the world. This was learned by a million of the very best men of the country, by their subjection to military authority. The army taught it to the whole land. And it is safe to say that while 500,000 veterans

of the Grand Army remain, and while this lesson of obedience to law, and conservation of freedom, is heeded, which was learned in the experience of our civil war, the crude theories that would make liberty license will be harmless, and the cowardly and brutal dynamics of anarchism will be crushed—"if it takes all summer."

There was learned this lesson, also: That to know how to obey is to know how to command—to command one's self first, and then others. Then it came to be realized that as it is a duty to yield obedience to the rightful demand of authority that is merely temporal, even so obedience should be rendered to that authority which is eternal. The authority of man, of the nation, became a type of the authority of God to the nation. I believe that the war taught that lesson in a most true and real way. Thousands learned it—thousands who before obeyed neither God nor man, learned to obey men, and were then lifted to a consciousness of One who also had a right to their obedience, and they yielded to Him the subjection of their lives.

Then again, a deeper love and value of country was developed than had before been known. Before the war there was a great deal of Fourth of July patriotism. But as a heart principle, the country was little or nothing, save as a place in which to live. The Union had no specific meaning. Its flag meant little—but bunting. As a symbol with life in it, it was to the multitude really meaningless. But not so now. Country—the Union—means everything, even life itself. And the flag—that, as the symbol of national unity, integrity, power and glory, is dear certainly to all our hearts who remember that terrible struggle; more dear and more precious than tongue can tell. We cannot look upon it without a quicker beating of the heart, and a tenderness

that dims the eye and softens the voice. An insult to it is an insult to us personally, to be punished according to its enormity. It is dearer to all than it ever was before. Individual love of country is thus signified by this day, and attachment to the flag as its expression in symbol. We rally round that; we live for it; if necessary, we are prepared to die for it. We rejoice that it is everywhere triumphant to-day—though triumphant through bitter tribulations.

There can be no question that such a position involves a greater nobility, and a development of manly powers and feelings, such as prevailed not, at least found no general expression, before the war. Indeed, in many ways, the army developed those connected with it. It gave them self-reliance, and reliance one upon another; respect for their own and the rights of others; regard for honorable thoughts and deeds; faithfulness of man to man, and confidence in the triumph of right against all opposing forces. If in instances there were failures, they were in instances, and not in the army as such, nor in the cause for which it was enrolled. Generally, the men who returned to their homes from the conflicts and shocks of battle, were wiser and better men than when they went forth. They certainly were no worse; and to assert otherwise, as is sometimes done as we recede from those days that tried men's souls, is to cruelly and basely slander the fathers and brothers and sons who then stood between the nation and its death, and to thus slander is cowardly and infamous! If they came back bad men, or worse than when they went out, the bad was already in them. This is at least true in the great majority of such cases.

So much for the bearing of the war upon individuals. Turn now to some thoughts in relation to its bearing on society.

2. As the confusion, inevitably consequent upon a resort to arms of so great a nation, for a time seemed to baffle all efforts to reduce to order, it was thought by not a few that every element of social strength and virtue would be destroyed. The bonds of society did seem to be untied for a time. The "lawlessness of war," as it has been termed, seemed for a moment to seize upon masses of men everywhere—not men of the army, however, but men out of the army. But it was soon discovered that even in war, under a free government, lawlessness is the incidental, not the essential, and that society could be preserved even amid flashing swords and booming cannon. Nay, in regard to this nation, the war in fact served to accomplish what the previous history of the nation had not accomplished. That is, it compacted society, and bound it in stronger ties. Society, as designating the population of the land, was before the war but a name. Society had scarcely more cohesion than so many grains of sand strewn upon the ground. The change was marked and rapid. It was learned that each depended upon all, and all upon each—that men, women and children constituted society, and that their interests were common. That is a divine thought. When it was recognized it lifted up society. By virtue of it were developed powers and feelings of fraternity such as, with all our boasted theories of equality, had not been realized. And a common national destiny was recognized. Then were enkindled hopes that no disasters could quell, trust that no calamity could invalidate, generosity that no calls, however great and repeated, could quench, and moral stamina that the sound of musketry, the clash of steel, the sight of wounded heroes, or the pale battalions of the dead, though embracing the nearest and dearest, could not destroy, and did not destroy.

Forever a higher quality has thus been given to American society. It *is* something now. Every hearthstone is now symbolic. Every family is but representative of a multitude. This higher quality is, also, a chivalrous quality—not in the sense of selfishness and tyranny which characterized so much of the old chivalry, and made men careful only of themselves and their "class," however others might be crushed, but in the noble sense of desire to subserve the interests of all classes, at any cost, even the cost of life itself. This spirit will not soon die. It will at least remain while the memories of the war shall endure, and these memories cannot fade while any of the heroes shall remain, who, on tented fields, by day and by night, guarded our liberties and defended our rights—they cannot fade as long as there shall pass up and down our streets war-worn men, battered and broken by the shocks of many battles —they will not fade so long as a post of the Grand Army shall remain, and while gratitude and love of country shall find a home in American hearts.

3. Consider now the bearing of the war upon politics.

But I do not use the word in its lower meaning. I have no reference now to party pretension or opinion. The Grand Army of the Republic, as such, has nothing to do with politics in any sense, nor had the army in its active service anything to do with such politics. I mean by politics, political well-being, that is, national advantage and greatness and glory—national as distinguished from sectional. Before the war, as all know, different parts of the union were practically, and largely, independent of each other. They were not, as was essential to any true idea of nationality, riveted together for the furtherance of all national purposes. Nor was this the

worst. Having no great objects to attain by common effort, and out of noble endeavor, the whole nation was drifting into a condition of gross materialism. Men everywhere were intent upon, and absorbed in, the pursuit of what they thought could be obtained through the material resources of the country, opening up and multiplying every day. So completely was this the case, that almost everywhere the moral vision was obscured, and the cruel wrong of African slavery was either justified or excused—justified or excused, though it rested like an incubus upon the fairest part of the land, and spread its baneful influence through its borders—justified or excused, though prolific of brutality, and sensualism, and degradation, and woe, and smiting with its leprous touch alike the black and the white, the slave and the free. Into the condemnation of this condition the whole nation was brought, for the nation as such was responsible. But the nation saw no wrong, for the most part. Not one in a thousand awoke to the full evil of it, and the full danger from it, until the tramp of armed men was heard marching to the destruction of what liberty remained, and until mailed hands were raised to overturn the fair government that our fathers had founded in tears and in blood. Then the nation did awake, and to higher, and nobler, and broader views. It made itself free then, as it had not been before. The war made it free. That is to say, the men that made its armies made it free—purchasing that freedom with a great price.

So it is, the nation stands to-day strong and powerful in its own eyes, and in that of the whole world. We are freer to-day, and freer from danger, than any nation under the sun. And I believe it is not merely a dream, that the liberty of which this nation is the representative, is but the promise and prophecy of a like liberty which

shall yet be universal. The war was inaugurated in the interests, and for the defence, of slavery. Success upon those lines would have turned back the wheels of civilization a thousand years. But there was not success. God had better things in view for this land and for the world. Good and true men recognized this, and the war was accepted by those upon whom it was forced as in the interests of human souls everywhere—in the conviction that every human soul had inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I say, then, that this day is significant of political well-being, of national advantage, and greatness and glory. Nay, it is significant of universal liberty in its truest and best sense. It is this, and it will be this forever—even though this nation itself should perish—which God forbid! For, while history shall speak, it will be told how in a war for liberty four millions of immortal souls were made free in a moment, free to call themselves their own, with no master but God—declared so by a stroke of a pen on one New Year's day in this nineteenth century—a pen held by the hand of one who himself gave his blood for the nation's life.

But let me speak now more directly to the hour.

You, my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, are the living witnesses of those days that tried men's souls. You were actors in their awful scenes, the participators in their fiery ordeals. You are spared—though those days added ten years to every man's life who passed through them,—you are spared, while many a true and brave heart was left dead on fields of carnage, or has since died from wounds or disease. It is for you to perpetuate their memories, and to honor your own share in the toils and conquests of the past. But you are to do this not simply by annual parades, with flying

banners and martial music, not simply by the strewing of fair and fragrant flowers upon their graves, with service of hymn and prayer, but with the glory with which you may crown your own lives, in noble, upright conduct, and in consecration to all that is good and true. We are no longer "boys." We were that when we marched proudly in the strength of our youth or early manhood to the stirring beat of the drum. We gave our youth, we gave our early manhood to our country—and we are glad that we did. We would do the same thing again, under the same circumstances, if we could. But during all the years since the fire and smoke of battle have cleared away we have been "marching on," and our ranks are constantly thinning, as one after another drops weary by the roadside of life, or falls before the shaft of the common enemy of mankind. The "roll call" year by year finds no answer to an ever increasing number of names, save the one word—"Dead." Of such we can only say now:

"Rest, ye braves! Your march is ended,
Save the eternal march, where tears
And thy blood, with victories blended,
Fall not in those endless years.

"Sculptured marble lips are chilling,
Sinking daily into earth,
And our tongues of flesh, though willing,
Fail the praise that is their worth."

Close up then, close up the ranks, my comrades! close them for nobler conquests than have yet been gained. Close them for the heavenward march, the victor's wreath and the starry crown! Stand shoulder to shoulder, and let heart beat in unison with heart. With unbroken front and steady tread, press on. As in the years gone, so in the years to come, be faithful—faithful unto death—and God will give to you "the morning star."

Ladies and Gentlemen: Do you realize that a new generation is on the stage—a generation of men and women who know nothing by experience of the events that are commemorated here to-night? Such, however, is the fact. It is true, there are still, and there will long be, the evidences and witnesses of the fearful struggles of the years from 1861 to 1865. Tens of thousands of widows and orphans of loyal soldiers are still living. A pension roll of some three millions of dollars attests the sacrifice of human life in those years. And a monstrous national debt bears testimony to the money cost of preserving the Union. Besides all this, the woes, and poverty, and sorrows which the war entailed, which no words of human lips can adequately set forth, are not ended yet. They will not be for many years to come. And yet the vision of those days that so tried the nation is already fast fading. Our young men and maidens know nothing of the horrors and anxieties that came to so many hearts. Our children know of the great conflict only by the hearing of the ear. We who were a part of those days—some of us walking in the stress of the storm of the battles—are feeling the years slipping from us. Soon the last of us will be gathered into our silent homes. It would gladden our hearts to be assured that then, and always, this "Memorial" will continue—that loyal and loving hearts will not forget to plant the dear flag over our graves, and to brighten them with the beauty of the spring flowers.

But, meanwhile, I beg you will not wholly forget, rather that you will remember kindly and respectfully, the men who once stood between you and dishonor and death, and but for whom you would have no country and no prosperity to-day. Too many are forgetting, and are turning coldly from these men. But when this is done

it is a bitter parody upon a nation's gratitude. These men, battle-scarred, many of them, often now broken in health and in spirit, sometimes even poor indeed in the things of this world, these men we ought to befriend and honor, not in charity, but in love and in justice. Let us call often to mind what they endured and suffered, and dared, and for what—what deadly strife they engaged in —what darkness of horror and blackness of despair sometimes engulfed them — and they far from home and from those who loved and could care for them when bruised and bleeding, or lying dying on fiercely contested fields. Some of these things come before me now—though as a nightmare dream long past. There was Fredericksburg, with its semi-circular line of hills, overlooking and controlling the plain, reaching up from the Rappahannock River, on the banks of which was the city. The whole line of those high hills was occupied by the Confederate forces, and the object of the loyal troops was to dislodge them. To do so was a practical impossibility, and yet the effort must be made and was made. Our troops were thrown across the river on Thursday and Friday, the 11th and 12th of December, 1862, and occupied the city and plain. On Saturday the works on the centre of the semi-circle were to be stormed, and division after division was told off for the deadly work. Standing where the whole scene was plainly before me, on the heights were visible the enemy's battle array, and the heavy earthworks lined with cannon—those works bending around our forces, like giant arms prepared to crush. But across the plain and up those heights marched our troops, with colors flying and bands playing, steadily, bravely, stubbornly, though with the consciousness that they were marching into the jaws of death. On, on, up, up, until they reached the first crests

of the hills, when fire of grape and canister, at short range, and withering volleys of musketry—one vast, fierce sheet of flame, bursting from the woods, and over the crests of the hills, and from either side of our troops —literally enveloped them. The lines swayed to and fro, great gaps were made in the ranks, again and again the smoke closed them in—but as it swept away for a moment, ranks were seen closed, and still they pressed towards the heights. They gained them for a moment, —only for a moment. Mortals could not stand the terrible fire, which came thick and hot and continuously, along the line of front and on either flank. Our men were driven back—leaving, in their hopeless but magnificent effort, from fifteen to eighteen thousand men dead or wounded on the hill. And all this within the space of about three hours!

But such scenes were again and again enacted, and such sacrifices were made. Can we forget them? Do they not demand our gratitude and our reverence toward those who remain? Let us remember, let us never forget, that to preserve to us and to our children all that is dear and precious of home and country, these men here to-night, and such as these, bared their breasts, and stood between us and destruction, like a living wall, and braved the frightful ordeals of battle, when

> "Cannon to right of them,
> Cannon to left of them,
> Cannon in front of them,
> Volleyed and thundered!"

XXIX. The Life and Character of Hon. Homer Bartlett, by J. S. Russell, read Feb. 9, 1887.

JOHN BARTLETT and his wife, Agnes (Bengar) Bartlett, the earliest ancestors yet traced of the Hon. Homer Bartlett, a sketch of whose life is here presented, lived in Cherington, Warwick Co., in the interior of England. He died in 1613, and his wife Agnes died in 1615. Their son Robert, in 1603, married Anne, daughter of Richard Livingston. They had a family of nine children, five males and four females; one of the daughters, Jane, was married, in 1634, to John Turner, rector of Easton Parish, Hastings, England. The second child, Robert, was baptised March 8, 1606, probably not many days after his birth. He emigrated to America in September, 1632. He first settled in Cambridge, Mass., but soon removed to Hartford, Conn., and in 1655 settled in Northampton, Mass., where he lived till March 14, 1675–6, where he was killed in the famous Indian wars with King Philip. His wife died the following July. They had four children, Samuel, Nathaniel, Abigail, and Deborah. Nathaniel died unmarried; Abigail became the second wife of John Stebbins, Dec. 16, 1657; Deborah, baptised March 8, 1646, married John Cowles, Jr., of Hartford. Samuel was born in Hartford, in 1639. He married, first, Mary Bridgeman, in 1672, who died within two years; and in 1675 he took Sarah Baldwin for his second wife, by whom he had twelve children, all in Northampton,—Samuel, Sarah, Mindwell, Joseph, Ebenezer, Elizabeth, Preserved,

Jonathan, William, David, Benjamin, and a still-born child. Mindwell married Waitstill Strong, March 17, 1706; Elizabeth married Aaron Clark, Nov. 11, 1731; Preserved married Elizabeth Alvord, Jan. 24, 1712; William married Abigail Lyman, Dec. 22, 1720; David married Elizabeth Edwards, Dec. 23, 1719. Ebenezer, the fifth child, and the ancestor in direct line of our fellow citizen, Homer Bartlett, was born in Northampton, Sept. 27, 1685, and on Dec. 1, 1715, at the age of thirty, he married Martha Lyman, by whom he had five children, —Ebenezer, Mary, Ebenezer, 2d, Mary, 2d, and Martha. Ebenezer, 2d, was born in Northampton, Aug. 28, 1721, and died in Granby, in 1788. He had seven children, whose mother's name I have not found. They were Ebenezer, Oliver, Titus, Rachel, Polly, Hannah, and Martha, born in South Hadley and Granby, which was set off from South Hadley in 1768. Their children all became the heads of families, settled in Northampton, Hadley, Granby, in Massachusetts and New York, in Virginia, and other states. Ebenezer, 3d, the eldest was born in South Hadley, in 1745, and died in Granby, Feb. 2, 1798. He married Betsy Barton, of Ludlow, who died March 7, 1803. They had ten children, viz.: Asahel, Ebenezer, Asher, Pliny, Waitt, Eunice, Martha, Hannah, Pliny, and Waitt. The first Pliny and Waitt died in infancy and other children took the same names. Waitt, the youngest child, born Feb. 28, 1786, married Martha Gould Chapin, Jan. 22, 1808, the daughter of Henry Mansfield Chapin and Elizabeth Lilley. They had twelve children, one of whom, Elizabeth Chapin, became the wife of J. S. Russell, of Lowell, Oct. 4, 1842. Asahel, the eldest child of Ebenezer, 3d, was born in 1758, in the town of Granby. He had three wives: (1) Hannah Burchard, who died in 1806; (2) Sally Bonner, who died

in 1829; (3) Almira Miller, who died in 1850. He had eleven children, six by his first wife, Hannah Burchard, and five by his second wife, Sally Bonner. The Burchard children were: Homer, born July 19, 1795; Ebenezer, born March 13, 1797, died Aug. 15, 1803; Lebina, born Jan. 13, 1799, died Aug. 21, 1830; Almena, born April 4, 1801, died Oct. 28, 1802; Almena, 2d, born Jan. 15, 1803; Hannah, born Dec. 15, 1805. The Bonner children were: Asahel Holmes, born June 6, 1808; Sarah, born March 23, 1810, died Aug. 23, 1811; Almira, born April 12, 1813; Sarah, 2d, born Feb. 10, 1817. At least four of these children died young, three in infancy.

Granby is a small town one hundred miles west, south-west from Boston, in Hampshire County. Agriculture is the main business of the people; and the Bartletts were generally simple country farmers, more or less successful. Asahel, the father of Homer, was one of the most substantial of them; yet there was little chance for any of the boys to obtain a collegiate education. Homer was always studious, more fond of books than hard work. The district school was an humble affair; but that, with the tuition of the minister, and a limited attendance at Westfield Academy, enabled him to enter Williams College in 1814, at the age of nineteen. There he pursued the regular course as far as possible, with the interruption of school-keeping winters, for the means required that the home could not furnish. He graduated from college in 1818, and immediately commenced the study of law, under Hon. Daniel Noble and Judge Charles A. Dewey, in Williamstown. He was admitted to the bar in 1821. He followed his profession in Williamstown till 1824, when he removed from that quiet town, to the new and enterprising village of Ware, where with gratifying success he practised law, and acted

as cashier of the bank in the village, till 1832; when he was appointed agent of the Hampshire Manufacturing Company, with which company he was connected till he removed to Lowell in 1839.

Mr. Bartlett had no previous technical knowledge of cotton manufacturing; but it was more common then than at the present time, to select men who had proved their ability in other departments of business, especially lawyers, for the management of large concerns. The directors of the Hampshire Company thought they saw in Mr. Bartlett a talent that might be for their interest to secure. They tempted him to abandon his profession, and devote his powers to their service. The result did credit to their discernment. The company, however, was unfortunate, and collapsed through lack of harmony among those interested, rather than from any fault of their agent, as may be inferred from the after disposition made of him. About this time, the formation of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills company was agitated, and an individual who had been largely interested in the Hampshire Company was asked to subscribe to the Massachusetts stock, consented on condition that he might designate the man to manage the concern. Homer Bartlett was his man.

The Massachusetts Mill was incorporated in 1839, and October 18, of that year, Mr. Bartlett entered the employ of that company. He brought with him many chosen men from the Hampshire Mill, who served the Massachusetts Company during their lives, or till made agents of other companies or retired from business.

Mr. Bartlett held the agency till January, 1849, when he was chosen treasurer of the company. This office, the topmost position in the manufacturing line, he held till his resignation, January 22, 1872, a continuous service to the company of more than thirty-two years.

The Massachusetts Mills have been fairly successful. They have pursued an even, conservative course, avoiding extremes. Their stock has been less fluctuating than that of most companies. Mr. Bartlett was admirably adapted to running a cotton mill, securing the confidence and respect, and even the enthusiasm of his men in the competition between the different rooms, some excelling in the amount of product, some in the excellence, and some in the minimum cost. At one time the production of the Massachusetts Mills exceeded that of any other mills, and it was the occasion of the presentation of a cocked hat to the agent.

The Massachusetts Mills was the place to learn how to run a cotton mill; $1,500 is said to have been paid to Mr. Bartlett by a prospective agent for instruction in that line. Mr. Bartlett was ever generous to his men, and freely recommended them for promotion to agencies of other mills, even to the disadvantage of his own mills. Said one, whose opportunities to know were ample, that more men were promoted from the Massachusetts to be agents elsewhere, than from all the other Lowell corporations. This statement may be a little exaggerated, but it was a spontaneous tribute to the memory of his friend.

He had a deep insight into human character and a complete control of men, without much outward demonstration. He was always anxious for the success of the mills, and deeply sensitive to any hindrance. He would suffer more from an excess of back-water than all the stockholders together.

It was his habit to visit the mills in the morning before he took his breakfast, to see that every department started off properly, and that every man was at his post. It is said that one official was sometimes late, and

Mr. Bartlett was constrained to administer a gentle caution. He was answered: "I knew *you* would be here, so that everything would be all right." Mr. Bartlett appreciated the wit and the compliment, and enjoyed telling the story to his fellow agents.

It is amusing to see how ready wit will disarm censure. Your president tells the story of a doctor of divinity, who, in his younger days, was principal of an academy in Vermont. He was slack in opening his school; and being met on the street one morning, half an hour after school time, by one of the trustees, who impatiently spoke of his delinquency, "Yes, yes," says the teacher, "I am sometimes late in the morning; but I endeavor to make it up by dismissing enough earlier at night."

Mr. Bartlett was, to a limited extent, a politician; not that he enjoyed such business, but rather from a sense of duty to the great interests of manufacturing, as well as to more local interests as a citizen. In exciting campaigns, general or local, he would take the platform. He could make an effective short address; but he was not a born orator, and he did not practice law long enough to acquire the arts of a demagogue. He was representative to the General Court from Ware in 1832, and from Lowell in 1849. He was presidential elector in 1844, and member of the governor's council in 1854. He had at one time, either from within or prompted by friends, an aspiration for congress. But votes are not always concentrated upon merit or fitness. The American party was then in the ascendant; and Mr. Bartlett had no fellowship with their principles or practices.

Mr. Bartlett was happy in his domestic relations. He was married February 6, 1823, to Mary, daughter of William Starkweather, of Williamstown. She had two sisters who married clergymen, and a brother who was a

lawyer. They were a superior family, and Mrs. Bartlett was worthy of her honored husband. They had but one child, and their lives were bound up in her welfare. No pains were spared to educate her for the position she filled so well as the wife of Mr. Frederick L. Richardson, the present treasurer of the Hill Mills at Lewiston, Me. She was the mother of several children, only one of whom was a daughter, who died in childhood. The oldest son, a namesake of his grandfather, is in successful business in New York City. The others are in various stages of preparation for usefulness in life. Thus the Bartlett name is not perpetuated in this line. Mrs. Bartlett died in Lowell, Oct. 3, 1850. Later in life Mr. Bartlett removed to Boston and married, for a second wife, Mrs. Louisa (Fowler) Hubbell, of Albany, N. Y., June 4, 1861. She belonged to a prominent and wealthy family. She was active in religious affairs, and was treasurer of an extensive missionary organization. I asked Mr. Bartlett if his wife was made treasurer on account of his own financial ability. "By no means," says he, "she is able to manage the business." She died May 27, 1873, and the eulogies pronounced at her funeral by the Rev. Drs. Blagden and Manning of the Old South, were such as would have fitted the greatest and the best.

Mr. Bartlett's heirs were not enriched by her wealth, nor did they need it. He knew how to husband his property, else he would not have been qualified for his position as treasurer of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills corporation. But he was not miserly. He was liberal to worthy objects. He was the family banker, and supported his aged parents without grudging.

Mr. Bartlett's influence was not limited to secular affairs. Many yet live in Lowell who can testify to his

faithfulness as a teacher of an adult class in the John Street Church Sunday School, where he was a constant attendant upon public worship. He was an admirer of the pastor, Rev. S. W. Hanks, whose terse sayings pleased him well; though they sometimes gave offence to the brethren when he lashed them directly for whipping him and each other behind their prayers. He united with that church while in Lowell, and when he removed to Boston he joined the Old South Church. Men in his position in society too often leave the church to women, and to whom they consider the weak brethren, but it is really the stronger minds that look beyond the things of this world.

Mr. Bartlett's life is one of a multitude of examples, showing the value of a country life in boyhood. The chores of the house, the barn, the wood pile, and the labors of the field, harden the muscle and subdue the mind and will to the realities of life. And the absence of city luxuries and temptations, and the high moral tone of society fortify the character, and fit the boy to succeed as a man in whatever department he may choose to labor.

Mr. Bartlett was of large stature, symmetrical in form, erect and dignified in bearing, courteous and genial in manners, and a noble example of a Christian gentleman. He died March 29, 1874, aged nearly seventy-nine years, and on the first day of April, under the ministrations of his former pastor, the Rev. S. W. Hanks, his body was consigned to the grave on a western slope in the garden of the dead on Mount Auburn, to await "The hour in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth."

XXX. Lowell in 1826, written by A. B. Wright.

[The following paper was published in the *Lowell Courier* April 24, 1886, being sixty years after the time stated at its commencement. It is here republished in its present form, the notes and illustration being added by the author.]

SIXTY years ago, April 24, 1826, it was my good fortune to become a resident of Lowell. I was, at that time, six and a half years old. In the following article I propose to give a view of Lowell, as I saw it on that day, so far as my memory serves me, and follow up and extend the view as it was revealed to me in the first few weeks thereafter. I made my entrance into the town about four o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, beneath a cloudless sky, surrounded by a warm and summer-like atmosphere, perched upon the pinnacle of a limited amount of furniture piled upon a country farm wagon, drawn by two horses having a jaded and somewhat dilapidated appearance, owing to the fact that they had been several days upon the road from the mountain district of Vermont. My elevated position gave me a fine opportunity for observation, and so vivid was the impression made upon my mind, that the vision of that afternoon seems to be almost indelibly stamped upon my memory.

I came into the town by the way now known as Pawtucket Street, and the first object that arrested my attention after leaving Middlesex Village, was the McFarland house as it now stands opposite the ice houses.

Passing over the canal I came next to the Whitney house, on the right, perhaps better remembered by some as the residence of Jonathan Bowers. This house remains as then. Nearly opposite, on the left, were a wheelwright's shop, a blacksmith's shop, and, I think, one other small building, and farther along, upon the same side, was the house of Capt. John Ford, now remodelled into a dwelling of more modern appearance; then next in order came the residence of Jonathan Spalding, and now occupied by the surviving members of his family. Passing across the street, was the house of Elisha Ford, now standing, and subsequently owned by Mr. Corliss, an employee of the Gas Light Company; and next to this house and upon the corner of School Street, was the little store, also owned by Elisha Ford, that now graces this eligible position. This store was afterwards occupied by David and Paul Hill, where I have, in my 'prentice days, many times refreshed myself with a generous slice of molasses ginger bread and a glass of spruce beer in exchange for a copy of the *Lowell Journal.* Going into School Street, and not far up the hill, was a cottage house, and a few rods above were the dwelling and slaughter house of Benjamin Walker. These buildings were subsequently occupied by Osgood Dane, who many years ago left Lowell and went to Charlestown. About opposite the Walker house was a building, if not then, was subsequently used as a bakery, and above this building and near to it, was a small school house. All these buildings, except the school house, which has been rebuilt, still remain.

Passing down School Street, on the right, at the corner of Pawtucket, was the residence of Nathaniel Wright, Esq., which has since been radically changed in its external appearance, and near to that was the resi-

dence of James Bowers, which has, in recent years, been removed to one of the new streets in the immediate neighborhood. On the corner, opposite the Wright house, were the store and residence of Phineas Whiting, Esq. These buildings, in later years, were removed to make room for the elegant residence of Frederick Ayer, Esq. Going down the hill to the bridge, was a saw-mill, and doubtless a grist-mill also, as these two industries were generally found in company in those days. On the left of Pawtucket Street, and near to the Whiting residence, was the residence and cooper shop of Artemas Holden. This site is now occupied by the residence of the late George W. Shattuck. The residence of the late Dr. John O. Green I do not remember, although I think it must have been erected about this time. The next building that claimed my attention was the "Stone House," *alias* "Stone Tavern," Balch & Coburn, landlords. The "annex," now occupied by Frank Salmon, Esq., was not then erected. The next buildings I remember were the Melvin and Cheever houses at the foot of Pawtucket Falls; though I did not go in that direction, I discovered them from my elevated perch, as I passed down Salem Street, where I also observed one or two houses near Decatur Street, about opposite Common Street. Coming to the present junction of Adams Street with Salem Street, was the store of Francis Hobbs, three stories high, with the same general appearance it now bears, excepting that a recent structure seems to have been tied on to one of its corners.

Nearly opposite, on Adams Street, on the present site of the higher part of the brick block, were one or two wooden buildings, one of which was occupied by a manufacturer of cane weaving-reeds—that being the kind very largely, if not wholly, used sixty years ago.

Looking southerly from this point by the present line of Adams Street, and to the left, was the "Half Acre," then occupied by a score or more of huts, built of slabs, stones and turf, from the apex of whose roofs the smoke from the "open fireplace" below—the fashionable thing now —was conducted towards the "shining stars" through headless lime casks. This locality is the present site of St. Patrick's Church, and its adjacent appendages, and the near surrounding dwellings lying east of Adams Street and extending to Suffolk Street. Still farther southward beyond the line of Cross Street, and extending in the direction of the Mechanics' Mills, between Suffolk and Fletcher Streets, was the "Acre" proper. Here the huts were of the same character as upon the "Half Acre," and more in number. Seventy-five rods, or thereabouts, in a southwesterly direction, "solitary and alone," stood the Willie farm house, somewhat venerable with age, even sixty years ago. This house was subsequently moved to the corner of Broadway and Willie Streets, or into that immediate neighborhood, and renewed its youth with new clapboards and fresh paint.

Returning my vision to the main line at the head of Cabot Street, as Market Street had not yet been constructed, I went down Cabot Street to Merrimack Street, which at this time was limited in its westerly course by its junction with Cabot Street. The first building on Merrimack Street that claimed my attention was then occupied by Simon Adams as a store, it having been previously occupied by Jonathan C. Morrill, Lowell's first postmaster, if not as a store, as a dwelling and postoffice, and is the same building so long occupied by Albert Wheeler, the grocer, and now continued by his son. In close proximity to this building, and west thereof, were

one or two smaller buildings, one of which was used as a millinery store.*

Continuing my course by the house now occupied by Charles B. Coburn, which was the former residence of Warren Colburn, but not in its present position, I came next to the Merrimack school house (nearly opposite the Colburn house as it then stood) standing upon the present site of the Green Grammar School.†

The next object that arrested my attention were workmen engaged in excavating the ledge for the purpose of erecting the present brick block extending westerly from Worthen Street. This was the first brick building erected upon Merrimack Street.‡ I next came to the site upon which the Merrimack House was erected in 1832. Here upon my left I had a full view of the two or three mills erected by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the "Front Row" (on Dutton Street), "Middle Row," "Third Row" (on Worthen Street), and "John Bull's Row" (on Prince Street), as the boarding

* At this period of time Merrimack Street, between Colburn and Hanover Streets, diverged towards the north from its present line and passed directly by these buildings; but two or three years later the County Commissioners relocated this part of Merrimack Street, making it straight, and discontinued the old road at this point, thus making it *seem* as though these buildings had been changed in their position; but such is not the fact. For some years, this open space between the old and new location of the street, was called Merrimack Square. The old county road, commencing at the junction of School Street with Pawtucket Street, followed the present line of Pawtucket Street to Salem Street, thence continuing on the present line of Salem Street to Cabot Street, thence following the line of Cabot Street to Merrimack Street, it continued on the course before indicated to the angle in the street on the contemplated city hall site, and from thence to Central Street in nearly a straight line. Merrimack Street was not continued west from Cabot Street until ten or fifteen years after.

† This school house has become historic in the religious history of Lowell. Here it was that St. Anne's Church began its existence, March 7, 1824, and where it continued to hold religious services until March, 1825, when it took possession of its new church upon the same street. The Baptists next occupied the house and continued to hold services until the dedication of their house of worship on Church Street, Nov. 15, 1826. After the Baptists came the Congregationalists, where they remained until the completion of their new church, in 1827, upon the adjoining lot. The school house was subsequently sold to Dea. William Davidson, and removed to Cabot Street, upon the west side, and converted into a dwelling house. It stands next south of a brick dwelling upon the same street.

‡ Opposite this block, about where the Prince house stood, previous to 1826 were small buildings owned by Joseph Woodward. These at one time were occupied by Mr. Wheeler, who subsequently removed to Belvidere.

houses upon this corporation were then designated; also the residence of the late John D. Prince on the east end of the proposed city hall site. No material changes have been made in these several "rows," except that a few of the wooden houses have been moved from Dutton Street to the site of the contemplated city hall, and the present elegant brick block erected in their place. All the other brick blocks standing upon these several "rows" have since been erected, excepting the two-story brick structures standing upon Dutton and Worthen Streets, and upon the east side of Prince Street. Originally the Prince St. block (of brick) was erected in two parts—one part being one story high and the other one story and a half high. In after years additional stories were added.

Turning my vision to the right there appeared in full view the Lowell Machine Shop, a saw mill within the same enclosure, and west of these the wooden boarding houses as they now stand upon Dutton and Worthen Streets, including the residence of Paul Moody, now next south of the Baptist Church, with a plot of fine lawn in front sloping to a semi-circular artificial pond on the line of Dutton Street.

Passing on over the canal to the present location of Wentworth's building, I came upon the house of Moses Shattuck, the out-door superintendent of the Locks and Canals Company, and a short distance away, in the rear of the city building, and about in the line of Middle Street, was a barn. Upon my left was St. Anne's Church and the parsonage near by. Farther along, between the present lines of Kirk and John Streets, were four buildings of uniform appearance, which were called "Cottage Row." In one of these the *Lowell Journal* was located.*

* These buildings, a few years later, were removed to Belvidere,—two of them being located upon Water Street, south of Pond Street, and two upon Pond Street, east of Water Street.

Passing beyond these, I came into full view of the residence of Kirk Boott, Esq., which stood about on the present line of French Street, at its junction with John Street.

Going farther on I came to the road (now called Bridge Street) leading to the ferry over the Merrimack River, where stone abutments and piers were nearly ready to receive Central Bridge, which was fully completed before the close of the year. Between the road and Concord River, on the line of Merrimack Street, was the "Nathan Tyler Mansion."* In approaching the buildings I came first to the barn, not far from the line of Bridge Street, then to the house, which was nearly on the line of the canal as it now runs. The house was square in form, two stories high, and was surmounted with a quadrangular roof, terminating in an apex. Joining on to the house, and extending towards the Concord River, was a structure about sixty feet in length, two stories high, having a pitch roof with gables. It has since come to my knowledge that this addition was a comparatively new structure, erected by the Merrimack corporation after it came into possession of the property by purchase.†

After leaving the Tyler estate the street descended by a sharp decline to the bridge over Concord River.

* There is evidence which goes to show that after the "Tyler Farm" was purchased by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and the house was converted into a hotel, it was commonly called the "Merrimack Hotel," though this name was sometimes applied to the "Stone Tavern" at Pawtucket Falls; but about the year 1830 Cushing Baker became the lessee of the Tyler house and he changed the name to "Mansion House," by which name it ever after was called.

† The house and the addition, about 1835, were removed. The house now stands at the corner of Salem and Dane Streets, and is surmounted by a French roof. The addition was removed to Market Street, and is the second block east of Cabot Street, and is but little changed in its external appearance, and was owned by the late Dr. John O. Green at his decease in 1886. The barn was purchased by the late Humphrey Webster, taken down and partially re-erected upon the west side of Bridge Street, near Tenth, but was subsequently removed to the east side of Bridge, corner of Eighth, and for many years was occupied, if not owned, by the late Mark Manahan.

Crossing the bridge I entered upon what is now known as East Merrimack Street, having at this point a grade lower than at present. The first building on the right was occupied as a store in the first story, and stood about on the west line of what is now Davidson Street. About in the line of Davidson Street, in the rear, was the barn of the late Aaron Mansur, Esq., while next in order was his dwelling house, beyond this and near to it, a small one-story house, and after this a two-story building with its gable end on the street. Fifty feet or more beyond the last building named was what was subsequently known as the "City Hotel," but then being but two stories high, and also occupied as a hotel. Beyond, but in the rear of the hotel was a large stable, the same being now occupied by the Horse Railway Company. Near to the hotel on the street was a building now occupied as a car house in its lower story. This building was but two stories, but has since been raised and extended to some extent in the rear. After this was a three-story building on the corner of Howe Street, erected a year or two before by Winthrop Howe, and was used as a hotel for some years thereafter.

On the opposite side of the street, beginning at the bridge, was the same brick building as now standing, and a short distance beyond was a small building in which was a lawyer's office on the first floor, and next was a two-story building partly used as a store, and near to this was a dwelling house, and in close company was another dwelling and a barn near by. From the lawyer's office to this point, the land was some elevated, and is the same now covered by the long wooden block ending at Brown Street. In the rear, on the margin of the river, was a small brick house, and the first of the kind to be erected near this point. Stackpole Street, from East

Merrimack Street, and the block on the river side were built upon land made beyond the shore line of the river down as far as Whittier's mill.

When I arrived opposite the head of Howe Street, I had a complete view of its entire length, where I saw upon the right a stable, now occupied as a car house, and a two-story house as now seen upon the south corner of Davidson Street, and beyond this the Howe flannel mills, and opposite these Bradley's grist mill at the extreme left, and Abijah Brown's pump and wheelwright shop adjoining. North of these was a block of four brick houses, to which one was added the same year. Between this block and East Merrimack Street was a carpenter's shop, to which was joined a long horse shed, used as an appurtenant to Howe's Hotel. Continuing along East Merrimack Street, the next house, beginning with the following week, gave nightly shelter to my head for one year. A few years later this house was destroyed by fire. The next house in the course was occupied by Joseph G. Kittredge, the blacksmith, whose brother still resides in Lowell.* This house stands upon the corner of Fayette Street, and the house upon the opposite corner was the last house upon that side of the street within the present limits of Lowell. This house was the residence of Mr. Wheeler, whose sons, in after years, became so well known to Lowell people. When at this point the only things in the shape of buildings to be discovered looking south through Fayette Street, were, upon the right, the blacksmith shop of Mr. Kittredge, in the rear of his house, and a large square dwelling in process of erection, upon the corner of Chestnut Street extended to the river, for Mr. Hunting, and, upon the left or the east side of the street, a small brick dwelling, also in

* The brother, William Kittredge, died a few months after this sketch was first published.

process of construction for Mr. French. A house of wood has since been joined to it.

Beginning at Brown Street, upon the left of East Merrimack Street, was even then an ancient appearing dwelling upon the corner, which was known as the Joseph Tyler house, an uncle of the late Jonathan Tyler, and in the rear of this was another dwelling. Next east of the Tyler house, which now stands in its ancient place, was a ravine fifty or sixty feet wide, which became wider as it extended north to the Concord River, and terminated in what is now Stackpole Street, in front of Whittier's mill, in quite deep water, which was known as the "Pout Hole." This ravine was formerly the bed of an arm of Concord River, which came around from the foot of Howe Street. With six feet of water upon Pawtucket dam, I have seen a river boat called a "gundalow," come up this ravine to the line of the street loaded to its utmost capacity, where its cargo was discharged.

[See diagram at the end of this paper, with explanatory notes, illustrating this part of Belvidere and the adjacent territory across the river.]

Next beyond the ravine, upon the corner of the street extending in the direction of the Catholic Church was the same house as now standing, except the westerly part, now or formerly occupied by Mr. Owen, has since been added. Going towards the church was the small house as now seen, and next to this, and the last upon this side of the street, was a double house, the northerly one giving to me my first night's shelter at the termination of what seemed a long journey. This house was removed when the church was erected, and now stands upon the east bank of Concord River, within a few feet of the track of the Boston & Maine Railroad where it crosses the river.

I had hardly been landed from my high perch above the furniture, when I began to make explorations in order to get the "lay of the land" about my new home, and the remaining part of this paper will give my readers the result of my observations during the remainder of that day and in the few weeks that immediately followed. My first act was to go upon the open square, where now stands the High Street Church, which then had not been graded down as it now appears, but was covered with a crop of fresh grown grass, making a turf solid and firm. In front of me was the Gedney mansion, since removed a short distance to the east to make room, as it seems, for the recent addition to St. John's Hospital. At the rear of the Gedney mansion, and joining to its northwest corner, was "Livermore's Hall," extending back over the present line of Stackpole Street to the sloping bank of the river. This hall has been twice removed, and now stands in the rear of the church upon Stackpole Street, and as I looked upon it a few weeks since it appears to have been extended in length at some time since it was first erected. At my right hand and facing the square was the newly erected mansion of Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore, the then owner of the entire Gedney estate. In front of the house, and extending the entire length of the square upon the east side, was a double row of Lombardy poplars, then just budding into leafage. The Livermore house, I recently observed, has been removed to Bartlett Street, directly in the rear of the parochial school building. Near to the Livermore house, towards East Merrimack Street, was a two-story dwelling which, in after years, was occupied by James K. Fellows, Esq., and next to this, upon the site of the Moody School House, was a small dwelling occupied by one Wood. This building now stands very near to the

school house, perhaps in the rear thereof, and a short distance east of the school house, upon the same side of the street, was one other dwelling.

Before I left the square I directed my vision across Merrimack River to a point near the terminus of the bridge, which seven months later was completed. I discovered a large house nearly in front of the ferry landing. This building was erected by Joseph Bradley, and in after years was known as "Barron's Hotel." Beyond this house, and upon the west side of Bridge Street, between West Third and West Fourth Streets, was another dwelling, where then resided the widow of Ezra Worthen, who had been one of the prominent officials of the Merrimack Company. Nearly opposite, upon the corner of Third Street, was also a dwelling then occupied by Joseph Bradley before named, and to this house, six months later, I made a visit for the purpose of carrying a verbal message, under circumstances I shall never forget. My father had a contract to put in the foundation for the toll-house which was to be erected at the south end of the bridge, near where now stands one of the Boott mills. The work was not fully completed until eight o'clock of the last day when the job was agreed to be finished. The road-way of the bridge was not completed, but loose planks were promiscuously laid upon the stringers at indefinite distances. At this time there was a partial moon, and to please my father, I went the entire length of the bridge (five hundred feet or more), and safely returned, sometimes leaping from one plank to another, to notify one of the "bridge committee" that my father's contract was completed. As I look back to that "little excursion" over the bridge, going from one plank to another, with large openings between, twenty feet above the river, I wonder that I am here to gratify

my vanity by narrating my boyish feat—then being only seven years old.

Besides the three buildings before mentioned, there was one near Tenth Street, upon the west side of Bridge, and on Tenth Street, on "Christian Hill," were two farm-houses, then known as the Parker and Thissel estates. Turning to the line of Hildreth Street, there were two or three buildings between Tenth Street and the burying-ground. These were all the buildings then in that part of Dracut now comprised within the limits of Lowell.

Going up High Street, south of East Merrimack, and upon the east side, extending to the line of the Rogers land, there were but five buildings. The first was a small dwelling, formerly a school house, about twenty-five rods north of Chestnut Street, and in the rear of the residence of the late Charles Stott, Esq., was another dwelling which some years after was removed a short distance towards the north. The next building is now the fourth dwelling south of Chestnut Street, and was in process of finishing by its owner, Nathan Kimball, Esq., the late father of Jonathan Kimball, Esq., now a resident of Chelsea, Mass., and a well-remembered master in one of Lowell's grammar schools, as also a teacher in her High School. The remaining two buildings upon this side of the street were situated near Oak Street, and were a house and barn belonging to Judge Livermore. The house was subsequently moved to Nesmith Street, and for some years was the residence of the late Theodore H. Sweetser, Esq., and the barn at an earlier date was moved to the corner of Chestnut Street, where it now stands, and was converted into a dwelling by one Ellis, and occupied by him until his decease a few years later.

Upon the west side of High Street, the first building was the one now said to be owned by Luther Shepard, the lawyer, and in its external shape seems to have undergone no material alteration since it was erected by its first owner, John Shattuck, Esq., late of Concord, Mass. As the present occupants of this building are now probably favored with the use of the public water, it may do no harm to state the fact that when this building was erected, a year or two before I first saw it, in digging for the well, six Indian skeletons were taken from within the circumference of the excavation. The next building was a dwelling occupied and owned by one Smith, a plane maker, and stands about twenty feet from the line of the street. Between this house and Chestnut Street were two small dwellings, the first of which seems to have an addition made to it by building towards the street, and the second has been moved to the rear of the second dwelling north of Chestnut Street. South of and on the line of Chestnut Street, and about fifty feet or more from High Street, was a small dwelling which in after years was considerably enlarged by additions.

The next building was a few feet south of Andover Street, and was soon after occupied by John Kimball, Esq., the late father of John F. Kimball, Esq., president of the Appleton Bank. In the rear of this house was a large barn. The house has since been removed a short distance to the south. The last buildings upon this side of the street were a house and barn erected by the late Josiah B. French, Esq., and are now owned and occupied by Frank Brown, Esq.

So far as Belvidere is concerned, I believe I have brought to view all the buildings there were in what now is that part of Lowell, excepting the old Rogers' dwelling, the immense barn that stood near the entrance to

the Park, at the left, and since burned, and the cider mill "that stood near it,"—adding, however, to these the "Lowell Cottage," and a barn connected therewith, upon Andover Street, beyond the residence of General Butler, and now appearing to be in a somewhat dilapidated condition; also the hut of Ned Haley, an Irish squatter upon land of Eben Hunt, between the North Tewksbury old road and Merrimack River, just east of where a street now enters the old road.

Hoping my readers are not completely exhausted by the long tramp they have thus far had with me, I will ask them to still continue with me in order to see what further discoveries can be made concerning the appearance of Lowell sixty years ago, hoping my memory will enable me to show them nearly all the remaining buildings that were to be seen at that point of time. For this purpose it will be necessary to recross Concord River, but as then there were but two bridges spanning the river, one of which we have but recently crossed at East Merrimack Street, and the other is near to what is now the cemetery entrance, we will use the latter as a saving of time and travel. As we have now been some time at Mr. Brown's house, we will start from this point and go "across lots" to the place to be reached. As apples and other fruits are now only in the flower bud, we probably shall not be deemed to be trespassers, as in former days, if we enter upon the Rogers land; and though the present owners may possibly look upon us as tramps, yet we can possibly escape their vigilant eyes, and reach our destination in safety. Therefore we will go over the wall here and make directly for the locomotive house on the bank of the river. Just above this point, and where the river is most narrow, some evidences can be seen of a bridge which spanned the river at some former time.

As this is the more convenient point to make certain observations, we will sit down upon this cool grass and see what we can discover. Directly opposite, where now stand the Richmond factory buildings, might have been seen a mass of low, dingy buildings black with age and the smoke of coal. These were an iron foundry, a great smithy, with huge trip-hammers and all the accessories of extensive forging works. These were erected long before Francis C. Lowell had ever dreamed that a great and growing city was here to bear his name. These works were the property of the brothers Ames, whose sons in later days acquired such celebrity in the manufacture of arms and cutlery at Springfield in this state. Just below these caves of Vulcan, in the rear of that point of rocks jutting into the river, was a short stretch of fine gravelly beach, where the Baptists and Methodists often resorted to baptise their converts upon their profession of faith in Christ as a personal Saviour. High up on the bank farther along, and now next to the school house, in that small house, now a stranger to paint, was subsequently born and lived one Morey, who figured somewhat conspicuously in connection with a certain letter in regard to the election of President Garfield. Somewhat farther north, upon the line of Lawrence Street, and where now stands the residence of Hapgood Wright, Esq., was a large dwelling called the "Castle," which was subsequently removed to Church Street, west of George, where now stands a double brick dwelling, and was torn down when that was erected.*

As no more discoveries of importance can be made

* About a year after the foregoing was written, there came to my hand a lithographic view of Lowell, "taken from the house of Zadoc Rogers, in Tewksbury, near Fort Hill, in 1830," by one Kidder. In this view, the "Castle" is seen in the fore-ground of the picture, the rear part resting upon long posts, as the land falls abruptly towards the river.

over the river at this point let us pass on to this two-acre plot on the highest part of the land, nearly opposite the island, then covered with beautiful oaks, but long since "laid low by the woodman's cruel axe." From here we will go hence over the extension of Taylor Street, and pass into the same woods that fringed the river's bank sixty years ago, to the bridge we propose to cross. How beautiful and charming this walk is among these trees of beech, birch, hemlock (not a very plentiful tree in this region), maple, pine and sassafras. As we walk in the cool of the shade of these trees (and may their shadow continue to fall upon this ground for sixty years to come, if not longer) we have frequent glimpses of the powder works of Tileston & Whipple, that stretched along the river upon the opposite side from the mouth of Hale's Brook to Moore Street. As we are now directly in line with Moore Street, and this stone-arched bridge will lead us directly to it, we will cross the river here. This bridge was discontinued many years ago, when the one above was built, and the arches removed, excepting one upon the west side of the river.

Having now crossed the river into Moore Street, the first buildings that claim our attention are the dwelling house and barns of the late Oliver M. Whipple as they now stand, and twenty rods or more in the rear of these, just in the edge of a grove of oaks, was a stone dwelling, the same as now. Opposite the residence of Mr. Whipple was another dwelling, now the residence of Mr. Meadowcroft. Passing along the south side of the street to a point about opposite the large dwelling owned by the Bleachery Company, and a few rods back from the street, was an ancient dwelling, perhaps then in the neighborhood of an hundred years of age, and beyond this was the low, long dwelling of Simeon Moors. Going

farther along into Central Street, the first buildings seen were the house and barn of Mr. Osgood, and long occupied by his children after his decease. These buildings yet remain, but their external appearance has been somewhat changed.

Upon the east side of Central Street, where now stands the Butler School house, was a large white house, and a short distance beyond was another of like size and appearance. Between these two houses was a private way, which ran easterly thirty rods or more to where were one or two powder mills and other small manufacturing buildings, all of which were the property of Moses Hale. Crossing Central Street to the west side was an ancient-appearing small house, which yet remains. Next beyond, and north of the brook, were the well-known "Hale's Mills," comprising grist and saw mills, wool-carding machines, etc. Back of these, upon the higher ground, was the Hale mansion as now to be seen, and upon the east side of the street was an old house belonging to Elisha Davis, or of that family. This ancient house was removed or taken down and the present residence of Elisha Davis erected in its place.

A short distance beyond, upon the west side of Central Street, was the historic "red school house," which has figured somewhat prominently in connection with some of the early religious enterprises of the city. This building is now a dwelling house. The next building in order is now the residence of John F. Frye, Esq., having been erected by his father, who was of the firm of Frye & Abbot, a well-known firm in Lowell's early days; and nearly opposite, upon the south corner of Wamesit Street, was the small house now to be seen, and which is prominently connected with early Baptist history in Lowell. Near to this house, and northeast of the

house of Samuel N. Wood, was also another dwelling. Crossing Hosford Square, the next building to be seen was the bakery established by John Mead and Matthias Parkhurst two or three years before, but who soon after were succeeded by Isaac Scripture, by whose name it is now so well known. Passing to the east side of the street, below the bakehouse, were three or four buildings, one of which stood in the present line of North Street, and south of this were the residence and stable of Samuel Wood, who was the first to transport merchandise between Lowell and Boston.

Lower down the hill, at the corner of Union Street, was a store kept by one Marshall. This building is now a double dwelling house. Upon the opposite corner was the residence of Robert Taylor, whose name is now perpetuated in one of the streets near Concord River. Next north of the Taylor house, and near to it, was another dwelling, and opposite Union Street was the small house now to be seen, with one or two other buildings upon that side of Central Street between North and Charles Streets.

Upon Union Street, between Central and Gorham Streets, were one or two dwellings and a stable. These were destroyed by fire about 1842. Upon Chapel Street, between Union and Elm Streets, were also five dwellings besides the dwelling of Henry Van Vronker south of Elm Street. East of Central, towards Lawrence Street, and between Charles and North Streets, were the soap works of John Mead, and near to these were three or four dwellings.

Upon the west side of Central Street, at what is now or was called "Luther's Court," were two dwellings, one upon either corner of the court as they now stand, and in the court were two or three more, some of which

were subsequently utilized as a bakery. Upon the south corner of Tyler and Central Streets was a small dwelling which a few years later became the scene of an event by which the mother of several children came to a tragic death, in which the verdict was, "Rum did it." On the north corner of the same street was a dwelling which was subsequently removed to School, just north of Middlesex Street, where it now stands. Near to the dwelling before its removal were one or two other buildings, which were subsequently converted into soap works by Messrs. Horn & Allen, who pursued their business here until their removal to new buildings erected by them in the rear of the new location of the dwelling before named. Next to these was the wheelwright shop of Dea. Daniel Bowen, who just recently died in Buffalo, N. Y. At the corner of Church Street was a building which now is occupied by Messrs. Nichols & Fletcher, who claim to have descended in unbroken succession from Messrs. Mansur & Reed, who were grocers near by as early as 1824. This building has since been greatly enlarged. About opposite, at the corner of Appleton Street extended, was a small building. This building was occupied about this time by Addison Brastow, the first practical watchmaker in Lowell.

In crossing the head of Church Street, and looking towards Belvidere, nothing could be seen between this point and the bridge except three small dwellings just west of Warren Street, where it joins Church Street. Upon the north corner of Church Street stood "Carter's Hotel" (Washington House), with its long hall and two stables in the rear, while north was the brick building upon the corner of Green Street, but then not joined by the hotel as it now appears. This building was subsequently called the "Union House," and is the one alluded

to by General Butler in his semi-centennial address in 1876, as the place where he found peaceful rest in 1828, on the first night after his arrival in Lowell.

Crossing Green Street to the corner now occupied by the railway station, stood a building occupied by Mansur & Reed, before alluded to, and from this point to Hurd Street was an unbroken chain of buildings,—the postoffice being in one very near, if not upon, what is now the north corner of William Street, Jacob Robbins, the first apothecary, occupying another one or two doors from the postoffice; and next in order was a low building, about on the present site of the *Vox Populi* newspaper, in the attic of which was subsequently established the *Lowell Evangelist*, a Baptist newspaper. Next to this was a two-story dwelling; and next, on the corner of Hurd Street, was a grocery store in a building which now stands on Hurd Street next to the residence of Dr. Allen, taking the place of two that were removed to make room for it. Before its removal from the corner, the *Lowell Journal* was driven from its location on Merrimack Street but found a resting place in this building and the adjoining one. In an article published in the *Journal* at the time, it was said in substance that the cause of the removal was an act of tyranny on the part of its landlord, the Merrimack corporation, or its agent, Kirk Boott, for which a settlement would be had in the courts.

At the corner of Jackson and Central Streets was a dwelling, which soon after was removed to the corner of Church and George Streets, and became the residence of the late Dea. Joseph Tapley. The Tapley house has recently been removed and in its place has been erected a large brick building covering the entire lot. Opposite the American House was a wooden building occupied as

a store by James Tyler and his brother (not, however, of the family of Jonathan Tyler so prominent in Lowell history). This building was afterwards moved to the east side of Central Street, adjoining the canal on the north, and then again to the south corner of Appleton and Gorham Streets, where the Runals block now stands.

Upon the north corner of Central and Hurd Streets was the store of Cushing Baker, which now stands next to St. Paul's Church, and at the corner of Warren Street was the "Morse Building," and in the rear of this was the "Warren House." These three buildings covered the present location of the "Appleton Block," including, perhaps, a stable that was in the rear.

"Fry's Tavern" was the next building, and covered a large part of the present location of the American House. This building was removed in two parts, one (the principal part) going to Warren Street, next east of the Norris Stable, and the smaller portion going to the south side of Elm Street, east of Chapel. Beyond the American House, about in the line of Prescott Street, were two buildings, in one of which was a cabinet maker, whose name was Johnson, and soon after I made the acquaintance of printers' types in 1832, I heard the "*Globe*" mentioned in connection with these buildings, a newspaper referred to in Alfred Gilman's interesting "History of Lowell's Newspapers." On the site of the "Tyler Block," erected some years ago, were three low wooden structures, now represented by three stores. The first, on the corner of Market Street, was at one time, if not then, occupied by Weld Spalding and his brother, grocers, the second by Thomas Billings, the first binder and bookseller in Lowell, and the third as a dry goods store. These comprised the last of all the buildings, as I remember, upon Central Street sixty years ago.

Upon Hurd Street, besides those before mentioned, were three dwellings upon the north side and Mr. Hurd's house upon the south side, recently, if not now, occupied by Postmaster Haggett, and the large boarding house beyond, at the corner of George Street, and east of George Street, two or three hundred feet therefrom, on the line of the railway track, was another small house. The Hurd Mills comprised two buildings, one being wood and situated at the end of the dam on Concord River, and the other brick, small in size, directly below the principal entrance to the present factory yard. The former was destroyed by fire (the first in Lowell) a few weeks later. Upon Green Street were five or six dwellings, and a few rods north of Green Street was a schoolhouse, which a few years later was removed to the rear of the First Baptist Church, and from thence to George Street, where it now stands as the third dwelling north from Tyler Street.

Upon the Hamilton Corporation two mills and a dyehouse were completed, and a third in process of erection, together with several blocks of boarding houses. Appleton Street had but one dwelling, and that was the residence of Samuel Bachelder, now owned by the Catholics. Middlesex Street terminated at the Northern railway station, which point then was the Mecca of every Englishman in town, for here was located a brewery, a wooden structure now occupied as a store, now standing next west of the railway track, having been removed to its present location to make a way for the track. The Fletcher farm house obstructed the future locality of Summer Street, a few rods west of the Eliot Church, and a large barn was near by, within the present limits of the common. These buildings stood upon an old road which opened at the corner of Gorham and Middlesex

Streets, and running in a southwest direction near to the corner of Appleton and South Streets, it continued on, going at the rear of the houses of the late Convers Nichols, on Appleton Street, and of Mr. Edwards on Summer Street, it passed directly in front of the Eliot Church, crossing Thorndike Street and going to the rear of the jail, it formed a junction with Hale Street near the bridge over the railway.

Commencing at this point, and passing through Hale Street to Chelmsford Street, there were two or three dwellings, one of which was occupied by Reuben Butterfield; and passing into Chelmsford Street there was a dwelling just beyond the intersection of Liberty Street. Continuing along to Parker Street, opposite Plain Street, was a school-house occupying the same location as the present structure; but as Chelmsford Street then followed the same course as Parker Street, the Simon Parker house and barn could have been seen in the same position as now at the top of the hill. Here the street diverged to the south, leading by the tomb of the Marshall family, of whom Avery, Luther and Hezekiah are well-remembered persons. If the town records of Lowell are examined in its earlier days, it will be found that for some years the official warrants of the selectmen for public meetings of the people terminated thus—"A true copy. Attest, Luther Marshall, Constable." The small house long occupied by these three brothers (and where they died) can be seen as one passes along Parker Street in the direction of Stevens Street.

Passing along the old road by the tomb before mentioned, the Isaac Chamberlain house came next to view. The house was subsequently occupied by E. B. Patch, then Addison Putnam, and then Dr. Jenness. Near to the location of the city buildings was the house or

houses of the Coburn family. Of this family, Lowell has had no more honorable names than Charles B., Henry, Stephen A., and Franklin Coburn.

Going north into Stevens Street, here were to be seen the small dwellings of Mr. Stevens and Mrs. Pierce. Continuing on through Stevens Street, as it has been recently extended from Parker Street into Pine Street, and turning east, was to be seen the house now occupied by Jeptha Parker near the Highland School house. Continuing on through Pine to Liberty Street, at the junction of School, were two or three buildings; and near by, on School Street, stood an old dwelling which, in after years, was occupied by the late Alanson Crane. On Liberty Street, near to its junction with Chelmsford Street, was the small dwelling of William Fletcher, and now to be seen.

Of those portions of Lowell which but just recently have been set off from Chelmsford and that part of Dracut extending west from the "Navy Yard" (which name was applied to this locality sixty years ago), I have no definite remembrance, except at Middlesex Village, through which I went on my way to Lowell, I remember the half-dozen or more buildings and their location.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES AND FACTS.

After I had been honored by a request of the OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION, through their honored Secretary, Alfred Gilman, Esq., for permission to publish the foregoing paper, I wrote Ignatius Tyler, Esq., who is now residing at Montreal, Canada, and was born in the "Mansion House" (No. 5 on the map), for information concerning a causeway represented by a short dotted line on the map, as for what purpose it was constructed; for it was supposed by later residents, that it indicated that a mill of some kind had at an earlier time been

located here. I here insert his reply in full, which imparts much valuable information:

MONTREAL, April 20, 1887.

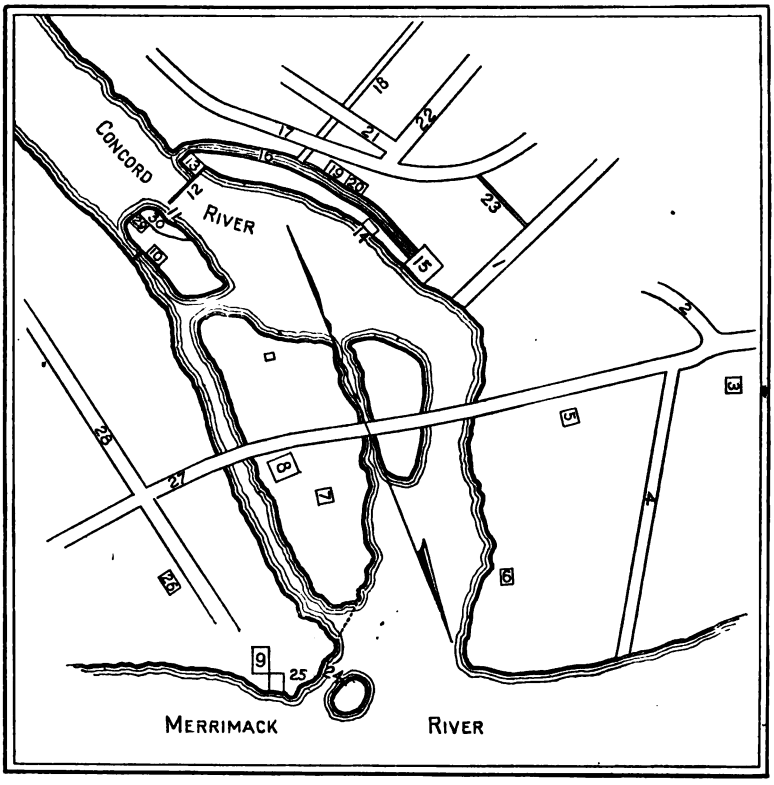
A. B. WRIGHT, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 16th inst. received and contents noticed. The causeway you mention was built by the fishermen for the purpose of drawing their nets. The mouth of Concord River was a noted place for fishing. There has been taken at one haul over a thousand shad. You will see by the pencil-sketch that there were originally four islands, consequently there were three bridges. The saw-mill was on the island, built, I suppose, by John Tyler, the father of Joseph and Nathan Tyler. Joseph owned and occupied the three islands, with his sons. Nathan Tyler was my father. I don't recollect of any Tylers occupying any store, except James Tyler who kept the store on the south side of Central Street, opposite the Fry Tavern. The store was built by Aaron Mansur, and thence moved to the west side of the canal. Amos Tyler kept a meat shop near the Fry Tavern. There was an ell built on the Nathan Tyler house and kept as a hotel, called the Mansion House. The main part of the house was moved up near the hospital, where it now stands,—it being the house where I was born in 1805. There was a large business of fishing all along the river. There were two places for fishing above the bridge, and two below, where they hauled their nets; and many shad and salmon were caught in the fishing season in May and June. In the evening there could be seen, up and down the river, some forty or fifty canoes rowing up the river, and drifting down with their nets out. The fish would get gilled, so that when they took the nets in with the fish it used to be a good sight to see the fleet drifting down the river. The law allowed three days for fishing on the Merrimack and two on the Concord River; but in the night it was difficult for the fish-wardens to catch them, so the fly-net men would fish most all the time. Salmon, at Hunt's and Pawtucket Falls, were taken by fish-pots and scoop-nets, and lamprey eels mostly by hook from the rocks; but now it seems to be a lost art above the Lawrence Dam. Yours truly,

IGNATIUS TYLER.

No. 21 McGill College Avenue.

Accompanying this reply was a pencil sketch showing this island territory, as represented on the following map, as it was in Indian times, to which were added the objects represented by the numbers from 1 to 15 inclusive, and 27 and 28. The objects represented by the remaining numbers were added and located by the author, and the whole reproduced in the form of a map specially engraved for this purpose.



EXPLANATIONS OF THE MAP.

The following corresponding numbers to those on the map, are the explanations of the objects there represented, to which are added some historical facts.

1. Pawtucket Canal where it enters Concord River, at the Lower Locks.
2. Central Street.
3. The Fletcher House, now the site of the Hildreth Building.
4. The lane leading to the ferry landing on Merrimack River, now Bridge Street.
5. The Tyler Mansion, subsequently enlarged, used as a hotel, and finally known as the Mansion House.

6. Fish-house, on the present site of one of the Massachusetts Mills.

7. This represents a dwelling whose appearance indicated, when I first saw it in 1826, as being at least fifty years old. Among the evidences of old age, was that it contained the immense fire-place so common in buildings of ancient structure. By whom it was built I have not ascertained. John T. Tyler appearing to be the owner of this territory at the beginning of the century, if not before, I surmise that it may have been built by him. Its internal finish and spacious rooms indicated that it was erected by some one with ample means.

8. This is the building named in my description of Belvidere as being next to the ravine, which was the bed of an arm of the river, as seen upon the map. This was the house of Joseph Tyler.

9. This number represents the Gedney mansion before alluded to, erected about 1763 by Timothy Brown, and the same now to be seen east of the hospital, and used in connection with that building.

10. This was the location of the Bradley grist-mill and adjoining buildings, as I found them in 1826. This spot was doubtless the place occupied by a saw and grist-mill as early as 1750, if not before, and once owned by Thomas Hunt in connection with a large tract of the adjoining land. This cluster of islands was the dwelling place of the Wamesits, and here Gookin and Eliot came in 1640, and at other times,—the first to administer justice in the Civil Court, and the second to give instruction in, and proclaim the blessings of, Christianity. This territory was also a part of the grant of three thousand acres made to Margaret, wife of Gov. John Winthrop, by the General Court of Massachusetts, at about the same time. May 4, 1821, Moses Tyler, Jr., of Dunstable, N. H., and George Tyler, of Tewksbury, for the consideration of $2,800, sold the entire island territory—ten acres—"together with the mill and fish privileges in said river against the same," to Thomas Hurd, and gave a warranty deed; and the same day Joseph Tyler and Moses Tyler, of Tewksbury, gave to Mr. Hurd a quitclaim deed, for a nominal consideration, of the same premises.

11. Fishway for the passage of shad and other migratory fish. This way was kept open during the shad season; but when the flow of water began to decrease it was closed, and the young shad and other fish might return as best they could.

12. The old dam, substantially as now standing.

13. The "Hurd Mill" (which was erected in 1813), as it was called after being sold to him by Messrs. Whiting & Fletcher in

1818. This mill, of wood, was burned in June, 1826, and was the first fire in the town after its incorporation, March 1, 1826. The breast wheel, which was used as a medium of power, was not destroyed. By some unknown cause it was put in motion and thus saved. A larger mill was immediately erected, and the old wheel continued in service, until, for some reason, the machinery was removed, and the building was occupied by Messrs. Brooks & Fiske (who moved from No. 19 and added to their other business a saw-mill), and other persons in the wood-working line. The old wheel was still continued in its "revolutionary" movements until the spring of 1846, when all the occupants departed to newly-erected buildings, now known as the Mechanics' Mills; immediately after which the old mill was taken down (for the second time) and removed to become a part of "Whipple's Mills," where it now stands. The Middlesex Company immediately erected, upon the old site, the brick structure, Mill No. 3, which now stands. Desirous of ascertaining the fate of this venerable wheel,* I addressed a letter of enquiry to O. H. Perry, Esq., the agent of the Middlesex Mills, at Lowell, and received the following reply:

LOWELL, MASS., July 13th, 1887.

A. B. WRIGHT, ESQ., Boston:

Dear Sir,—Your enquiry concerning the old "breast wheel" formerly in the Hurd Mill on Concord River, is received. The only information which I can give you in relation to it, is that some four years ago, while excavating in our yard for the foundation of a building, the remains of a breast wheel was found buried up in the ground. It excited considerable speculation as to what it was, and Col. Jeff. Bancroft, the Deputy Sheriff, happened in and took a look at it, and pronounced it to be the old wheel which was in the Hurd Mill when it was burned; and although it may have done service after the mill was burned, the probabilities are that when our present No. 3 Mill on Concord River was built, the old wheel was given a decent burial for the good service it had performed so many years. I can give you no further information in regard to it. The wood work and iron fastenings in connection, were in excellent preservation and it required considerable hard work to break it up. No. 3 Mill was built in 1846. Yours truly,

O. H. PERRY.

The day following that upon which goods were commenced to be made in this mill, the *Lowell Courier* is authority for this statement, in substance, to wit: That last evening Samuel Lawrence, Esq.,

* Orlando Saunders, assistant superintendent of the Middlesex Company, has a cane which was made from the wood of this old breast wheel

the agent of the Middlesex Mills appeared in public wearing a suit of clothes (made, I think, by Burbank & Chase, tailors) which on the morning of that day were wool in its natural state; it having been carded, spun, and wove into cloth in the new mill, on Concord River, and made up in the short space of a single working day.

14. Fish-house, reserved in the sale made by Whiting & Fletcher to Thomas Hurd, in 1821.

15. Brick mill erected by Thomas Hurd, probably immediately after the purchase of the land from Whiting & Fletcher, in 1821. This mill was three stories high, and surmounted by a roof in two parts,—there being between the parts a continual line of low windows the entire length of the building. All of the early-built mills in Lowell were constructed in this way as respects the roof. This mill was not burned, as quoted from Bishop in Mr. Gilman's history of Lowell, as published in a recent history of the towns in Middlesex County, but was subsequently enlarged, then, in 1862, demolished, and a much larger mill erected in the same location.

16. This was a canal, constructed by Mr. Hurd to conduct water from Concord River to the old brick mill.

17. A portion of Warren Street as it now runs.

18. In 1826 Mr. Hurd constructed a small canal to increase his supply of water for his mills. It commenced at the termination of the Hamilton Canal, at the entrance-gate of the Hamilton Print Works, and running under Jackson and Central Streets by an aqueduct constructed of wood, it came to the surface in the rear of the buildings upon the east side of Central Street, about midway between Hurd and William Streets, and was continued in a direct line between earth embankments to George Street (No. 21), where it dipped, and going under the street, it continued by a sharp decline of fifteen feet or more, going under Warren Street, into the canal (No. 16). The contract for the use of this water was dated June 23, 1826, wherein the Locks and Canals stipulated to sell to Thomas Hurd twenty-five cubic feet of water per second, under a head of thirty feet, for the consideration of an annual rent of thirty-two ounces and twenty grains of gold, Troy weight, or four hundred and sixty-eight ounces, Troy weight, of silver. Water to be taken at the end of a feeding canal on a level with the Swamp Locks, being the end of the Hamilton Canal. In 1830 a Central-Street fancy goods dealer, and in 1833 a Merrimack-Street dry goods dealer, committed suicide by drowning in this canal. Three persons in Mr. Hurd's employ in 1826 yet survive, to wit: Col. Jefferson Bancroft, Edward B. Howe and Mrs. Munroe Moore. There may be others.

19, 20. About 1834 there was erected upon the grounds of the Middlesex Company—but outside of the factory yard—a building represented by these two numbers. Perhaps the parts were erected at different times; but for the purpose of explaining the numbers, they shall be taken together. This building was constructed of wood, being two stories high. The lower part of No. 19 was occupied by Artemas L. Brooks, as a planing mill, and the upper portion by William Fiske, a master carpenter. These two gentlemen (but whether then or subsequent I am not certain) formed a co-partnership which continued some years. The planing mill was the first of its kind established in Lowell. No. 20 was occupied by Messrs. White & Puffer, card manufacturers, who subsequently, about 1839, vacated this part and removed to Market Street. Joseph Tapley, Esq., succeeded Messrs. White & Puffer in the occupation of this portion of the building, and while it was in process of preparation for him, to be used as a grist-mill, the Hon. Luther Lawrence, who had just entered upon his second term of office, as mayor of Lowell, in going to his house at the noon hour in company with a friend from Boston, and passing by this place, for some reason entered the open door of this building, and by some unaccountable means fell head foremost into the open wheel-pit, fifteen feet or more deep, near the door, and was instantly killed by coming in contact with the iron wheel which a short time before had been let down to its place. While Mr. Brooks was in occupation of No. 19, a small boy came into the planing mill, and crawling under the planing machine for shavings, came in contact with the under planing knives, which cut off the upper portion of his head, causing instant death.

No. 21. George Street.

No. 22. Hurd Street.

No. 23. This was a subterranean canal constructed in 1832, for the purpose of conducting water to Nos. 19 and 20, going under Warren Street; and when, a year or so later, it was put into practical use, No. 18 was abandoned. This canal, also, was abandoned a few years ago. When this canal was constructed, a brook, of no inconsiderable size, was let into it at its junction with Warren Street. This brook had its source in Chelmsford Street, near Wilson's Lane, and running easterly, it passed through the pond on the South Common to Summer Street, thence through Charles Street nearly to Central, thence to Tyler Street, going to the lane leading by the house of Isaac Farrington, thence under Church, Green and William Streets, under the Universalist Church and Hurd Street, to the rear

of St. Paul's Church, and into the canal as before mentioned. Some years later a large stone sewer was constructed in Charles Street, and the course of this brook was diverted into it, and its waters conducted to Concord River.

24. This is the place last used by the First Baptist Church for baptising purposes, before the construction of a baptistry in the church, in 1847. February 28, 1826, the Rev. G. F. Davis, then supplying the pulpit of the First Baptist Church, baptised in Concord River, a few rods above the Colburn School house, Lewis Fiske, Sally Reed, Betsy Elliott and Nancy Prescott. These were the first converts after the church was organized twenty days before. The church continued to use this place for about fourteen years, when the land was sold; after which, for about five years, they baptised at the bridge (south side) on Church Street; then after that, at the place first before stated.

25. This represents Livermore's Hall, in the position in which it was erected, and its connection with the Gedney house.

26. This is the location of the dwelling of Judge Livermore, erected in 1824 or 1825, and where he resided at his decease, September 15, 1832.

27. East Merrimack Street.

28. High Street.

29. Howe's flannel mill in 1826.

30. This was evidently and clearly an island by itself, the single line showing about the course of the narrow channel, at the head of which a dam still exists, and the tail-race also of the flannel mill runs into it.

The small object, not numbered, on the large island, was a fish-house, and stood there in 1826.

The small island, near No. 24, removed ten or fiteen years ago.

TITLE NOTES OF THE ISLAND TERRITORY.

In 1641, granted by the General Court to Margaret Winthrop (wife of Gov. Winthrop) three thousand acres; February 12, 1691, Adam Winthrop, grandson of Margaret, to Samuel Hunt, carpenter, one-fifth, undivided, of the three thousand acres; September 8, 1737, Joseph Hunt, a descendent from Samuel, to Nicholas

Sprake, forty acres; August 11, 1753, Nicholas Sprake to George Mears. Sparke subsequently recovered this estate under a mortgage from Mears. February 15, 1769, the three sons of Nicholas Sprake to Timothy Brown; (Brown built the Gedney house on another parcel adjoining, which he bought in 1763.) September 29, 1785, Timothy Brown to George Searle and Joseph Tyler, the island territory only. September 2, 1805, John T. Tyler mortgaged the same estate. As to where he got his title is uncertain. May 4, 1821, Moses Tyler, Jr., George Tyler, Joseph Tyler and Moses Tyler to Thomas Hurd; May, 1821, Thomas Hurd to Winthrop Howe, the entire estate, but limiting the amount of water to be used.

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VIII. Sketch of the Life of John Amory Lowell.

BORN, NOVEMBER 11, 1798; DIED, OCTOBER 31, 1881.

JOHN AMORY LOWELL was the son of John Lowell, a trusted leader of the Federal party, and grandson of Judge Lowell, of the United States Circuit Court, the nephew and son-in-law of Francis C. Lowell, for whom the City of Lowell was named, and brother-in-law of the founder of the Lowell Institute. His maternal grandfather was John Amory, one of the most successful merchants of the last century.

Graduated from Harvard College at the age of sixteen, Mr. Lowell's business education was begun in the house of Kirk Boott & Sons, to whose business he succeeded in partnership with the eldest son, Mr. John Wright Boott.

In 1827, he became the Treasurer of the Boston Company, at Waltham, immediately following Mr. Patrick T. Jackson. He held this office until 1844.

During the management of Mr. Kirk Boott, as Agent and Treasurer of the Merrimack Company, Mr. Lowell made most of the purchases of materials in Boston, and was at the same time active in the administration of the Locks and Canals.

In 1835, he built the Boott Mills, of which he was the Treasurer for thirteen years, and as President and Director until the hour of his death, contributed largely to its success.

In 1839, he built the Massachusetts Mills, of which he was also Treasurer until 1848, and with which he remained connected as Director through life.

He was also a Director of the Lake Company from the start, as well as of the Lowell Machine Shop, the Merrimack and many other of the most prominent companies of this city.

Mr. Appleton, in his History of the Origin of Lowell, says of him: "There is no man whose beneficial influence in establishing salutary regulations in relation to this manufacture, was exceeded by that of Mr. John Amory Lowell."

Mr. Lowell was associated with Mr. Abbott Lawrence and other gentlemen, in the creation of the City of Lawrence, the Essex Company, and especially of the Pacific Mills, of which he continued to be a Director until the weight of years warned him to relinquish some portion of his vast responsibilities.

Mr. Lowell's services to the manufacturing interests of our community can hardly be overstated. Beginning his career as an associate of men who have left their impress upon American manufactures, and whose far-reaching sagacity and large-heartedness have made of Lowell the model manufacturing city of this country, Mr. Lowell was fully their peer in ability, but not in age, and he brought their traditions down to the present generation in the steady maintenance of the policy they inaugurated, and that generous treatment of the operatives which often considered their interests in running the mills at times when it could only be done at serious risk to that of the owners.

Mr. Lowell was for fifty-nine years a Director of the Suffolk Bank of Boston, and originated in 1824 the system for the redemption of country bank bills, which

gave to Massachusetts an almost faultless currency. He was also largely connected with the literary and educational progress of the community as one of the Fellows of Harvard College for forty years, and the sole Trustee of the Lowell Institute for even a longer period.

Mr. Lowell was distinguished as an accomplished classical scholar, an eminent mathematician, an able botanist and rare linguist. His character was marked by fearlessness, sound judgment, and a strong sense of justice. Ever ready to give to any cause which appealed to his generosity, he never paraded his gifts, but with characteristic modesty rarely suffered his left hand to know what his right hand was doing. He delighted in aiding younger men, and many, now prosperous, look back with gratitude to a time when his counsel and assistance marked the turning-point of their lives.

Such a union of business capacity, literary and scientific attainments, unsullied integrity, and unostentatious generosity, formed a rare combination, and enabled him, in a long life of untiring industry, to do much for the advancement of his generation, and to add lustre to the honored name he bore.

IX. George Thompson, the English Philanthropist, in Lowell, by Z. E. Stone. Read August 5, 1874; Revised December, 1881.

THE future historian of Lowell, when writing of the events of to-day, will hardly realize the difficulties of those who at the present time attempt to collect the facts of moment that transpired forty or fifty years ago. He will find in that "map of busy life"—the newspaper—much more than he can make available. The local matter in the public prints of forty odd years ago was meagre in amount and barren in detail. The political papers were partisan in the extreme and reported only the proceedings of their respective parties; if they noticed the public meetings of their opponents it was, usually, to misrepresent them. Now it seems to be the mission of the press to bruit abroad about everything transpiring in city or country. Political conventions of all parties are fairly reported in the daily papers, and the details of primary meetings are not unfrequently given, while three or four columns are filled with the transactions of an important political gathering. If Mr. A enlarges his woodshed the local reporter obtains the facts and gives an anxious public the dimensions and cost of the "improvement." If Mr. B goes to the seaside or the mountains to spend a week, his friends and the burglars are made aware of the fact through the newspapers. If Mrs. C presents Mr. C with additional evidence that New England women are *not* degenerating,

the fact is often considered worthy of mention in a facetious paragraph. The recollections of "the oldest inhabitant," and the success of the enterprising farmer who gets into market the earliest vegetables, are equally worthy of record. In short, much space in every newspaper of to-day is given up to details of matters and things which neighborhood gossips of former years would have regarded as too unimportant for *their* entertainment even. Who better than the editor and reporter know this to be true? But this state of things would not exist did it not find public approval. So, the fact established, we repeat, the future historian will find his task an easy one, compared with that of ours, in searching for details of even grave occurrences in the early history of Lowell.

We are led to those prefatory remarks in consequence of a somewhat persistent inquiry for facts concerning a disturbance in Lowell, in 1834, growing out of the second visit of George Thompson, then well known as a distinguished English philanthropist. There is not, probably, in our city a single newspaper paragraph from which one can learn the slightest fact concerning that event; but we have good reasons for believing it was the first riotous demonstration in New England growing out of the discussion of African slavery in the Southern States, and therefore is of historical importance. On the 4th of July previous, in Boston, a women's anti-slavery prayer-meeting had been disturbed and dispersed, but no violence was offered those engaged in it, and it was not regarded as a very serious affair.

The small party of Abolitionists about this time began in earnest their aggressive and proselyting work. After the outbreak here, and in consequence of their public meetings, in which slavery and slave-holding

were denounced with a fervor and force that showed their sincerity and earnestness, others soon followed. In Haverhill and Worcester, this State, there were similar riots, from the same cause, not long afterward. In Concord, N. H., also about the same time, occurred an "Abolition riot," although the Abolitionists themselves made no disturbance; and in Boston, the following year, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison was seized by an enraged mob of men who put a halter around his body and dragged him through the streets with the avowed purpose of hanging him to a lamp-post, but he was rescued by the Mayor of the city, who eventually succeeded, after many hair-breadth escapes, in getting him into the common jail, for safe-keeping. In the West, at Alton, Ill., about a year later, Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a candid, Christian gentleman, was murdered by a mob, for advocating anti-slavery sentiments. But all these and others occurred after the affair we are about to relate; and while Lowell has the undisputed honor of being the first to despatch troops for Washington, on the breaking out of the rebellion (a legitimate offspring of slavery), and of originating the first sanitary fair in behalf of the Union soldiers, she, also, we fear, should bear the disgrace of being the scene of the first attempt in New England to suppress free discussion, when the anti-slavery party had obtained a foothold. But there is no local record of the exciting events growing out of the anti-slavery meetings here. The Abolitionists had no newspaper organ; in fact there was but one or two anti-slavery papers at that time in the country. Mr. Garrison's was not established in Boston until 1830, and for years it had but a limited circulation. An independent paper, called "The Times," was commenced in this city in 1833, by H. Hastings Weld, but

it is very doubtful if it espoused in the least degree the anti-slavery cause. There is no file of it in existence, so far as is known. The Democrat and Whig prints confined their reports and comments to a condemnation of the proceedings of "a handful of fanatics."

In order to a proper understanding of the political situation at that time, it should be borne in mind that both the Democratic and Whig parties of the North were pro-slavery in their sentiments; both toadied to the South, and the general government was virtually in the hands of the Southern politicians, to whom the Northerners yielded with such constant pliancy as to earn the derisive appellation of "dough-faces" from the Abolitionists. At the North there seems to have been a feeling of distrust in the two parties, each aspiring to outdo the other in its loyalty and respect for the rights of their Southern brethren in everything relating to the institution of slavery. In proof of this it may be cited that the late Edward Everett, a Whig representative in Congress (1826) took occasion to define his position, and expressed his hostility to the propositions of the Abolitionists by declaring his readiness to shoulder a musket to put down a slave insurrection, and his conviction with regard to slavery, that "while it subsists, where it subsists, its duties are presupposed and sanctioned by religion," etc. This was going a little too far; as Artemus Ward says, he "slopped over," even in the opinion of Southerners themselves. A member of the same body, Mr. Cambreleng, a native of North Carolina, denounced the sentiment, and John Randolph, of Virginia, also of the same body, said he "envied neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery upon principle." It is sufficient here to repeat that at the North both parties were anxious to show their fidelity

to "the Union and Constitution" and to keep themselves "clean and unspotted from the" diabolical Abolitionists.

Mr. Thompson by his masterly force, eloquence and wit, had won a conspicuous position among the distinguished men of England. He had been a leader in the struggle for emancipation in the West Indies; and on the passage of the Act of Emancipation, was specially complimented, in the House of Lords, by Lord Brougham, who said—"I rise to take the crown of this most glorious victory from every other head and place it upon George Thompson." Mr. Garrison first met him in London, and after hearing him speak, on a public occasion, was constrained to invite him to visit America, feeling sure that he—an admirer of republican institutions, a Christian gentleman and philanthropist—would, by his wonderful ability and eloquence, by moral force hasten the emancipation of the blacks in this country. The result, however, was quite the reverse of what he anticipated, as the sequel shows. Mr. Thompson's fervid eloquence and unanswerable arguments instead of convincing and converting, seemed rather to intensify the sentiments and cement together the opposition; and from the first he was regarded as an interloper and meddler, and the coming of an Englishman to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country, was an offence which prompted immediate and indignant resistance.

October 4, 1834, Mr. Thompson, who had been in this country but a few weeks, spoke in Lowell for the first time. Rev. William Twining, the pastor of what was later known as the Appleton Street Church; Rev. Giles Pease, the pastor of a society worshipping in the Town Hall, and Rev. Asa Rand, then not in the ministry but proprietor of a bookstore on Merrimack Street, took

seats on that occasion upon the platform. The lecture was delivered in the Town Hall, by consent of the Selectmen, and about one thousand persons were present. Mr. Thompson was listened to throughout with the most profound attention and every appearance of interest. At the close of his lecture Rev. Mr. Pease read a hymn appropriate to the occasion, and singing ended the meeting. There was no disturbance of any kind, at this meeting, and Mr. Thompson the next day went to new fields of labor.

But during the months of November and December, of the same year, there was much excitement in Lowell, growing out of Mr. Thompson's second visit. It may not be amiss to say that Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, John Davis Governor of Massachusetts, and the Selectmen of the town of Lowell were Benjamin Walker, William Livingston, James Russell, John Chase, and William N. Owen. The population of the town was at that time about 16,000, and increasing rapidly. The Boott, Massachusetts and Prescott Corporations did not then exist. "The Merrimack Steam Navigation Company" had an existence, and Joseph Bradley was its president; and the steamer "Herald," owned by said company and commanded by Capt. Lewis, made daily trips on the Merrimack River, between Lowell and Nashua. The Boston and Lowell Railroad had not at that time been constructed.

Mr. Thompson came to Lowell on Saturday evening, November 30th, by invitation of a board of managers in the anti-slavery interest, and was to lecture on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday evenings following. The Town Hall (in our present City Hall building) had been engaged of the Selectmen.

On Sunday evening Mr. Thompson delivered his

first lecture of this series. His audience was quite large, made up of both sexes. His subject was "Slavery and the Bible," in which he undertook to show that slavery was not justified by the teachings of the Bible. The large audience listened with delight to the speaker, till a somewhat late hour. There may have been some signs of dissent to certain utterances of the speaker; but there was no noisy demonstration inside or outside of the hall; with one exception, nothing disorderly occurred. At one point of the speaker's remarks, quite a heavy stone, hurled with considerable force, came against one of the windows, but striking the sash, fell back on to the sidewalk. This startled a good many, but made no impression on the lecturer. He proceeded with his subject, as if nothing had happened. The meeting closed with singing and the announcement of another meeting, Monday evening.

It was agreed that there should be a meeting for discussion at 6½ o'clock, Monday evening, before the public meeting at 8; and Mr. Thompson extended a friendly and conciliatory invitation to all who had objections to the principles or measures of the Abolitionists to be present and state them, and to all who had inquiries to avail themselves of the opportunity and propound them. The board of managers also sent special invitations of the same purport to gentlemen who had previously been active in opposition to the formation of an anti-slavery society. But all declined, and there were no objectors or inquirers at the early meeting. It was composed entirely of dyed-in-the-wool Abolitionists, who in discussions with one another fortified themselves for future battles with their pro-slavery opponents.

When the hour for the lecture arrived, Mr. Thompson found an audience quite as large as that of the

evening previous. He spoke two hours, his theme being "the History of San Domingo." Although the lecturer was discussing the negro, it was not *our* negro, and therefore what he said was not so objectionable as it would otherwise have been. Slavery in San Domingo was a long way off, and was of little interest to people in Lowell. But the speaker made his theme sufficiently local to excite the ire of some of his audience; and occasional hisses were heard. A small gang of reckless fellows stood outside the hall door, at the head of the stairs, and by stamping, loud talk and hisses made a disturbance for half an hour or more, but officers being sent for, they ceased their annoyance. Later in the evening, however, three missiles were hurled at the building, behind the speaker. One of them—a large brickbat—came through the window with a startling crash, passed near Mr. Thompson's head and fell upon the floor, near where sat Mr. Samuel B. Simonds, a member of this Association. It must have been thrown with great force, to pass into the second story of the building and nearly to the centre of the hall. A very slight change in its course would have brought it in contact with Mr. Thompson's head; but his speech was not to be stopped by arguments of that kind. The brickbat was picked up and laid upon the speaker's desk, and he, not at all daunted or disconcerted, went on as if nothing had happened. The meeting closed without disturbance, the third and last meeting of the series being announced for the next evening.

Tuesday the people of Lowell were feverish and excited. Mr. Thompson's remarkable speeches had exasperated a great many of both the old parties. Lowell, it was supposed, was largely dependent on the South for its cotton, and the sale of large quantities of cotton goods

was made in the Southern States. The leading men of the city, it seems, could not endure the idea that the South should discover that Lowell was tinctured with abolitionism, or had tolerated the presence of George Thompson, an Englishman. On the morning previous to the third lecture, the following placard was found posted up around town:

"Citizens of Lowell, arise! Look well to your interests! Will you suffer a question to be discussed in Lowell which will endanger the safety of the Union?—a question which we have not, by our constitution, any right to meddle with. Fellow-citizens, shall Lowell be the first place to suffer an Englishman to disturb the peace and harmony of our country? Do you wish instruction from an Englishman? If you are freeborn sons of America, meet, one and all, at the Town Hall, THIS EVENING, at half-past seven o'clock, and convince your Southern brethren that we will not interfere with their rights."

During the day Mr. Thompson received an anonymous letter, which was altogether more expressive than elegant. It was as follows:

"Rev. Dr. Thompson—Dear Sir: I as a frend. beg leave to inform you that there is a plot in agitation to immerce you in a vat of Indelable Ink and I recommend to you to take your departure from this part of the contry as soon as possable or it wil be shurely carried into opperration and that to before you see the light of another son. Very respecfully yours a citizen of theas United States of America."

It is a literal fact, we take occasion to remark here, that Mr. Thompson did see "the light of another son";

for a few days later, December 6th, a *son* was born to him, his wife at the time being in Roxbury, Mass. This son, named Herbert Thompson, died in London in February or March, 1867. He was a zealous friend of the North, during the rebellion, and made several speeches in favor of the Union and emancipation. He inherited much of his father's brilliancy as an orator.

The posters, the threatening letter, and other things conspired to arouse hundreds of people. The talk was excited and angry. The sagacious among the Abolitionists seriously apprehended a greater disturbance than had yet taken place; but they did not propose to give up their meeting; none of their rights were to be abridged, be the consequences what they might. They did not propose to get up a row; they did not propose to violate any law, or trespass on the rights of any one; but they did propose to testify to their abhorrence of slavery, come what might.

Early in the afternoon the board of managers met and by agreement resolved to claim the protection of the Selectmen, and to proceed with the meeting. The Selectmen—the air being full of threatening rumors—had been on the alert, endeavoring as far as possible to avert a collision between the two parties.

The hour of meeting arrived. The managers and Mr. Thompson met the Selectmen in the ante-room, which adjoined the hall. There were unmistakable signs of trouble. In the hall had gathered quite a large audience, and it was plainly to be seen that it was composed of a different element from that heretofore observable in the meetings. Near the door was a threatening, noisy squad of men, though the largest portion of the audience was composed of orderly people, and a respectable number of ladies was also present. Outside,

on the sidewalk on Merrimack Street, a crowd began to gather about the hour assigned for the opening of the meeting. The Selectmen were not a little anxious as to the result, but they were still determined to render Mr. Thompson's friends all possible aid, and do their utmost to prevent a breach of the peace.

The hall, it will be remembered, stood alone, as now, but the buildings nearest it were only cottages, or "ten-footers," and it was approachable from all sides. There were no shutters or blinds attached to the windows, with the exception of the one opening upon Shattuck Street, directly back of the speaker's stand, where a temporary barrier had been erected, which would afford partial protection against missiles hurled from that direction. The janitor of the hall was Mr. Daniel G. Greenleaf, a member of this Association, who remembers distinctly the turmoil and disorder and the danger of personal injury which at one time threatened those present.

The night was exceedingly dark, drizzly and disagreeable. But the stirring appeal which we have quoted had the effect to bring to the vicinity of the hall probably one-quarter of the male population of the place. Some were bent on breaking up the "abolition meeting"; some were there "to see the fun"; others to witness the disturbance, if one occurred. The lights in the street at that time were few and far between, and one could throw a missile at the building and not be recognized by those standing within a few feet of him. People were on all sides of the hall, but the largest number gathered on Merrimack Street, at the junction of Shattuck. About the hour announced for commencing the lecture, the crowd outside was particularly noisy and demonstrative. Brickbats and stones were thrown against the end window, some entering but doing no harm, while the barrier

across the window back of the rostrum received a shower of small stones and was cracked and scarred in a manner indicating the earnestness of the arms which sent them flying. Hootings, howlings, hisses!—derisive cries, catcalls and every infernal noise that an earnest, mischievous, reckless mob is capable of making—came up from that black, animated mass. The condition of things was enough to chill the blood of the well-disposed people within the hall. Every moment added to the confusion and the danger. It hardly seemed possible that anything would appease those disturbers of the peace. Mr. Thompson and his friends were saluted with all manner of disrespectful names, and personal violence was prepared for "the damned Englishman who had come over here to interfere in our matters." The coolest of the number were convinced of the imprudence of his attempting to go on, with hundreds in the hall opposed to him and the streets filled with reckless, determined men—there for the avowed purpose of breaking up the meeting, at all hazards.

What was to be done? What could be done, in view of the danger? The Selectmen were powerless to save the assembly from the violence of the mob. As yet no one had been harmed; but nobody knew what mad freak would next seize the ungovernable throng or what would be the consequences if violence was once begun. Finally the board of managers, after several conferences with the Selectmen, decided that as an act of discretion (without sacrificing principles) they would adjourn the meeting to 2 o'clock the next afternoon, at the same place. An adjournment was therefore effected; and the audience began to leave, those opposed to the meeting making no demonstration which threatened personal injury.

We have been told that so bitter was the feeling against Mr. Thompson that it was not considered safe for him to make himself known on the street. A few ladies pressed closely about him; and through the dimly-lighted passage-way he passed into the street, and soon after was safe at the house of Rev. Mr. Twining. Mr. Thompson was no coward; but it would have been worse than folly had he exposed himself to the mad men who besieged the hall, and again "discretion was the better part of valor." However, he was not content at what he had seen and heard from his stand-point in the meeting. Half an hour later, disguised in a camlet cloak (such as was somewhat in fashion in those days), with a white hat well drawn down over his face, he went back to the vicinity of the hall to see what was going on, and get an idea of the temper of the community.

In order to confirm some parts of the preceding narrative, we wrote to Rev. Mr. Twining, now residing at St. Louis, Mo., for his version of Mr. Thompson's reception. In response to our letter we received from him the following very satisfactory communication. We infer, however, that the aged writer has somewhat confounded the proceedings at two meetings, making them appear as transpiring at one. On the evening of the greatest excitement and most danger, Mr. Thompson did not lecture in the hall; the meeting was adjourned till the next afternoon, as our version of the affair shows. Mr. Twining's letter is as follows:

"It being reported that a number of persons had banded together to occupy the front seats in the hall to disturb the meeting and molest Mr. Thompson, a considerable number of women agreed together to go to the meeting early, and to occupy those seats in advance of the rioters, and in case of any attempt at personal

violence to form an unbroken circle around him for his defence. At the hour appointed the women were in these seats, and the disturbers of the meeting were compelled to sit in the back part of the hall, and to stand in the aisles and along the stairway. The house was densely packed with friends and foes, the former having taken good care to occupy the front. At the proper time Mr. Thompson took his stand upon the platform, and began the delivery of a lecture on 'the History and Results of West India Emancipation.' His gentlemanly bearing and his evident command of the whole subject made a favorable impression upon his audience.

"At one point of his lecture an attempt was made to disturb him by groans, if I recollect rightly. Mr. Thompson made some pertinent remark respecting it which I do not now recall. This being followed with hisses he replied: 'Ladies and gentlemen, I am now more confused than before whether to interpret it as the sign of the malignity of the serpent or the simplicity of the goose.'

"At another point of the lecture a brickbat was thrown through the window at the back of the platform from the street, which, passing near the head of Mr. Thompson, fell upon the floor in front of him. At first some confusion was produced by this incident, but a simple waving of the hand by Mr. Thompson quieting the assembly, they resumed their seats and the lecturer proceeded. At the close of the meeting, the rioters having taken possession of the aisle and the stairway, my wife and another lady (whose name is not recollected) came promptly forward and taking him by the arm, one on the right and the other on the left, conducted him through the crowd down the aisle and the stairway, engaging him meanwhile in conversation, apparently unconscious of the tempestuous condition of the

element around them. Awed by the presence of Mr. Thompson and the fortitude of the women, the crowd opened at the right and the left and we passed out, down the stairway, into the street which was thronged with excited people, and thence through Merrimack and Central Streets to my residence, on Appleton Street. After a few moments' conversation on the events of the evening, Mr. Thompson, rising from his chair, said—'I must go out among my friends in the streets, to hear what they say of me.' I placed upon his head a large white hat and threw over his shoulders a Scotch plaid cloak. Thus habited he went in disguise into the streets, and passed around among the excited throng unrecognized and unobserved. On his return he gave us an entertaining account of what he had seen and heard, and his personal conversations with many of those with whom he mingled. The particulars of these conversations I do not recollect and cannot relate. It being now late at night he arose to leave for his lodgings. We urged him to remain with us over night. At first, he declined the invitation, saying that he would not for any consideration expose us to danger on his account. We, however, strongly insisting upon his staying with us, he finally consented to do so; and the night passed away quietly.

"There were in the city two young lawyers of note in their profession, and educated gentlemen, one of whom had been active in stirring up the people. The other, though not active in the same manner, was known to be violently opposed to the anti-slavery movement. These two gentlemen I invited to dine with Mr. Thompson at my house the next day. They accepted the invitation and came. My wife, always equal to an emergency, had 'killed the fatted calf,' and prepared to receive her guests with elegant though not sumptuous

hospitality and to make everything pleasant for them. At the appointed hour they arrived and were introduced to Mr. Thompson, with whom they entered into free and easy conversation. During the whole of this interview not an unpleasant word was spoken, and the whole conversation was worthy of gentlemen of the highest rank, and in due time the lawyers took their leave of us with the most agreeable impressions respecting Mr. Thompson.

"Meanwhile among the people the storm was gathering, and it was evident that scenes of violence were likely to be enacted in the evening. The Selectmen, therefore, having no police at their command, sent a polite communication to those who had engaged the hall for the evening, stating that they had no means of protecting the building, and requesting them, as damage was likely to be done to it, to change the hour of the lecture from the evening to the afternoon. This proposition was accepted, and the lecture that was to have been delivered in the evening came off about three o'clock in the afternoon. I have a faint recollection that in the evening the enemies of the movement took possession of the Town Hall, but I have no remembrance of their proceedings or that any importance was attached to them.

"There were many other incidents connected with the visit of Mr. Thompson at Lowell which I cannot relate. Time has pushed them into the dim distance, and my recollection of them is so imperfect that I cannot be confident of the verity of any statement that I might make respecting them."

Precisely when Mr. Thompson made his tour of inspection in the disguise described, we are unable to determine; for it is evident that on quitting the hall he

and his friends gathered in Mr. Twining's church, and that there the lecture was delivered, undoubtedly with such emendations and embellishments as the occurrences of the day and evening suggested; indeed, this is the recollection of some of our old residents, and a local newspaper of a few days' later date, confirms the fact. In noticing Mr. Thompson's lecture the paper referred to says: "It is to be regretted that some violence was offered to him at one of his lectures; and at the next the feeling was so strong against them [the Abolitionists] that, apprehending violence too powerful to be put down, they adjourned from the Town Hall to one of the churches, where Thompson played his antics," &c. Rev. Eliphalet Case, then conducting a paper in the town, is represented as saying in an editorial respecting the meeting, referring to the brick that was thrown through the window—"It was a weighty, but not a convincing argument."

Immediately after the withdrawal of Mr. Thompson and his friends, the hall was filled from the throng that had collected outside. "A meeting," says a partial chronicler of the event, "of the friends of order was called upon the spot, and resolutions were unanimously passed, condemning the interfering of the North on the subject of Slavery and the formation of societies on the principles of the Abolitionists; and recommending the town authorities to withhold the use of the Town Hall for anti-slavery lectures." Respecting this meeting we have nothing to add to the above. There is no record of it anywhere. It is more than forty years since the noisy demonstration we have depicted took place, within a few rods of this spot. Men's memories are reliable in but few things after the lapse of so many years. No one has been able to name even a single individual who

took part in that noisy demonstration against Mr. Thompson and his friends. Perhaps it is best so; nothing there transpired to which those of to-day can look back upon with the slightest feeling of satisfaction; and it may be well in this case to "let the dead past bury its dead." Many men who were not Abolitionists condemned the acts which broke up the meeting, saying—"This is no question of Abolition, but whether law and order shall prevail in Lowell, or whether mobs shall rule." Despite the vigorous efforts made at the time and the summer following to show that there was no anti-slavery sentiment in Lowell, it is apparent that one was steadily increasing. About the time of the transpiring of the events we have described, a "Female Anti-Slavery Society" was formed, and obtained a membership of four hundred.

The brick which was hurled at Mr. Thompson was carried by him to Boston, and for a long time exhibited in the rooms of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Upon it was placed this inscription:—

"While G. Thompson, from England, was pleading the cause of 2,300,000 human and immortal American-born beings, held in brutal, unmitigated and soul-destroying bondage in this land of Republicanism and Christianity, this deadly missile was hurled with tremendous force at his head by one of the citizens of Low-hell. In the year of our Saviour Christ, 1834; of American Independence, 58."

Mr. Thompson, being a Londoner, will probably be forgiven for the use of the letter *h* in the name of our city, if he was the author of the legend placed upon the brick, which, however, is scarcely probable.

It will be well to add that Mr. Thompson and his friends held their meeting the Wednesday afternoon following the disturbance of Tuesday evening, according to adjournment. It can easily be imagined that he had warm coats for the backs of those who interrupted his speaking the evening before; but it is doubtful if even one of the offenders was present to test their fitting qualities. It was broad daylight—an unfavorable time for rioters and men of bad passions to be abroad—and he was not in the least disturbed.

By the fall months of the year following, Mr. Thompson's speeches had awakened an intense feeling of opposition throughout New England. In Boston especially was there great excitement. On one occasion a meeting had been arranged which he was to address; but shortly before the time for him to appear, his friends discovered that it would be perilous for him to speak in public, or indeed even to remain in the city. With the utmost caution he was smuggled away from the city, and somewhere on the New England coast got on board an English vessel, and leaving "the land of the free and the home of the brave," he returned to England. The "respectable mob," as Mr. Garrison afterward sarcastically termed it, which had failed in finding Mr. Thompson, vented its rage on its next most important object of aversion, Mr. Garrison himself, as already related.

More than thirty years elapsed before Mr. Thompson again visited this country. Then the war which had been commenced to perpetuate slavery was nearly ended—those who had resorted to the arbitrament of the sword had, virtually, perished by the sword, and their "peculiar institution" had gone down to rise no more. A month after Mr. Thompson's third and last visit to

Lowell, the capital of the Confederate States was occupied by the Union forces and the leader of the rebellion was a hunted fugitive.

On the 15th of March, 1865, George Thompson again walked the streets of Lowell, having come to our city with his friend William Lloyd Garrison to speak in behalf of the Lowell Freedmen's Aid Society, an auxiliary of a society in New England of a similar name. On the evening of the day designated a meeting was held at Huntington Hall—within a stone's throw of the spot where Mr. Thompson once so narrowly escaped being mobbed—Judge Nathan Crosby, the president of the Society, presiding. The object was to raise money to be expended for the benefit of the destitute freedmen in those parts of the South held by the Union army, which were increasing every day as the rebel army weakened and gave up the field. Mr. C. C. Coffin (the "Carleton" of the Boston Journal), who was present when the Union forces entered Charleston, S. C., and who eventually sent North an auction-block from the slave mart in that city, was one of the speakers. The block referred to was exhibited on the rostrum. The word "Mart," in large, gilded letters was on the block; in Chalmers Street it had been a conspicuous sign, designating one of the principal slave-dealing establishments in the city. Mr. Coffin's address related principally to the events connected with the capture of Charleston.

He was followed by Mr. E. W. Kinsley, a Boston merchant, specially interested in the New England Freedmen's Society, who spoke of the importance of educating the freedmen as a matter of policy and as a Christian duty.

Mr. Garrison, on coming forward, stepped upon the auction-block and from it congratulated his audience on

"the destruction of the accursed institution of slavery." He contrasted the sentiment of 1865 with public sentiment on the slavery question at the time he began the publication of The Liberator. His remarks were quite lengthy; at many points they were earnest and eloquent, and several times he was interrupted by demonstrations of applause.

Mr. Thompson was the last speaker. The hour was late; and many in the audience did not care to remain. He contrasted his first reception in this country with the demonstrations which he had witnessed since last coming among our people. He also congratulated his audience on the downfall of slavery and the indications of the restoration of peace and the prospects of a noble future for our country. He did not speak with the fire and force of former years, when even those who did not agree with him in sentiment, listened with admiration to his marvellous and unanswerable addresses.

How different the treatment extended to him! In 1834 he was by a vast majority of the people regarded as an intruder and meddler in matters he had no right even to debate, and for his protection in our streets at night, disguise seemed absolutely necessary. In 1865 he was greeted with the utmost cordiality and consideration, and was recognized as a patriotic, Christian gentleman. True indeed it is that "Time works wonders!"

NOTE.—Mr. Thompson was the guest, while in Lowell, March 15, 1865, of Hon. Chauncy L. Knapp. He died in Leeds, England, October 7, 1878, at the age of 75 years. Mr. Garrison, the George Thompson of America, died May 24, 1879.

X. Insurance in Lowell: Reminiscences connected therewith, by J. K. Fellows. Read August 1, 1877.

INSURANCE or Assurance? Both terms are commonly used, but the former is more frequently applied in this country to contracts to indemnify against a certain amount of loss, as the burning of a certain building, the loss of a certain ship, or the death of a certain person. The sum paid by the insured is called the premium; the deed by which the company becomes bound is called a policy; and the contingency insured against is termed a risk. The principle of insurance is founded upon the doctrine of probabilities. Experts in life insurance cannot predict with any certainty that any individual will die in one year; yet, if we take a number of persons—say ten thousand—and find that during a period of ten years so many have died annually, of various ages, it can be predicted with tolerable certainty that a like number will die annually in similar circumstances. It is in this way that insurance on buildings, ships and merchandise is calculated, the moral risk being taken into consideration also. Thus, if out of 100 risks the company expects to have two losses, the calculation is that the 100 premiums may cover the two losses, office expenses, and add a per cent. to the surplus fund, which is divided among the stockholders unless squandered by the managers, as seems to have been the case in many instances, especially among life insurance companies.

Mutual insurance companies have no proprietors, the insured being likewise the insurers, dividing the profits among themselves, after deducting the expenses of management and reserving a guarantee fund. Mutual insurance was first introduced in England about the middle of the sixteenth century. The earliest ordinance respecting insurance was published, it is said, in Florence in 1503, but the principle of mutual insurance was in practice much earlier. The first settlers of New England adopted the mutual plan, which is still continued among many small settlements, especially in the Western States. Thus, if a house or a barn is burned, or a man of small means loses a horse or a cow, his neighbors assess themselves and make good the loss—a trait to be commended, surely.

GENERAL LOCAL SUMMARY.

The early business men of Lowell, to protect themselves, organized the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1832, and its business has been continued to the present time. It being one of the oldest institutions of our city, some of the earliest records may be of interest to the Old Residents.

The Lowell Bank was the first business institution of Lowell, organized in 1829. The Railroad Bank, organized in 1831, commenced business in the building which is now called the Appleton Bank Block, but then called the Railroad Bank Building; and the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1832 opened an office in the same building. The building, however, was not as it now is, being then the south end of the present block, and perhaps a third of the present front, three stories high, and was owned by the Middlesex Manufacturing Company. The office was removed to the Mansur Building,

corner of Central and Market Streets, where it has remained for over forty years. Our population at that time was about ten thousand. The Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of Concord, Mass., was organized in 1826, and the Merrimack, at Andover, began business in 1828; and for many years these three companies did nearly all the insuring in this region. The old residents will remember seeing the notice over doors—"Insured at Andover."

The Traders and Mechanics Mutual Insurance Company, which has a large amount at risk in this city, was organized in June, 1848. The first board of directors was as follows: Thomas Hopkinson, Thomas Nesmith, A. C. Wheelock, Joshua Converse, Edward F. Watson, J. H. Rand, Peter Powers, Henry Reed, S. G. Mack, B. H. Weaver, Nathaniel Critchett; Thomas Hopkinson, president; James Dinsmoore, secretary. Stock department organized in 1854. Capital $100,000. The company's loss at the great fire in Boston, 1872, was $230,000, which was paid in full, and the company is now in good condition.

The Howard Insurance Company was organized September, 1848. Directors — Oliver M. Whipple, William Fiske, Joel Adams, Emory Washburn, Joshua Merrill, David Dana, Stephen Cushing, Elijah M. Read, Samuel Burbank, Sidney Spalding, A. W. Buttrick, Thomas Hopkinson, Daniel S. Richardson; Oliver M. Whipple, President; Frederick Parker, Secretary.—Capital $50,000. The following interesting details concerning this Company have been furnished by an intelligent gentleman long connected with it:

"The prime mover in the forming of the Howard Company, was the late Frederick Parker, Esq., whose

law-office was No. 76 Central Street, easterly side, near Hurd Street, the site of the Appleton Bank Block. The Company was formed and held its first meeting sometime in the winter of 1848. Its capital at time of organization was $50,000. It was not long after increased to $100,000. About 1851, an attempt was made for further increase of capital and $6,100 was taken on the second hundred thousand, when some heavy fire losses put a stop to subscriptions and the capital was $106,100 till about 1862, when it was carried up to $200,000, and never more.

"The late Oliver M. Whipple was the first president of the Company, and held that office till about 1851 or '52, when he resigned, and Dr. Nathan Allen became its president, until 1862. Upon his resignation Joshua W. Daniels (the former secretary of the Company) was elected president and treasurer, which office he retained till October, 1865, at which time he resigned, and Ephraim Brown was elected president and treasurer, and conducted the business of the Company till the time of the great Boston fire, of November 7, 1872.

"Its first secretary and treasurer was Frederick Parker. He held the office till 1852, or about four years. Upon his resignation Joshua W. Daniels was elected to that position and became the president and treasurer in 1862, which office he resigned in 1865. In 1862, upon the promotion of the secretary, Mr. Daniels, to the presidency of the Company, Ephraim Brown was elected secretary. He resigned in 1864, and Henry B. White was chosen to that office, and resigned in 1867, and Sewall A. Faunce was elected secretary, and performed the duties of that office to the time of the great fire, in 1872.

"About 1862 the Company opened a branch office

in Boston, and in 1864 that became the principal office of the Company, when its Lowell office was closed and the Lowell business of the Company was conducted by an agency.

"In the few first years of the Company its losses by fire were severe, and its credit became impaired. Under Mr. Daniels' management it prospered, and at the time his successor, Mr. Brown, came to the management, the capital was $200,000, with some $12,000 surplus and about $4,000,000 at risk. Nine months after, in July, 1866, occurred the great Portland fire, in which the Company lost $19,000. The business of the Company gradually increased, but it paid no dividend in 1866, there having been divided, in 1865, 20 per cent.; leaving $12,000 surplus. In 1867 the dividends were 9 per cent., and from that date to 1872 the dividends were 10 per cent. per annum, until the great fire in Boston, November 7, 1872, since which time all dividends of earnings have ceased.

"At the time of that disaster the Company was in a highly prosperous condition. Its amount at risk was $10,000,000, its capital $200,000, and its surplus $150,000; and it was found in winding up its affairs that its surplus was fully $175,000, equal to seven-eighths of its capital, and making a total ability of $375,000, which was all lost in that great disaster. The winding-up value was $187 per share; par, $100. In that fire its losses were $840,000, distributed over eighty acres of the best insurance property of Boston, averaging $11,000 only per acre. Showing a very small relative amount at risk, or only about one-twelfth of the Company's total amount at risk, on the *whole* burned district. Having in that fire lost all its assets, the Company has ceased all insurance business, and its office is closed."

Insurance now is a large business. The agents of the various companies represented in Lowell are sending away in premiums annually from $150,000 to $200,000, while the money returned to Lowell to pay losses has not been large, especially since water, fire-alarm and the efficiently manned steam fire-engines have been introduced, with an able Chief. For the last five years the average loss has been a little over $50,000 per annum. The losses of the early companies were quite heavy, years ago, the outside business being done by agents having other business, who gave but little attention to the business or class of risks taken, looking more for their commission than the companies' interest; consequently assessments were often made which were at times large, the receipts being barely sufficient to pay the office expenses. There were no premiums paid for several years after commencing business. One dollar was charged for the policy, a deposit note being relied on for assessment. The losses of the Lowell Mutual Company have never been large in this city; but at Cambridge, Charlestown, and other large towns, twenty-five or thirty years ago, the losses were quite heavy, and of course assessments followed. Agents were dispensed with, and the business done wholly at the home office, under the supervision of the directors. In place of assessments, the policy-holders have received in return premiums about $20,000, and the Company has a large guarantee fund in reserve for the amount at risk, which belongs to the policy-holders.

Our incorporated manufacturing companies are, also, collectively a mutual fire insurance company, insuring themselves—assessments being made as losses occur, in proportion to the amount at risk; and the cost to them of insurance against fire for the last twenty-five years

has been less than one-tenth of one per cent. per annum.

OFFICERS.

Following is a list of well-known former and present citizens who have been officially connected with this institution:

The first directors were chosen April 6, 1832, as follows: Kirk Boott, Luther Lawrence, Elisha Glidden, Aaron Mansur, Nathaniel Wright, John C. Dalton, Seth Ames, Benjamin Walker, Matthias Parkhurst. None survive but Messrs. Ames and Parkhurst. Luther Lawrence chosen president, Samuel F. Haven, secretary. At the annual meeting in 1833, John Nesmith and Francis Hillard succeeded Messrs. Wright and Dalton as directors. For 1834 the new members elected on the board were Jonathan Tyler, Alpheus Smith, Jonathan Morse, 2nd, and Hamblin Davis; Elisha Glidden was president. In April, 1835, Tappan Wentworth was chosen secretary, in place of Mr. Haven, declined. The latter was an attorney-at-law—a gentleman of fine attainments and literary tastes. He went from Lowell to Worcester, and has been secretary of a historical society there for forty years or more. In 1836 David Dana and Horace Howard took the place of Messrs. Parkhurst and Glidden; John Nesmith became president. In 1837 the new directors were Stephen Goodhue, Jonathan Marston and Elisha Bartlett; in June Mr. Wentworth resigned as secretary, and after three meetings and twenty-two ballotings, J. W. Mansur was elected to the vacancy; in November Mr. Nesmith resigned the presidency, and Jonathan Tyler was chosen in his place. In 1838 Royal Southwick was added to the list, and in 1839 John W. Graves. In 1840 the new names were Abner W. Buttrick and Hapgood Wright. In 1841 they were George H. Carleton, J. B. French, H. J. Baxter and Jonathan Bowers; in May J. W. Mansur resigned the secretaryship, and R. G. Colby was elected; in June Mr. Tyler resigned as president, and Horace Howard was elected. April, 1842, James Bowers, Thomas Nesmith, William Livingston and Ransom Reed first appeared as directors. In 1843 J. Russell was the only new director; in 1844 J. H. B. Ayer and P. W. Warren became such; in 1845 no change, until October 6th, when R. G. Colby, the secretary, was

taken sick and soon after died, Isaac S. Morse being appointed to the place *pro tem.* At the annual meeting in 1846 Mr. Morse was permanently chosen. In 1847 Cyril French became a director. In 1848 no change; in 1849 only one—the choice of E. B. Patch as a director; in 1850 no change; in 1851 Stephen Mansur and A. R. Brown became directors; Mr. Howard declined re-election as president, and J. B. French was elected. In 1852 Mr. Morse declined again to be secretary, and Jacob Robbins succeeded him; the number of directors was increased from nine to eleven, and I. S. Morse joined the board. In 1853 the annual meeting was changed from April to January; in May Mr. French resigned the presidency, and J. H. B. Ayer was elected. In 1854 A. B. French became a director, but in 1855 he withdrew and was succeeded by William Fiske. In 1856 W. H. Wiggin succeeded E. B. Patch, who declined. In 1857 directors increased to fifteen, and Abram French, J. K. Fellows, Charles Hovey and Josiah T. Howe were unanimously selected. In 1858 two new members were chosen—Jonathan Page and William P. Brazer; in 1859 no change; in 1860 Mr. Ayer declined the presidency, and J. K. Fellows was elected, since when he has served in that capacity; Jacob Robbins resigned as secretary, and in February George W. Bean was chosen. In 1861 no change; in 1862 H. W. Hilton took the place of Stephen Mansur, who had died; the secretary, Mr. Bean, died in February, 1862, and W. P. Brazer assumed the position temporarily; March 10th, James Cook was elected permanently, and so continued till the present year, when he resigned and Charles W. Drew was elected. The present directors are the following: Jonathan Tyler, J. K. Fellows, Abram French, William H. Wiggin, A. B. Buttrick, William P. Brazer, George Stevens, Charles A. Stott, Benjamin Walker, Jacob Robbins, J. C. Abbott, A. B. French, William O. Fiske, William E. Livingston, N. M. Wright, E. A. Hill.

MINOR REMINISCENCES.

The following reminiscences of local concern are derived from the records of the Lowell Mutual Company: July 1, 1832, the first policies were issued. April, 1839, an application was made to the directors for leave to store cotton batting under the Methodist Meeting-house on Chapel Hill, and rejected. In 1840 it was decided

not to insure any stock of goods outside the city of Lowell, unless by vote of the directors. August, 1840, notice of burning of building owned by Samuel Wyman, of Baltimore, Md., situated on Washington Street, Belvidere. In 1841 it was voted to insure William Fiske's saw-mill on Warren Street (where the Middlesex Mills now are), at 20 per cent. per annum. It was also voted by the directors to insure the circus horses owned by Benjamin Thurston. In 1842 the agent at Nashua was authorized to insure personal property at not less than 4 per cent. per annum. February, 1842, voted to award $30 (to be disposed of at the discretion of the president), for extra exertion at the fire at Mr. Reed's house at Chelmsford, and that Mr. Cole have liberty to exhibit "the Battle of Bunker Hill" in Mechanics' Hall, without injury to insurance. May 21, 1842, William Schouler's printing establishment, located at Billerica, burned; insured in this office; loss to company $925. In 1843, voted that no spirit or camphene oil should be used in any building insured in this office. April, 1844, voted by the directors that the sum of $50 as a reward be given such persons as distinguished themselves by extraordinary exertions at the fire in Old Cambridge, whereby the property of Willard & Bliss was endangered, but rescued. April, 1847, notice of loss on N. Critchett's stock of boots and shoes; referred to committee and settled for $425. September, 1847, voted to take a risk on the Lawrence Academy, at Groton, at 6 per cent. for five years. November, 1847, voted that a convention of insurance companies be held in Lowell, at such time as the president and secretary may deem best; also, voted to refer the application of the Prescott Street (Methodist) Church to the president. January, 1848, notice of a fire in the meeting-house, corner of Suffolk and Lowell

Streets, for helping to put out which John Billings was awarded $10. April, 1850, the subject of giving up the room occupied by the company, fronting on Market Street, for a banking room (the Prescott Bank opened there) was considered. September 30, 1853, fire in the Museum Building (next to the Postoffice) and the stock of goods (insured in this office) owned by George W. Cummings damaged. It was voted not to take any risks out of the city, after November 1st, and not to renew any such risks. February 4, 1854, fire in "ten-foot" stores on Merrimack Street, owned by Paul R. George and Tappan Wentworth; insured in this office; large loss. July 31, 1854, large fire on Lowell Street; five buildings burned, that were insured in this office for $7000; loss to the company $6046.43. May 10, 1856, building corner of Merrimack and Central Streets, owned by W. W. Wyman, damaged by fire to the extent of $6000. January, 1859, accepted the act incorporating the Company, to continue in force for twenty-eight years, from March 6, 1860.

EARLY POLICIES.

The total number of policies written, from July 1, 1832, to July 1, 1877, has been over eighteen thousand. Of the earlier ones, issued in 1832–'33, the following are cited, and will remind old residents of ancient landmarks and names of business men perhaps forgotten:

No. 1—Luther Lawrence, dwelling, household furniture, &c., on Lawrence Street, $3500 (now the Wentworth house).

No. 2—William Wyman, stone building on Merrimack Street, occupied by Appleton, March & Co., $5000, for seven years.

No. 6—Stephen and Thomas Goodhue, dwelling on Lowell Street, west of new canal, $1500.

No. 8—Seth Ames, furniture and dwelling, $1500, locality not mentioned.

No. 9—James Tower, stock of dry goods, $1200.

No. 11—Oliver M. Whipple, dwelling-house and barn in Tewksbury, $700.

No. 12—Hapgood Wright and Elijah Mixer, stock of boots, shoes and leather, in their store on Central Street, $1500.

No. 19—Humphrey Webster, dwelling-house, east side of Central Street, occupied for stores, $400. (After being twice moved, the building has recently been demolished at the corner of Appleton and Gorham Streets.)

No. 21—James and Jonathan Bowers, half of a house west of Pawtucket Canal, $500.

No. 27—Samuel L. Wilkins, stock of boots, &c., and household furniture, Merrimack Street, $2000.

No. 29—John Putney, stock of dry goods and crockery, $1500.

No. 37—Jonathan M. Marston, West India goods and furniture, under the Railroad Bank and in adjoining building (called Morse's Building, now Appleton Bank Block), $1000.

No. 40—Kirk Boott, furniture, books and wines, $4500; horses and carriages, $500; for five years. (House located near where the Boott Mills now are.)

No. 41—Horatio H. Weld, printing material in brick building east side of Gorham Street, $300.

No. 45—Benjamin Walker, barn and contents in the northerly part of Lowell, near the Falls, now known as School Street, $500, for seven years.

No. 55—Thomas and John Nesmith, dwelling in Tewksbury, on the bank of the Merrimack River, $1000. (Formerly owned by Edward S. Livermore and known as the Tavern House, now the wooden ell of St. John's Hospital.)

No. 75—Gilman Kimball, dwelling on a cross street from Lowell to Lewis Streets, $2500.

No. 79—Proprietors of the South Congregational Meeting-house, on Merrimack Street, now known as the Unitarian Church, $5000.

No. 80—Henry G. Norton, stock of fancy goods in store under new Methodist Meeting-house on the corner of Suffolk and Lowell Streets, $3000.

No. 81—James Tyler, furniture in a brick building on Central Street, occupied by him for a boarding-house, $700.

No. 87—Peter H. Willard, West India goods and groceries, on Lowell Street, $4000. (Called later "Old Hobbs' Block.")

No. 95—John R. Adams, new brick and stone building, corner Lowell and Adams Streets, to contain one dwelling, sundry rooms for public purposes, and victualling cellar in basement (now known as Adams' Block), $5000.

No. 106—George Tyler, furniture and movables in the American House, kept by him on Central Street, $2848. (The house then was wood, two stories, situated near the canal, where the present fine brick structure now stands, and was headquarters for stages, as well as the landing-place for new-comers to town.)

No. 107—Jonathan Tyler, the building now at corner of Middle and Central Streets, $4000.

No. 116—Ephraim B. Patch, stock of dry goods in store in brick block with stone front on Merrimack Street (now occupied by H. M. Ordway), $4500.

No. 118—Paul R. George, stock of dry goods and woolens, in brick building on Central Street, known as Dr. Crosby's (same store so long occupied by William S. Bennett, clothier), $2000.

No. 129—Roland Lyman, stock usually found in jewelry shops, Central Street, $500.

No. 134—Cornelius Sweetser, stock of boots, &c., in wooden one-story building on Merrimack Street, $1500.

No. 145—Thomas and John Nesmith, wooden dwelling on High Street, brick dwelling in Howe's Block, and block of houses on Livermore Square, all in Tewksbury, $2700.

No. 148—William Brown, brick buildings in Tewksbury, near the junction of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers, $1800. (These now stand at the corner of Brown and Stackpole Streets, and are owned by the Massachusetts Cotton Mills.)

No. 156—Daniel Bixby, stock of books, &c., southeasterly side of Merrimack Street, $800.

No. 157—George H. Carleton, druggists' stock in the Town House, $1000.

No. 161—Jonathan Kendall, stock of West India goods, &c., Merrimack Square, $2250.

No. 165—Danforth Atherton and Abner W. Buttrick, groceries, in basement of Town House, $1500.

No. 187—Alston Allen and James H. Boyden, corner of Church and Central Streets, $2500.

No. 188—Methodist Episcopal Society, church on Chapel Hill, $3000 (now on Prescott Street, and called Industrial Hall).

No. 000—Proprietors of the First Universalist Meeting-house,

on Chapel Hill (lately stood where the new depot now is on Central Street).

No. 189—Thomas and John Nesmith, on dwelling in Tewksbury, occupied by themselves, $2400, and on furniture, $1500. (The house was situated where the new Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception now stands; it was later called Leavitt's Block; it now stands at the north of the church, on Stackpole Street, and is occupied by the clergy and officials connected with the church.)

No. 190—William Fiske, dwelling in Tewksbury, $375.

No. 202—Proprietors First Congregational Meeting-house, brick church on Merrimack Street, $6500.

No. 206—Cyril Coburn, brick dwelling on Appleton Street, $4000.

No. 209—Seth Ames, dwelling on Lawrence Street, $1800.

No. 212—W. D. Mason, John Chase, S. C. Oliver, M. M. Tuxbury, Stephen Whipple and Lewis Fiske, brick Baptist Meeting-house on Suffolk Street (now St. Mary's Catholic Church), $8000.

No. 214—William Livingston, buildings on Thorndike Street, occupied as dwellings (now woolen mills) near Lowell Brewery, and store-house with stable, $8500.

No. 222—George W. Whipple, stock of dry goods, No. 49 Merrimack Street, under the Unitarian Church; consent given to move the stock to another store, also additional insurance permitted to the amount of $4000.

SPECIAL INCIDENTS.

Mr. Whipple, who had obtained the above policy, secured the additional insurance, and had moved his stock of goods from under the church, as permitted, into one of the ten-foot wood stores, where now stands the brick block of Jacob Robbins. This class of buildings, then new, occupied the ground from what is now Hosford's building to the brick building next to the Unitarian Church. Mr. Whipple had occupied this store some six weeks, when on the night of the 2nd of September, 1833, about 12 o'clock, his store was found to be on fire. The writer well remembers the fire-alarm, being an occupant

of a store a few doors above, and sleeping at the time in a rear room of the store. The firemen were soon at work. I think the town had but two hand-engines at this time, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and the Machine Shop one each. Joseph Tyler was Chief Engineer. The fire was checked before much damage was done, and it was discovered that the store had been robbed of its richest goods, then set on fire. A large crowd had collected, and hundreds remained about the store and streets till morning. It was soon ascertained that Mr. Whipple had, the afternoon before, procured one of Thurston's best teams (a horse and chaise) and started for Boston. There was no railroad or telegraph at this time. John P. Robinson, a noted attorney, having done business for Whipple and being quite familiar with him, was employed, in company with Sheriff John Kimball (a shrewd detective, father of the President of our Common Council) to go to Boston at once for Whipple and work up the case. In the mean time there were all sorts of rumors afloat. It had been discovered that Mr. Whipple had sold several lots of goods in Boston at auction; also that he had disposed of goods in town to dealers at much less than cost; also that he was much embarrassed financially. One of our prominent business men, then in the dry goods trade, a member of the Old Residents' Association, made the remark that "it was fortunate he did not go to Boston with Mr. Whipple, as he had arranged to do that afternoon, but circumstances prevented"—for he had bought a large quantity of prints of him a few days before, at a very low figure.

Messrs. Robinson and Kimball, on arriving in Boston, soon found Whipple in his room at Wilde's Hotel, and he returned with Mr. Robinson to Lowell in the afternoon. Mr. Whipple was fully aware that suspicion of

the fraud rested on him. John P. Robinson was a high minded man, very excitable, and always ready to unearth fraud. It was said that Whipple made some inquiries as to what he should do; Robinson's reply was "he had better hang himself." Mr. Whipple was not under arrest, but inspectors were on guard. It was said he went twice to a stable for a team to hunt up the goods, but he did not go. During the next day the goods were heard from at Woburn. The brick house next west of the new Universalist Church on Hurd Street was occupied by Mr. Whipple. In the rear of his house was a canal—a feeder for the Middlesex Mills—leading from the Hamilton Canal under Central Street. The canal was some fifteen feet wide and three or four feet deep, and it was in this canal where Mr. Whipple's body was found, drowned, the following morning.

The citizens were now wild with excitement. A meeting was called at the Town Hall, and a committee of the following gentlemen was appointed to investigate the case: William Austin, William Heydock, Eliphalet Case, Joshua Swan, Matthias Parkhurst, Benjamin Walker, Elisha Huntington, Samuel C. Oliver—the last five gentlemen being the Selectmen of the Town. The committee subsequently made a long report, in which they say that—"On Monday, the 2nd inst., about 2 o'clock, P. M., said Whipple procured a horse and chaise and proceeded to Boston, where he arrived the same day at five o'clock, and took a room at Wilde's Tavern, Elm Street, where his horse and chaise remained until his return to Lowell on Tuesday afternoon; that between seven and eight o'clock on Monday evening he procured at a stable in Portland Street a horse and covered wagon, under pretence of going to Wilmington for shoes, and immediately left the city; that the same horse and wagon were seen in front

of his store at midnight; that said Whipple entered by a key in his possession, not generally used, and took from the store a large quantity of silk goods, packed by him in four large trunks, brought with him from Boston, and in order to effect his purpose set the store on fire, then left for Boston; that between four and five o'clock that morning, he left the trunks of goods at the 'Black Horse Tavern,' in Woburn, and returned the horse and wagon in Boston about sunrise, and was met at Wilde's Tavern about 10 o'clock, when he was told of the fire in his store. In the afternoon of Tuesday he returned to Lowell, and joined the citizens in their endeavors to ascertain the person or persons concerned in the fire and robbery; that he remained in town till the following morning, when about 5 o'clock he left his house, and soon after was found drowned in a canal near it."

Mr. Whipple for three years or more had been doing a large trade in dry goods; was an energetic business man, and from thirty to thirty-five years of age; commanding in person, of good address and wearing the finest of cloth. His wife was quite attractive, as seen promenading the streets clad in the richest of silks. She had the sympathy of the community, although many thought she urged on extravagance and caused the downfall of her husband. Several pieces of silks were found in the house, secreted in a straw-bed in an unoccupied room. Nothing transpired during the investigation that connected Mrs. Whipple with the concealment. There were no children to bear the burden of the disgraceful fraud and transaction. Thus ended the life of one with all the abilities, acquirements and requisites of a man except moral principle, the foundation of all that is in man. Underwriters have never fixed a rate of premium for this class of risks; the moral hazard cannot

be well ascertained; therefore all policies are void under such circumstances as the above.

Mr. Whipple had been doing a large business in dry goods for two or three years, second perhaps to Whidden & Russell. Walter Russell was a great wag, and on meeting Whipple one evening after closing, having had a great "rush" (as was usual evenings), Mr. Whipple boasted about the amount of his business, saying that half of his customers could not get at the counters. "Oh," replied Russell, "nothing said! At our store they tossed their money right over the crowd and merely called—'Give me something before all is gone.'" Whipple turned on his heel.

January 3, 1848, notice of a loss by Isaac Scripture on his building was referred to a committee; writ served on the company by Mr. Scripture, September, 1849, and the case not settled till November, 1852, when the treasurer paid claim and costs. This is the only case, as the records show, of the Company's contesting a claim in court. The building was a dwelling-house, occupied by tenants, situated a little in the rear of the present Scripture brick bakery. Boys of the occupants had stolen a keg of powder from Whipple's Powder Mills, concealed it in a wood-pile, where the powder became quite wet, then took it to the attic of the house and with a trail of powder fired it off. The roof of the building was entirely taken off, and landed in a yard not far away. A few buckets of water extinguished the fire. One boy was very badly injured, but I think he recovered. After three years' contest by lawyers, judgment against the Company was obtained. Cushing's Reports of 1852, Vol. 10, page 356, refers to this case.

1833 was an eventful year with Lowell. The increase in population for the year was about three thousand. Stages were coming in from all points loaded with new-comers, largely from New Hampshire and Maine. Houses and stores were in great demand. Speculators were buying up lands, buildings were erected and occupied when half completed. One gentleman, a land trader, made the remark that "he had secured nearly all of the corner lots"; there were then not so many corners as now. This gentleman, however, at the end of a year found himself *cornered*, as did many others.

It was in June of this year that Gen. Jackson visited Lowell, bringing together an immense crowd of people from the surrounding towns.

During July and August great excitement and agitation were kept up in regard to the licensing of a theatre, which had been built on Lowell Street, a little above Worthen Street, on the north side. A company was here from the Tremont Theatre, Boston, headed by the late Mr. and Mrs. Barry, at that time star actors. Our Selectmen were firm against license. Several large and boisterous meetings were held at the Town Hall, and hundreds of men congregated outside the theatre, evenings, and a riot was feared, but the Selectmen remained firm. Able attorneys were consulted, and the house was opened for the evening, as advised; but immediately after the performance the actors were arrested and held for trial.

It was at this time, too, the famous trial of the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery was going on, for the murder of the Cornell girl. The trial was not in Lowell, but in Rhode Island, where Avery had located, after a settlement here of two or three years; but Lowell people were greatly interested. A large number of witnesses went from

Lowell to the trial, besides many especially interested in the case. Crowds gathered on the arrival of stages from Boston, for papers and the latest news, as the trial progressed.

It was also the last of August, 1833, that Warren Colburn died—then the Superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company—a man whose name was more generally known throughout the country than any one who has ever lived in Lowell, his books having been so universally used in our schools for a generation or more.

XI. *The Early Trade and Traders of Lowell, by Charles Hovey. Read February 15, 1880.*

THE beginning of Lowell, as we all know, was the establishment here of "corporations" by the merchants of Boston for manufacturing cotton cloth.

The Merrimack Manufacturing Company began excavations for their mill sites in 1822, necessarily employing large numbers of laborers. Where people exist whose only capital is their labor, there must be stores of supplies for sale in small quantities.

The only store in the neighborhood at that time, so far as is now known, was that of Captain Phineas Whiting, who established himself in the shoe business near Pawtucket Falls in 1792, and also secured a tract of land which he occupied as long as he lived. He died in his own house, which stood on a part of the land where the elegant brick mansion of Frederick Ayer, Esq., now stands. The "Whiting house" was sold to the late Oliver M. Whipple, who removed it to the westerly side of Lawrence Street, and made it a tenement-house.

It is a natural law of trade that a demand for either money or merchandise will always induce a supply, and it is as certain in its operation as are the predictions of the present day in regard to the weather. Thus it was that Captain Whiting was induced to increase his stock, both in quantity and variety; and thus it is that the city of New York receives its daily supply of meat, milk and other necessaries of life, increasing day by day,

silently but uniformly with the needs of the increasing population.

After a lapse of sixty years since mill work began in Lowell, during which the persons who have begun trade here may be numbered by hundreds, it will not be attempted to enumerate them, or to notice either persons or events in chronological order.

The trade of Lowell having always been confined to narrow limits, and scarcely more than to supply the food and clothing of the rapidly increasing population, is not a prolific subject for a paper for this Association; but as our venerable president, and possibly one or two others, are all whose memories can span the entire history of our city from its beginning to the present, it seemed needful to gather such items in regard to it as are now available, however imperfectly or disconnectedly they may be stated.

Trade was induced by the investment of capital here. With a temporary exception in its early history, it has always been independent of the "corporations." Its history, therefore, is a legitimate part of the history of the city, but of course interesting only to old residents; but to them the recalling of a name or an event will revive many pleasant recollections of their early experience. To this end there is appended to this paper a list of many of the prominent traders during the first ten years of the settlement.

Owing to the migratory habits of the men who flock to a new settlement for trade, it is impossible to give any account of very many who have at some time been here. The history of any one of the corporations could be easily written, for the date of its charter, the names of the stockholders, the purchase of location, the laying of foundations, and all the details up to its production of

cloth for the past week, are matters of record. Every one of them has far exceeded its originally prescribed limits and has literally spread out "like a tree planted by the water-side."

Very unlike this is the history of trade. It commonly finds a congenial soil more by accident than by the wit of man. Successful trade almost always begins slowly and in a small way. It may be stated as a *principle* that the best time to begin is not at high tide, but when business is at low ebb. Every old resident knows that "experience is the best teacher," and he also knows that its teaching to be profitable must be attained by every man for himself. *After it has been attained* it is easy to see how he could have improved his opportunities if he had got it earlier.

Trade cannot be located as can a mill-site, neither can a city be successfully planned beforehand, which fact may in some sort account for the imperfect laying out of some of our streets. Maps of projected cities may be made, truthfully showing remarkable opportunities for commercial navigation, the finest sites for mills, the levelest land for railroads and depots, and everything that can conduce to the laying out of a large city with the least expenditure of capital. Add to this the best climate in the world, perfect drainage and every other natural attraction, but the *traffic,* which is largely the making of cities, *will locate itself* utterly unmindful of man's efforts to divert it.

The city of Chicago is a notable illustration of this principle. Its location is not at all like that just described; but for some reason, business located itself there, and the result has been the most marvellous development of a large city in the world. Thirty years after its first settlement, it became necessary to raise the

grade of large sections of it, involving the raising of blocks of brick and stone buildings from four to ten feet higher than their original elevation.

Lowell is another but much smaller illustration of the same principle in a different way. Trade first began at the west end. The second store was just across Concord River, at the *easterly* end; but the present business centre is between the two original points, from which it now gradually diverges in all directions.

In the year 1824 Mr. Jonathan C. Morrill, Nathaniel Morrill & Co., opened a store on the northerly side of Merrimack Street, and on the west side of Tilden Street. The senior of the three partners was appointed postmaster of the new village, and kept the Postoffice in the same store for one or two years. The building is still standing, and is the same as was afterwards occupied by Jonathan Kendall, Amasa Kimball, Kimball & Wheeler (the late Albert Wheeler), and now by A. Wheeler & Co., the principal of the present firm being the son of the former proprietor. In the changes, both of the building and of the firm, the old board in which was the aperture for the reception of letters for the mails, is still preserved, and has recently been placed in its original position.

One of the most prominent traders in early Lowell was Francis Hobbs, familiarly known as Frank Hobbs. He came here as early as 1826, purchased the nearest land to the Merrimack Corporation that the company would sell him, and built a three-story wooden building which is still standing on Salem Street, nearly opposite the northerly end of Adams Street.

He was a rather short man, quite stout, with a remarkably merry face, which some of us recall with pleasure. His stock consisted of corn and calico, cheese and broadcloth, muslin and molasses, silk and pork,

together with all the other articles in what is known as a "country store," the catalogue of which has no end.

Like many other traders who have obtained their business experience in Lowell, he was induced to move to a large city. He died in New York many years ago. Several prominent men of the city were brought up in his store; conspicuous among them was the late Abner W. Buttrick, who in Mr. Hobbs' time associated himself with a Mr. Atherton, under the style of Atherton & Buttrick. They opened a store in the basement or cellar of the Town House and kept a grocery, then known as a "West India Goods Store," commonly put on the sign over the door as "W. I. Goods." The name was in common use throughout New England, and was probably given for the same reason as that of "English Goods," to indicate what at this day are known as "Dry Goods." The present president of one of the banks of the city was then employed in their store. The firm was the beginning of the present well-known firm of "Buttrick & Co.," of which the late John A. and Alden B. Buttrick, both brothers of the original, have at times been partners, but although the style continues, neither of the present proprietors bears the name of Buttrick.

Both members of the firm of Baxter & Bennett, with whom for many years we were familiar, were graduates of Mr. Hobbs' store. Mr. Baxter died several years ago, but Mr. Bennett is now a member of this Association, retired from business, enjoying the legitimate earnings of his early life, and ruminating on the happy hours he enjoyed while driving Mr. Hobbs' cow to pasture on the land now covered by the buildings of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company.

Between the years 1833 and 1840 the credit of Lowell traders, especially of those in the dry goods line,

was decidedly bad. Very sharp competition was induced by adventurers, who began business without intending to remain or pay for their goods. Almost all who engaged in that business either totally failed or compromised with their creditors. One only out of the large number engaged in the business at that period, who has always "paid a hundred cents on the dollar," has survived. It is hardly needful to mention the name of James Tower to obtain a recognition. His first store was on Central, near Hurd Street, but the oldest among us can scarcely remember him at any other locality than in the building between Central and Gorham Streets, which for half a century has been known as "Tower's Corner." He retired from business some years ago, but is still an active member of this Association.

The first Lowell Directory was printed by Thomas Billings, in 1832. His place of business was in the building which was displaced to make room for the Mechanics Savings Bank Building. At the end of the directory proper there are the advertisements of sixty-six persons who were engaged in trade or other occupations in Lowell, and on the last page is this apology: "Our friends will please accept our thanks for their liberal patronage in advertising in the Directory, and excuse our making up the sheet on different colored paper, as other could not be obtained without retarding the progress of the work.—Benj. Floyd."

The paper which "could not be obtained" was ordinary white printing paper. The advertisements were printed on yellow paper.

Of the sixty-six persons who advertised in it, only two—Mr. James Tower and Mr. George Hedrick—are now living in Lowell, and it is not known that any of the remaining sixty-four survive.

The volume referred to is an interesting one for any old resident to look over. It contains words and expressions now almost obsolete, such as "cordwainer" and "yeoman." Of the latter the number is large and their locations are generally put down as "without the village." There is also a goodly number who kept a "W. I. goods store."

The name of Hapgood Wright, with which we are all familiar, and who has by the gift of one thousand dollars to the city perpetuated it for all time by establishing "The Hapgood Wright Centennial Trust Fund," is believed to be the only person whose store dates back to the time when the first volume of the Directory was printed.

As before intimated, the business of the town was very little, and as the competition was great, the opportunities of suddenly obtaining fortunes in legitimate trade were rare, but for the period covered in this paper it was a *school of experience*, so to speak, at which men were educated for wider fields of operations, and the graduates are scattered in many of the large cities of the country.

It is not possible for a young man of the present day, who is constantly using expresses, telegraphs and telephones, to appreciate the difficulty with which business was done half a century ago, or to imagine that common white printing paper "could not be obtained" without seriously retarding the printing of a few volumes of the Directory—a book the size of a First Reader in the primary schools.

And now, after sixty years, let us for a moment look back at the starting-point. The locality consisted of a few poor farms, partly hill and partly wet meadow, any one of which could probably have been purchased

for the present price of a power carpet-loom. Coincident with the sound of the pick-axe and shovel, there came rushing to the spot hundreds of men, all young, vigorous and ready for the race of life. So far as was known to each other, they were all on one level; to some the hills looked too high; to others the mud too deep. All started. Some gave up at once; others stopped at the foot of the first hill; others sank deep in the mire; many left for smoother ground, while few, *very* few, whose lives have been spared, are counted with the sixty thousand people now occupying the aforesaid farms.

APPENDIX.

NAMES OF PROMINENT MEN AND FIRMS WHO WERE IN TRADE IN LOWELL FROM 1822 TO 1832.

Phineas Whiting,
H. & W. Spalding,
Alpheus Smith,
John Richardson,
Warren Dyar,
Jacob Robbins,
George H. Carleton,
Horace Howard,
Roland Lyman,
Mecham & Mathewson,
William W. Wyman,
Samuel L. Wilkins,
Paul H. Willard,
William Davidson,
Aaron H. Safford,
Mansur, Child & Co.,
Ransom Reed,
Hazen Elliott,
Henry J. Baxter,
William S. Bennett,
Daniel Sanderson,
Whidden & Russell,
Wentworth & Raynes,
John T. Pratt,
H. W. Hastings,
Charles H. Sheafe,
John Putney,
Joel Stone,
Oliver Sheple,
Thomas Flint,
Thomas Billings,
Atherton & Buttrick,
Frye & Abbott,
James K. Fellows,
William Bascom,
Perez Fuller,
W. S. & T. P. Saunders,
James Tyler,
Paul R. George,
Philip T. White,

Daniel E. Knight,
S. & T. P. Goodhue,
Charles Sanderson,
Jonathan Kendall,
Edward Sherman,
Matthias Parkhurst,
James L. Foote,
Luther Richardson,
William C. Gray,
Dennis Fay,
E. B. Patch,
Charles Green.

SUPPLEMENT, BY A. B. WRIGHT.

The following, written by Mr. A. B. Wright (now a resident of Boston) and sent to the Lowell Courier, seems to be an appropriate continuation of Mr. Hovey's paper:

"Allow me to supplement Mr. Hovey's interesting paper read before the Old Residents' Association, on Wednesday evening, and from my memory add a few more to the list of traders in Lowell between 1826, when I first saw Lowell, and the limit of the period fixed by him, 1832. This list and the localities are made up entirely from my recollection, and I believe is nearly, if not quite, correct. However, if there are any mistakes I think Dr. Green, Col. Bancroft, Capt. Peabody or Mr. Jeroboam Howe, can correct me, as they were all in Lowell at that time.

"I begin on Chapel Hill, with Henry Fletcher (who, I think, had a partner) on Central Street, on the site of the present line of North Street; Robert Taylor, just below, on the corner of Union Street, in the house now occupied by Mr. Currier; John Mixer, Central Street, same building originally occupied by Mr. Converse, harness maker; Addison Bristow, directly in the south line of the extension of Appleton Street; Darius or Artemas Young (which, I do not certainly remember),

corner of Central and Church Streets, being the present location of Nichols & Fletcher; and perhaps it may be appropriate to name here as next in order, Henry Van Vronker, the genteel and accomplished colored barber, in the rear of the store of Mansur & Reed, on the corner of Central and Green Streets. His widow is now living on Chapel Street, south of Elm, in the same house occupied by herself and husband in 1826. I do not know of but one other family in Lowell who have lived in the same house for so many years.

"In Appleton Street, my impression is that Daniel H. Dean, and perhaps his brother, Horace C., were in business in the house of the former, next west of the Appleton Street Church, the Rev. Mr. Court's; Chauncy and Alonzo Child were on the same street, in the square house next east of the long brick block. This firm subsequently moved into Gorham Street, into the two-story brick house next south of the stone house. Soon after Alonzo formed a copartnership with Stephen Mansur, and occupied the brick store on Gorham Street, running through to Central Street, opposite the Washington House. I think Henry Flagg had a store in the stone house on Gorham Street; at any rate he was the owner of the building if he did not occupy it. Darwin D. Baxter, was on Gorham Street, in the two-story brick building then owned by David Gove, next south of Mansur & Child.

"Going on to the east side of Central Street again, the next in my recollection was Edward Callender, the husband of Mrs. Callender, named by Mr. Hovey. He was located about on the present site of the Vox Populi office, and is the person who has been several times heretofore named as, with his own hand, opening the

door through which he went into the spirit world. Coming to the south corner of Hurd and Central Streets was one of the Young brothers before named, but I am in doubt as to which. Going to the north corner of Hurd Street, where the Appleton Bank is now located, was Cushing Baker; and passing along to the corner of Warren Street was the crockery store of John Gawn. Perhaps I may tell the readers of the Courier at some future time about the "bull" that smashed things in that "china shop." Opposite the American House the south end of the brick block which occupies the former site of James Tyler's store, was occupied, I am quite certain, by William G. Merrill, who subsequently went to the same locality of C. R. Kimball's apothecary store; and about in the centre of the block was Ward's apothecary store. [Who remembers the articles that were written about those days respecting the wonderful properties of Ward's hair oil? As a burlesque they were incomparable.] In the north end of this same block was the hat-store of the Atkinson Brothers. Those who are in the habit of passing this point may have observed the beautiful elm in front of this store. That tree, when first set out, was watered daily for some years in the summer season by a young clerk in the store. Passing to the location of Mr. Raynes's jewelry store was Benjamin Mather, the second bookseller in Lowell. This store was formerly occupied by Thomas Billings, before he moved to his store on Merrimack Street, in 1828 or 1829. I think this same store was also occupied by Thomas Sweetser, as a variety store, before he also went to Merrimack Street. I remember, also, Thomas Newman, in the same line of trade, who was likewise in this same store for a short time, and subsequently went to

the brick block opposite the American House. Before leaving Central Street, I will name Edward P. Offutt, furniture dealer, who was on this street, or Market Street. Amos Wetherbee is another name, which I think should be classed among the traders of this period. His place of business I cannot locate.

"On Merrimack Street, on the site of the Masonic Building, was Otis Allen, variety goods, and just above Hosford & Co.'s was John S. Patch, and near by was Miss Nancy Waldron, millinery goods. I believe these last three should be included in the period named. Going up to Tilden Street, and what was then Merrimack Street, to the store of J. C. & N. Merrill; my recollection is that Simon Adams was there before then, and he was the first postmaster in what is now Lowell.

"Going into Belvidere, which may not be improper to include in this enumeration, I recollect George Brown, grocer, in the same store now occupied by H. M. Rice & Co.'s meat market, and after Mr. Carleton (Carleton & Hovey) moved from the adjoining store to the Town Hall, it was occupied as a dry goods store by one whose name has escaped from my memory; while on the opposite side, on the west corner of what is now Davidson Street, was Aaron Mansur (named in Mr. Hovey's paper), who was succeeded by Jacob Jenness, somewhere near 1832. Going to the basement of the City Hotel, was Nathan Durant, grocer, who graduated from the store of Capt. Whiting at Pawtucket Falls, and in the next building beyond the City Hotel was the firm of Gillis & Edes, keeping a large stock usual to a country store.

"This list would not be complete if I did not add to it the firm of Porter & Rogers, the first auctioneers in

Lowell, and who were, for a while, located on Central Street, near Fielding's hardware store; also Bethuel T. Cross, likewise an auctioneer and son-in-law of Mr. Parker, and whose place of business was on Market Street, where James F. Puffer's furniture store now is."

XII. The Foreign Colonies of Lowell, by Charles Cowley. Read February 15, 1881.

I WONDER, Mr. President, what reply you would have received from "the Early Traders of Lowell," of whom Mr. Hovey has just spoken, if you, who were the contemporary of them all, had foretold to them, fifty years ago, that the time would come, even during your own life, when more than twenty thousand persons of foreign birth, and as many more of native birth but of foreign extraction, would be permanently domiciled in Lowell. Undoubtedly, they would have regarded that prediction as a very wild one. Still greater would their amazement have been, if you had foretold to them that, in 1881, a majority of your own successors in the Board of Aldermen, including the Mayor, would be persons who were born subjects of the British Crown. And yet, each of these predictions would have been fully warranted by present existing facts. Hence my topic to-night: The Foreign Colonies of Lowell.

The population of Lowell, in 1880, was 59,475. The number of the native born was 36,421, and of the foreign born 23,054. Of the native born 24,001 were born in Massachusetts, 4,070 in Maine, 3,902 in New Hampshire, 2,054 in Vermont, 1,271 in New York, 209 in Rhode Island, 204 in Connecticut, 139 in Pennsylvania, 61 in Illinois, 60 in New Jersey, 59 in Virginia, 48 in Ohio, 28 in Wisconsin, 24 in Michigan, 22 in

California, 21 in Indiana, 20 in Maryland, and a few in other States and Territories.

Of the foreign born 10,670 were born in Ireland, 7,758 in Canada, 2,550 in England, 650 in Scotland, 466 in Nova Scotia, 458 in New Brunswick, 107 in Sweden, 74 in France, 61 in Prince Edward Island, 49 in Germany, 21 in Portugal, 21 in Newfoundland, 16 in Prussia, 13 in Italy, and a few in various other parts of the globe.

THE KELTIC COLONY.

The first foreign colony that gained a foothold here since the original English settlements of the seventeenth century, was that from the Emerald Isle, which dates from 1822, when Pawtucket Canal was widened, and the first of the Merrimack mills erected. The first habitations of these Irish pioneers were "shanties," of the rudest construction, with no other chimneys than flour-barrels or pieces of stove-pipe projecting through the roofs. They were but little better than the birch-bark wigwams which the Indians of this valley occupied two centuries and a half ago. They stood together on the "Acre," and "Half-acre." Plans of these "Paddy Camp Lands," so called, are extant in Books 373 and 380 in the Registry of Deeds at East Cambridge, with "Dublin Street," "Cork Street," etc., just as they were laid out.

Some of the first settlers shared their shanties with their swine; but ere long a great collection of piggeries was formed behind the shanties, and a peremptory standing order was issued, "Pigs to the rear." That order was generally obeyed, but not all at once. There was a pig-headed, contrary-minded minority that resented and resisted this "Saxon innovation," and that resolved, in

hog Latin, *stare semper super antiquas vias*, to stand forever on the ancient ways.

Dennis Crowley was the first Kelt in Lowell who applied whitewash to his shanty; Timothy Ford was the first who built for himself a frame house and painted it; Nicholas Fitzpatrick was the second; and the practice soon became common.*

Constant employment on good wages has had a wonderful influence in developing what Theodore Parker called the "instinct of progress" in this Keltic colony, which (including those born here) now exceeds 20,000 in number. When we contrast the poverty of the first settlers with the comfort and reputability in which their sons generally live now—not to speak of the elegance and luxury of the wealthier families—it is easy to see why the Keltic people of Lowell are so strongly attached to their adopted home.

On the 13th of June, 1823, Samuel Frye executed to Luther Richardson a deed of the "Paddy Camp Lands," which was intended to defraud his own minor children, and out of which arose litigation which lasted for sixteen years. Three bills in equity were brought—one in the Supreme Judicial Court, and two in the Circuit Court of the United States at Boston.† Charles Sumner sat as master in one of the cases, and George S. Hillard in the other; and Judge Story wrote seven elaborate opinions.

Great Britain has furnished three separate and distinct colonies to Lowell, besides numerous scattering immigrants. Those who investigate this matter for the first time, will be surprised to find how large a portion

* For various fragments of Kelto-Lowellian history and biography, see the letter of John F. McEvoy, published with "Proceedings in the City of Lowell at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1876," pp. 132—136.

† Flagg *v.* Mann, 14 Pickering's Reports, 467; Wood *v.* Mann, 1 Sumner's Reports, 506, 578: 2 ibid, 317; 3 ibid, 319; Flagg *v.* Mann, 3 ibid, 84.

of our British-born population is derived from three particular counties—Renfrewshire in Scotland, Lancashire and Gloucestershire in England.

THE LANCASHIRE COLONY.

The first of these three colonies was that from Lancashire, and the occasion of it was the necessity which was felt by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company in 1825 for employing the skilled artisans of Manchester in printing their calicoes. To obtain a superintendent for the Merrimack Print Works, Kirk Boott went to Manchester in 1826, and secured John Dynely Prince. Few men have understood the art and mystery of calico printing as thoroughly as did Mr. Prince, and the services of such men have always commanded liberal compensation. Mr. Boott, having satisfied himself that he had found precisely such a man as the business demanded, inquired of Mr. Prince how much salary he would want. Mr. Prince replied, "Five thousand dollars a year." "Why," Mr. Boott exclaimed, "that is more than we pay the Governor of Massachusetts!" Mr. Prince blandly inquired, "Can the Governor of Massachusetts print?"

With but little further parley, Mr. Boott, whose own salary was then but three thousand dollars a year, and never exceeded four thousand dollars, accepted Mr. Prince's terms; and never did the Merrimack Company make a more fortunate engagement.

Mr. Prince was soon followed by many other Lancashire men, who like himself brought families with them, and came to stay. For many years these Lancashire immigrants carried on, almost exclusively, all departments of the Merrimack Print Works—designing,

engraving, printing, etc. Of the first generation two or three only are now living; but to-day, notwithstanding the many changes which the introduction of machinery has wrought in this branch of manufactures, the business of calico printing is still largely carried on by men from Lancashire.

The late Henry Burrows, the successor of Mr. Prince, was one, and the present superintendent, Mr. James Duckworth, is another "of the same old stock." So, when the Hamilton Manufacturing Company undertook the printing of calicoes, they employed another Lancashire expert, William Spencer, to superintend their print works. Two of Mr. Spencer's successors, William Hunter and Thomas Walsh, are from the same hive.

Mr. Prince retained the superintendency of the Merrimack Print Works till 1855, when he retired on a pension of two thousand dollars a year. To his complete mastery of this business the Merrimack Company owe it, that for many years goods bearing their name would command higher prices than other fabrics of equal intrinsic value bearing any other brand. Mr. Prince died in 1860; but the eminent reputation which he acquired by his proficiency in his profession, by his fidelity to his employers, by the baronial hospitality which he dispensed to his friends, by his liberal charity to the poor, and by his quick sympathy for the depressed, still lives in the memories of all who knew him. It was he who received Mrs. Trollope when she visited Lowell in the course of her travels in America.

Mr. Prince was a remarkable man, with just enough of eccentricity about him to make his individuality quite pronounced. If Charles Dickens could have prolonged his visit to Lowell in 1842 for one week, and could have become a little more intimate with this "fine old English

gentleman," I have no doubt that Mr. Prince, disguised under an *alias*, would have found a place in the same gallery with Pickwick and Micawber. Mr. Prince was related by blood to Sir John Dynely, the eccentric baronet, whose many matrimonial projects attracted, in their day, as much notoriety as those, in our own times, of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

It may be worth mentioning that one of our recent Massachusetts congressmen, Mr. Dean, formerly a Lowell lawyer, and another Lowell lawyer, Mr. Greenhalge, now Mayor, are natives of Lancashire. If Charles Stott, another Lancashire Lowellian, could not find time to attend to such matters, his son, Charles A. Stott, could; and he filled the Mayor's office with credit for two terms.

Without mentioning other Lancashire men, who moved in these smaller spheres, and acquired local distinction, I turn for a moment to one of the greatest names in our national history. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the manager of the finances of the colonies during the Revolutionary War, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, and one of the first senators from Pennsylvania—was a son of this ancient duchy. Leaving Lancashire at the age of thirteen, he began business in Philadelphia as a merchant, on his own account, at the age of fifteen. He amassed a princely fortune, and acquired a fame second to none among the merchant-princes of the world in his time. He was the friend and neighbor of Franklin, the friend and exemplar of Hamilton, the friend and confidant of Washington. When the infant republic seemed about to perish in its cradle for want of funds to carry on the war, Morris pledged for it his personal credit for $1,400,000. When

the most sanguine were sinking in despondency, when even Washington was almost overwhelmed with despair, the lion-hearted Morris never flinched.

His letters to Congress and to the Governors of the several States are published in the twelfth volume of "Diplomatic Correspondence," edited by President Sparks. Chancellor Kent says these letters "cannot but awaken in the breasts of the present generation, in respect to the talents and services of that accomplished statesman, the most lively sentiments of admiration and gratitude."*

When Washington became President, he selected Mr. Morris for Secretary of the Treasury, and thought of no other man in connection with that office. When, to his surprise, Mr. Morris declined, he asked him to name a substitute, and Morris named Alexander Hamilton, whom Washington promptly appointed. While this great man saved the fortunes of his country, he failed to save his own, and the last years of his valuable life were passed in a debtor's prison. To the shame of Pennsylvania, to whose wealth he added millions of dollars, to the shame of the nation which he saved, he died in Moyamensing jail, May 8, 1806.

THE RENFREWSHIRE COLONY.

The manufacture of cotton cloth in the manner adopted by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company had been successfully introduced by the Boston Manufacturing Company, in Waltham, before it was attempted here; and Waltham was called "the Parent of Lowell." In like manner, the manufacture of ingrain carpets was introduced in Medway (and that, too, by the same men,

*1 Kent's Commentaries on American Law, p. 217.

and with the same machinery) before it was introduced by the Lowell Company in Lowell; and the men who introduced this branch of industry were chiefly natives of Renfrewshire.

While the Manchester men were sought for to establish calico printing, the Paisley men were sought for to establish carpet weaving. The pioneers of the Renfrewshire colony came in 1829—Alexander Wright, Peter Lawson and Claudius Wilson. They were followed by scores of others, among whom was Daniel Wilson, brother of Alexander Wilson, the distinguished ornithologist, to whom a statue has been erected in Paisley.

Excepting Royal Southwick and Joseph Exley, all the early managers and overseers of this carpet company were from Renfrewshire.*

THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE COLONY.

The last of the three British colonies was that from Gloucestershire, which dates from 1837. The pioneers of this colony were five men of Uley, whom the brothers, James and Cyrus Cook, met while making a tour through the woolen manufacturing districts in the west of England, shortly after the failure of the Messrs. Sheppard in Uley, had thrown a considerable number of skilled operatives out of employment. From a journal of this tour kept by the elder Mr. Cook, then agent of the Middlesex Company, I quote a part of an entry, dated Uley, April 2, 1837:

"Here I found several families going to America. They had already shipped on board the 'Laing,' to sail

* See the paper of the late Samuel Fay, on Carpet Weaving and the Lowell Manufacturing Company, in the first volume of these "Contributions," pp. 52—61; and the letter of the late Peter Lawson, in the "Proceedings" already quoted, pp. 130—131.

from Bristol in a few days. . . . There are very many people here that might be hired upon any terms, if they could have their passage paid to America." Two days later, the same journalist remarks that "the failure of the Messrs. Sheppard here seems to have stopped so much of the business of this town that many families are starving."

Upwards of sixty passengers from Uley came over in the "Laing," which reached Boston, June 12, 1837, after one of the most tempestuous voyages on record. The voyage lasted nine weeks; all the masts of the "Laing" were carried away, and she was otherwise seriously injured, so that on her return voyage she was lost.

About one-half of the Uley passengers who came in the "Laing" settled in Lowell, and were engaged by the Middlesex Company, and continued in that Company's employ for many years, and their sons and daughters after them. They were not the first Gloucestershire men who took up their abode in Lowell. Several others from Uley, as well as some from other parishes in that populous county, had previously settled here. Among these was John Pitt, a natural son of the famous William Pitt, prime minister of Great Britain during the wars of Napoleon, and a grandson of the first Earl of Chatham. Two daughters of this John Pitt and four grandsons now reside in this city.

Encouraged by the reports of these pioneers, in 1838 and every year afterwards for many years, other Gloucestershire families followed; many of them were employed by Mr. Cook on the Middlesex Corporation, while others engaged in trade or in manufacturing enterprises on their own account.

One of the youngest of them, George Wilkins, afterwards became superintendent of the Middlesex Company's Mills, and was for ten years agent of the woolen mills at Vassalboro', Maine, on a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. Another of these Uley men, Joseph Powell, invented the dressing or sizing machine used in the Middlesex Mills.

Some of these families have become extinct. Others have increased and multiplied in an extraordinary manner. One couple—Josiah Wilkins and wife—bore twenty-two children, including three pairs of twins.

There seems to be some ground for the belief that the ancestors of the renowned Confederate general, Thomas Jefferson Jackson, were people of Uley. The tombs of the Jacksons of many generations are prominent in the churchyard of Uley, the manor of which was long held by them. John Jackson and wife, who emigrated to Virginia during the last century, had a son Edward, and his son Jonathan was a lawyer and the father of the General.

Gloucestershire was one of the counties in which the historic Talbot family for many generations held estates. One of these estates was the subject of controversy for almost two hundred years. In 1469 that controversy was decided in a pitched battle at Wotten-under-Edge, in which a thousand men were engaged, and Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, lost not only the estate in controversy, but also his own life, being shot by an arrow in the mouth. The Talbots of Lowell are a branch of this family, which holds the Dukedom of Shrewsbury and many other patents of nobility in Great Britain and Ireland.

THE FRANCO-CANADIAN COLONY.

There were but few French Canadians here prior to 1865, when Mr. S. P. Marin was employed by some of the manufacturing companies to visit his native Province of Quebec, to present to the people the advantages to be derived from "a change of base," as well as of occupation, and to induce them to remove with their families from the Valley of the St. Lawrence to the Valley of the Merrimack. They have since come in greater numbers than any other class of immigrants, and have effected a permanent foothold here, and the cry is, "still they come."*

There is a great deal of the ancient British blood in these French-Canadians. The French settlers of the Province of Quebec (once called Lower Canada and more recently Canada East) were chiefly from Normandy, Picardy and Brittany; and we know from history that the Gauls, the ancient inhabitants of Western France, were substantially the same people with the ancient Britons. Furthermore, in the course of the hundred and fifty years during which the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians and other filibusters conquered England, history informs us that many thousands of the Britons settled in Brittany (calling it Little Britain) and also in Normandy, which now includes Picardy.

It is curious that after the lapse of a thousand years, the descendants of the rovers who drove the Britons into exile, and the descendants of the Britons themselves, should thus meet and mingle here in a world which, to the ancestors of both, was then, and for hundreds of years afterwards, totally unknown.

* See the "Habitant of Lower Canada," in Atlantic Monthly, December, 1881.

Eight hundred years ago, the population of Normandy flowed over into England, and took charge of its destinies. Is history about to repeat itself? Are these French Canadians, these descendants of the Normans, about to take charge of the destinies of the descendants of the English? Once I looked at this question with some apprehension. But since I travelled through Normandy, and saw the place* where my own ancestors once dwelt before the Norman Conquest, and from which some of them went forth to join the Norman army and to help fight and win the Battle of Hastings, I have learned to look upon this French Canadian immigration with more equanimity. A people that can live and thrive as the people now occupying New England have lived and thriven in spite of all the vicissitudes of the last five thousand years, can have nothing to fear from this source.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The growth of manufactures and the mechanic arts and the introduction of railroads have changed the aspects of Lancashire and Renfrewshire as much as they have changed the aspects of our own Middlesex County; but in Gloucestershire the face of nature has undergone far less change—agriculture being the principal pursuit now as of old.

Not many years ago I travelled through all these counties, and also through Ireland, from the Blarney Stone to the Giant's Causeway, and through the Province of Quebec. I was deeply interested in all of them, and especially in Gloucestershire, where, after their migration from Normandy, my ancestors dwelt for many

*La Ville de Cuilly. It is near Falaise. See the Norman People, article, "Cuilly."

generations. It would require a separate paper to give an account of my tour, and I shall refer here to one thing only—language.

While the dialect of Burns is still much spoken in Renfrewshire, as one must expect in a county adjoining the land of Burns; while the "Northwestern dialect," as Lucien Bonaparte calls it, is still much spoken in Lancashire; and while the lower classes of the people in Gloucestershire still speak the Dorset dialect, which Mr. Barnes, the poet of Dorsetshire, calls "the bold, broad Doric of England," it is manifest that all these dialects are gradually dying out, through the influence of the public schools and the general diffusion of knowledge.

As all educated people in English-speaking countries speak substantially alike, so do all educated people in French-speaking countries speak substantially alike. While some of our French Canadians speak a *patois* which would make a member of the French Academy "stare and gasp," educated Canadians speak as pure a French as the people of Paris. Paul Féval says, "if you want to hear the true sound of the language of Bossuet and of Corneille, you must go to Canada, where green grows a branch of the old tree of France."

CONCLUSION.

And now if we contemplate what these colonies have done in this city, are not the words of Charles Sumner as applicable to the foreign population of Lowell as to that of any part of the Union? "The history of our country in its humblest, as well as its exalted spheres, testifies to the merits of foreigners. Their strong arms have helped furrow out our broad territory with canals and stretch in every direction the iron rail. They have

filled our workshops, navigated our ships and tilled our fields. Go where you will among the hardy sons of toil on land or sea, and there you will find faithful and industrious foreigners bending their muscles to the work. At the bar and in the high places of commerce you will find them. Enter the retreats of learning, and there, too, you will find them, shedding upon our country the glory of science."

To the question, "What will be the effect of this immigration?" Mr. Sumner makes the following hopeful reply: "As in ancient Corinth, by the accidental fusion of all metals, accumulated in the sacred temples, a peculiar metal was produced, better than any individual metal; so perhaps, in the arrangements of Providence, by the fusion of all races here, there may be produced a better race than any individual race, Saxon or Kelt. Originally settled from England, the Republic has been strengthened and enriched by generous contributions of population from Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, Sweden, France and Germany."*

The best evidence that our Keltic and Teutonic populations will fuse into one, is the fact that they are members of the same Aryan race. Both Kelt and Teuton, as Brother Azarius reminds us, "started from the same Aryan homestead. They had the same stock of ideas, the same principles of action, the same manners and customs. They spoke the same language, with very slight variations," originally. But, now, when after many centuries of separation, the Kelt and Teuton meet in this new world, they find themselves strangers to each other; they recognize no special affinity to each other; their language has developed new forms. They have

*Works of Charles Sumner, volume 4, pp. 77, 78. The speech here quoted was delivered by Mr. Sumner in Lowell, October 31, 1855.

widely diverged in character and disposition, so that they have little in common save this community of origin and of race; and yet, they will finally assimilate. Of that there can be no manner of doubt. One in the far past, they will assuredly become one in the not distant future.

XIII. Lowell and the Monadnocks, No. 2, by Ephraim Brown. Read November 2, 1881.

THREE GLASS MANUFACTORIES.

ONCE again I ask the members of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, to stand with me on the beautiful heights that skirt the eastern boundary of our city, and to look westward over the broad and wide landscape, that lies within the crescent sweep of the distant Monadnocks. It is the basin of the Merrimack.

Writers on the rise and progress of our busy city enlarge with pride on the early manufactures which began and have been carried on here. Laudable efforts have been made to gather up the histories of all these enterprises, and the Old Residents' Historical Association is one of the outgrowths of these efforts. It constitutes an important nucleus, around which and toward which these efforts centre. It stimulates, it collects, and it keeps. By its work the early life of our city and its surroundings will be rescued from that oblivion which was gathering like a darkness, because no hand found a place in which to preserve what it recorded. The Old Residents' Historical Association unlocks and opens to view, and will forever keep, a very large amount of early history, of great interest now, and to be of still greater interest a thousand years hence.

Lowell and its landscape are rich in events which have no record within any public organization within their boundaries; and from these heights, I now open to

your vision a few pages of early history, that for want of record have been fast sinking into the abyss of the lost and the unknown. The astronomer by his glass brings the heavens near, and so to-night, by glass, I bring what is past near.

This rich landscape upon which your eyes now rest, is the seat of three glass manufactories. They all originated here, found most of their supplies here, and largely disposed of their products here.

The first one, began and ended forty-six years before Lowell had its name; the second one began in Lowell some twenty-four years before Lowell was born and named, and ended its career in Lowell forty-two years ago; and the third one began fifteen years ago, and is in active operation to this day, by a citizen of Lowell.

The first and third were located in the distant region which forms the background of the charming landscape your eyes are resting upon; in fact the ruins of the first and the active life of the third are only hidden by some little elevations between, while the site of the second is within the bounds of Lowell and almost under your feet.

Drawing aside the veil of time, I see the smoke of their fires, in three stately columns, ascending to the clouds, and in the darkness of the night the lurid glare from their furnaces glows upon the sky like the aurora.

Again, what do I see? Flame and smoke are rising above the mountain tops and in this valley, and conflagrations are reducing their works to ashes.

They rise again. One soon to be abandoned, and in the oblivion of one hundred years to be lost from public sight; the second to be changed to another portion of the Merrimack basin and some twenty years after to

be discontinued; and the third, still in active life. By this it is seen that the manufacture of glass has been conducted in four distinct localities within the sweep of our vision.

Fix your eye on that towering pinnacle, the grand Monadnock, seen almost directly west. Twenty miles this side, and a little to the south, you see on the summit of the hither ridge, a broad and comparatively level plateau, extending south, toward the New Ipswich line, one mile distant. This plateau embraces some hundreds of acres of hard land.

On this plateau one hundred and one years ago were erected the first glass-works within our landscape view. In the year 1780, the little town of Temple, N. H., was electrified by the advent of one Robert Hewes, from Boston. His coming was to erect a manufactory of glass. The first settler had been there but twenty-three years, and the Monadnock tops had hardly heard the sound of his axe; but every inhabitant of Temple felt a thrill of interest, that so distinguished an establishment was to be within its borders.

The Revolutionary War being then in full activity, and all importations of glass from England being by English law prohibited, and from all other countries being nearly impossible, by reason of the blockade, Robert Hewes resolved to supply the American people from American glass-works, to be carried on from the tops of the Monadnocks.

In 1780 (one hundred and one years ago this autumn), on this mountain top he built his first factory. Were the building standing there now, and the intervening trees removed, I think its roof and tall chimney would be within your vision.

I visited the spot in 1877. From that visit, from

the statements of my father, who was born on that mountain range in 1790, from the stories told me by Temple people while teaching school some five terms in various districts along the foot of the range, from the centennial history of Temple, of 1858, and from some knowledge of glass-making, by reading and observation, I will endeavor to portray briefly, but succintly, the course of events and the results.

On the first of May, 1780, Robert Hewes and his men began the erection of his glass-factory and completed the same, solely on his own expense. In the autumn or early winter he started fires. By some mishap the buildings soon took fire and burned down.

It is stated that the glass-blowers were German Hessians and Waldeckers, who had been employed by the British as soldiers to fight us, but loving liberty better than war, had deserted from the British army and had become employés, as glass-blowers, of Robert Hewes. Now, in every glass-factory that I have examined, there has appeared to be a large proportion of the low-class Germans—dissipated, drinking and quarrelsome men. Hewes had just such men. They got drunk, perhaps in jollification of the first success in producing glass, and the burning of the works was the result. This was a heavy blow to Mr. Hewes. Winter was coming on; his workmen to be fed and paid, and his works had been destroyed.

The people of Temple also became solicitous; for if Mr. Hewes gave up, not only would there be no glass-works there, but the *glass-blowers* would be there, as low paupers that the town must support. Towns and cities were very watchful about the incoming of strangers, who might become paupers, and warrants were served upon strangers, warning them out; and warnings were served on Hewes and his men.

But to prevent the abandonment of the enterprise, the people of Temple also rallied to the aid of Mr. Hewes; and in a short time the buildings were reconstructed and ready for business. Then frost shattered his furnaces so that they would not stand the fire, and they gave way upon the production of the first samples of glass.

Beset with difficulties, delays, and loss, funds began to fall short, and the great want was money. The people had no money to lend to the enterprise, and might not choose to invest there if they had. Then Mr. Hewes petitioned aid from the State, asking "freedom from taxation on his buildings," exemption of taxes for his men, and the granting of a bounty upon the glass produced.

January 2, 1781, the House of Representatives of New Hampshire voted to receive and accept Mr. Hewes' petition, but postponed the bounty till good window-glass could be successfully produced.

The persistence of Mr. Hewes is best illustrated by the following petition made to the Selectmen of Temple, in the winter of 1781, written from Boston:

"Gentlemen: After due respects, hoping these will find yourselves and families *well*, they are to inform, that being almost discouraged by the misfortunes I have met with, & the little spirit of the People to encourage me, I am almost determined to drop all thoughts of prosecuting the Glass-Manufactory in Temple, for why should I strive to introduce a Manufactory to benefit a people that has not spirit enough to subscribe a trifle to encourage it, when I have met with a misfortune—for if the Business ever comes to perfection it will be a greater service to the *country* than it possibly can to *me*, even if I make my fortune? But, Gentlemen, *it was not money*

only, that induced me, but it was because I was satisfied I could do it, & in so doing serve my country most essentially—more especially your Town. You will do well, Gentlemen, to consider this is not a thing for a moment, but it is laying a foundation for the good of Posterity; for certain *I am*, if my Glass-works are brought to perfection, they will soon be as universal as the Iron works, or many others: as I said to Esquire Blood the other day, that the Glass-makers should be employed, if it were only to steal their art.

I think the Town of Temple, as a Town, will be highly culpable if they let this matter slip without a struggle. But it is not for me to point out the advantage you are all sensible of.

What I have to say is what will your Town do to encourage the matter? I shall have to send 60 miles for stones to build my melting furnace, which will take eight teams, & then all the other furnaces are *to be rebuilt;* but all this while, the Glass-makers and families are to be supported, which will be a costly affair.

Your court will make a Lottery, I suppose, but that will be a thing of Time. Can I be credited for one or two Carcasses of Beef, till the Lottery is drawn, or what way can you think of to help me till the works are set *a-going?*

I should be glad to know your opinion of the matter as soon as possible, so that I may know what to determine.

From Your Friend & Humble Servant,

ROBERT HEWES.

P. S. Mr. Ashley will wait upon you with this & receive your answer, & transmit it to me as soon as possible— R. H.

P. S. If I could be properly encouraged, I would come up in the *Spring* and work at it myself till it comes to perfection."

"March 5, 1781. The Town voted to advance upon a loan to Mr. Hewes £3000, with good security, to be assessed in two months, & collected as soon as may be."

On the same day, March 5th, Mr. Hewes' agent, at the glass-house, wrote to the selectmen "requesting provisions."

March 11th, Mr. Hewes writes to the selectmen from Boston, declining the loan of £3000 if security is required; states he will not assume any further risk or responsibility; that ten times that sum could be secured in Boston, if he wanted it, but that he had determined to recede immediately, and proposed to sell his interest in the works at a low price; had resolved to do nothing further except bring down the workmen, if nobody appears to purchase the houses and tools.

March 24th, in a letter from Boston, Mr. Hewes proposes to the selectmen, that he be supplied money, on a loan, on the strength of the lottery, for which he seems to have petitioned the General Court of New Hampshire, and requests that his glass-blowers be furnished with supplies for subsistence.

It was not till March 30, 1781, that the lottery act was passed, giving leave to raise £2000, new emission, for the Temple Glass-Works, and appointing three men to conduct the lottery, and report their proceedings and account to the General Court within one year. A *facsimile* of the lottery-tickets may be found on page 171 of the History of Temple.

The tickets would not sell. I have no statement

what their prize was to be. I infer the great lack to have been want of faith in the glass-works.

Robert Hewes abandoned the enterprise, but left sundry of his glass-blowers, paupers, or to become paupers, upon the town of Temple, unless removed therefrom by law or strategy. The vigilant authorities of the town had warned them out on arrival; but now, with the works abandoned, these helpless, destitute glass-blowers and their families were left to steal or starve, and to multiply that dread of early settlements, town paupers. These helpless people seemed in danger of starving. The young and feeble could not leave, unaided, and some of the able would not. The people of the town by some aid and a good deal of management, got them on the road toward Boston, and in due time they were there.

Now, the town of Boston was excited—indignant, that Temple people should shove off its paupers upon Boston. A writ was issued to serve upon the first Temple officer that should come to Boston, to arrest and lock him up till Boston's expenses, past and prospective, for supporting Temple's paupers were satisfactorily adjusted.

A few months after, one of the Boston officers stepping into an office on State Street, inquired of the occupant by what means, he (the officer) could send a letter to Temple, N. H. Introducing a stranger to the officer, the occupant added: "Here is Mr. James So-and-so, treasurer of Temple, N. H." "Ah," said the officer, "very glad to see you. I hold a warrant for your arrest. You must go with me." And so he went.

In due time Boston learned that its paupers had gained no right of livelihood on the Monadnocks, but

were Boston paupers still, and our Temple officer was discharged.

Nearly all the foregoing facts and many minor incidents were related to me forty years ago, by the hosts and hostesses who welcomed, entertained and cared for the schoolmaster, as guest, during the school seasons of five years.

My recent visit to the site of these glass-works was of great interest. It would be rare to find a more romantically-historic and beautiful spot, on a warm, sunny, September afternoon. I found the foundation-stones of the works so completely in place as to show the exact ground plan. Laid without mortar, in some places they rise several feet from the ground, and are especially conspicuous where the melting-pot and chimney-stack stood. There are fragments of bricks—the common and fire-bricks, many with vitrified surfaces, to be found on the grounds; and there appear abundant evidences that the works were complete.

There are interesting questions, inferences and conclusions that crowd up for expression. I can touch only part of them. Why did Robert Hewes come to the top of this mountain range to make glass? I answer: He thought a very large part of the needful material was here. The land was of little value, the support or sustenance of his men inexpensive, and fuel for the cutting. He seems to have built his first melting-furnace so entirely of the stone of the place (mica slate, intersected with silex veins) that fire and frost tore them down. Then he writes to the selectmen, as quoted before: "I shall have to send sixty miles for stones to build my melting-furnace, requiring eight teams." Mr. J. W. Walton, of New Ipswich, stated in 1859, that these stones were obtained in Uxbridge, Mass., and conveyed

by ox teams. I infer the material for the melting-pots came from Uxbridge or Boston.

The forests of the Monadnocks would supply fuel and potash. But the silex, or sand, whence was that? Glass is purified silex, and all other material used is only to purify and liquify it. The general belief has been that he got it in the neighborhood of his works. One tradition has been that it came from Magog Pond, in Littleton, Mass. Littleton is thirty miles distant, and when Mr. Hewes mentioned stones from sixty miles, I think he would have included sand thirty miles, if it came from so far.

If one looks for sand beds, on this plateau, he will look in vain. Within eighteen years the Lyndeborough Glass-Works seem to have solved that question; but no doubt Hewes solved it eighty-five years before, and collected the silex boulders almost covering this plateau, calcined them in one of his furnaces, crumbled them to sand and thus found an abundant supply. A stone base of such a probable furnace stands now, close by the principal ruin.

A Mr. Hewes, of Piqua, Ohio, wrote to the historian of Temple: "I remember seeing the glass decanters, &c., which my mother told me were made at his glass-works in New Hampshire." Very little, however, was accomplished except to begin.

Mr. Hewes was no common man. He was ingenious, industrious, a great reader, and an enterprising man, as his glass-works prove. Being left by his father with $50,000, it seems he resolved not to risk all. He carried on business in Boston, retrieved his losses in New Hampshire, and died in 1830, aged seventy-nine years.

Unkind criticism is often meted out to unsuccessful enterprise, and that, too, very unjustly and ungenerously.

What succeeds is praised; what fails is denounced. Suppose the founders of Lowell had failed? Does it follow that founders are to be discountenanced? No. In every good enterprise, lend them kind words and helping hands; for who knows which shall prosper, either this or that, or all be alike good?

CHELMSFORD GLASS-WORKS.

The second establishment within the basin of the beautiful Merrimack for the manufacture of glass, was under our feet, within the bounds of our favored city of Lowell.

Who has not heard of "Chelmsford glass"? Especially who *did* not, if living within the Merrimack basin sixty years ago? You can look down from where you now stand, upon the exact spot where the works stood. In our beautiful suburban village, Middlesex, there is a street at right angles with Middlesex Street, on its south side, just westerly of the fine mansion of our enterprising citizen, M. C. Pratt, Esq., and the first street this side of and parallel with the bed of the old Middlesex Canal, now filled up with earth, through the beautiful grounds of Mr. Pratt. On the westerly side of this cross street, and about thirty rods south of Middlesex Street, stood the furnace buildings of the Chelmsford Glass-Works. The buildings have been removed and little remains except a range of store-houses.

These works were established in 1802, by Hunnewell & Gore, of Boston, and their product was chiefly window-glass, and other glass was made in smaller quantities. Hunnewell & Gore were glass merchants, or manufacturers, and I have an impression were interested in other glass-works.

About four years ago I began to collect facts regarding the Chelmsford Glass-Works, and I found considerable difficulty in obtaining exact knowledge, because the works were discontinued in Lowell in 1839. Forty-three years ago they were moved to the town of Pembroke, N. H., and the books carried there. There are two or three men in Lowell still who were employed in these works.

I went to the village of Suncook, in Pembroke, the place of residence of Mr. William Parker, who had the sole charge and half-ownership of the works to the time of the suspension of glass-making there, in 1850. Mr. Parker died only some four weeks before my visit.* The only survivor of the family at home was his youngest daughter. She kindly gave me a free examination of such books as would impart information relative to the history of the works. I also had an interview with Mr. William E. Hirsch, a glass-blower there, sixty-seven years of age, who was employed in the works in Lowell and went to Suncook in 1839. Some papers, also, of the late Sidney Spalding, of our city, who was clerk at the

*Some of you were, doubtless, well acquainted with Mr. Parker. The following obituary notice, from the Manchester "Mirror and American," of September 14, 1877, is of interest to his friends and acquaintances:

"William Parker died at his home in Suncook, Tuesday, September 11th. He was born in Merrimack, December 16, 1797, and began business as a landlord of the Parker Tavern at Reed's Ferry, one of the famous hostelries of those days. Subsequently he was landlord of the Adams Hotel at Chelmsford, Mass. His next business venture was as a merchant at Tyngsboro', Mass., in which he continued about two years. He then purchased the Chelmsford Glass-Works, at Middlesex Village, which he operated for ten years. In 1839, he removed the business to Suncook, and erected new buildings, enlarged and extended it, and until 1850 continued to carry it on. In that year he closed the factory, and having bought the Buntin farm, just below Suncook Village, moved upon it, and afterwards devoted his energies and skill to farming. For twenty years he was widely known as one of the most earnest, progressive and successful farmers in Merrimack County. He was an ardent admirer of fine stock, of which his spacious barn has always contained splendid specimens. He was also an intelligent husbandman, as his farm bore witness, and few men in the State have done more to encourage and sustain our fairs and other agencies of agricultural advancement than he. As a manufacturer and business man, in his earlier days, Mr. Parker was also extensively known, and universally respected; and as a citizen and neighbor he could always be relied upon to do more than his share of any work which the public good or neighborly kindness demanded."

establishment in Chelmsford, when he was a young man, and part owner afterwards for many years, were placed in my hands.

From these, from Allen's History of Chelmsford and other sources of knowledge, I have made up a sketch of the history of the works, as accurately as I can, and while in some points there may be errors, in the main they are nearly correct.

Two years before the opening of the Middlesex Canal, which was in 1804, Hunnewell & Gore erected the Chelmsford Glass-Works. Allen fixes the date at 1802. It was a private or copartnership enterprise by Boston parties, with resident manager and employés in Chelmsford.

As the works had ten years in which to come into successful operation before the war of 1812, it is reasonable to suppose that the closing of our ports gave a great impetus to the manufacture of glass in America, and a corresponding activity in the Chelmsford Glass-Works. Allen hints the same regarding other manufactures. The late Joel Powers said that Couper, a German, of Boston, was selling agent. Mr. Hirsch says Couper controlled the glass manufactory on Essex Street, Boston, had a warehouse on Merchants' Row, and that Loring & Couper's sign was on the building as late as 1873. The same Boston parties carried on the South Boston Glass-Works for a period, and afterwards discontinued them.

Mr. Frederick S. Geer, of Lowell, was employed in the works and Mrs. Geer says most of the glass-blowers of the Chelmsford Glass-Works were Germans, and names among them Weaver, Baruch and Cook, who escaped from France at the time Napoleon married Maria Louise of Austria, and came to Chelmsford as glass-blowers.

Mr. Hirsch says there were glass-works in Chester,

Mass., and Cheshire County, N. H., all making window-glass.

There were two modes of working glass for glazing, one producing "crown-glass" the other "cylinder-glass." The molten glass was taken upon the end of a rod of iron called a pontil, and the rod was rapidly revolved in the hands of the workman, till the centrifugal force of the revolutions had expanded the glass into a thin disk or wheel three or four feet in diameter. When this thin glass disk was cut up into squares or panes it was "crown-glass." The other mode was to take the glass from the melting-pot upon the end of an iron tube about four feet long. Applying the free end of the tube to his lips the workman forced air into the viscid mass, which was expanded thereby into a hollow ball. A revolving motion was imparted, then more air given, until the ball was considerably enlarged. It was then revolved upon a table to form it into cylindrical shape and expanded by blowing and rolling, till it was a large, long, hollow cylinder. Then it was cut open and its walls laid flat upon the table as a sheet, which being cut up into panes was "cylinder-glass." Cylinder-glass was the best and the most profitable to make.

About 1802 a Mr. Frieze, a German glass-maker in Baltimore, Md., visited Europe, and the father of Mr. Hirsch, with others, came to America in consequence. Mr. Hirsch began to blow, in Chelmsford, at the age of sixteen, in the year 1817.

Mr. Geer was a glass-cutter. One informant stated that the Chelmsford works ran two furnaces, employed ten blowers, working ten hours per day, three days in a week, then five. With the other employés the works supported some sixty or seventy people, and made quite a market for the little town of Chelmsford, of seventy

years ago—before our city was dreamed of. But the most complete account is found in Allen's History, published in 1820. He says:

"On the east bank of Middlesex Canal, at a distance of two hundred rods from Merrimack River, a large building one hundred and twenty-four feet long and sixty-two wide, with necessary appendages for manufacture of window-glass, was erected in 1802.

"Near it is a two-storied house, handsomely finished, designed for the residence of the overseer, and around it, at convenient distances, a number of smaller houses for the accommodation of the workmen and their families.

"There are appertaining to this manufactory about twenty families, consisting of forty men, twenty women and forty children—one hundred in all. It is now in a flourishing state. About three hundred and thirty thousand feet of window-glass are annually made, or three thousand three hundred boxes of one hundred feet each, which at $13 per box will amount to $42,900.

"The situation is very favorable for transportation of glass to Boston, and those raw materials from thence which it would be expensive to convey by land. A ready and cheap supply of wood is also easily obtained, of which it is estimated that about two thousand cords are annually consumed in the manufactory and houses attached to it.

"The manufactory consists of two furnaces, three flattening ovens, two tempering ovens, six ovens for drying wood, cutting, mixing, and pot-rooms, a kiln for burning brick, a mill-house and sand-house."

To my inquiry, "Where did the supplies come from?" Mr. Hirsch answered: "Up the canal and down the river." The soda-ash, potash, lime, salt

and sand, came on the canal from Boston. When first established potash was largely used. After the war, soda-ash from England, took the place of potash to a large extent. "But from whence did the sand come to Boston?" I asked. He answered: "From Morris River, New Jersey." The fuel was wood. It came down the Merrimack River in boats and rafts. It was pine wood entirely. No coal was used, neither any hard wood. In fact it was not discovered that anthracite coal would burn at all till 1826—twenty-four years after these works were established. The wood was from the plains of Concord, N. H.

Iridescence or rainbow colors, was a defect in glass, and caused more or less trouble. Bad fuel, hard wood, bad sand and impurities in other supplies were the cause, not only of iridescence but of brittleness, waves and dark colors, especially green. If you will notice glass in houses erected forty to sixty years ago, you will detect these defects. I noticed them more than fifty years ago, in the Chelmsford glass of my father's house.

The fire-bricks and also the melting-crucibles were composed of German clay. Crucibles are very perishable, take a long time to make and are a costly item in glass-making.

The Chelmsford Glass-Works were carried on, presumably with fair success, from 1802 to about 1827 or '28—some twenty-six years—when Hunnewell & Gore, the proprietors, failed; and Samuel P. Hadley, Esq., remembers that at about this time the works were burned. This seems to have stopped glass-making in Chelmsford, for the time being.

Either to continue the prosperity of Chelmsford, or to reap the profits of the trade, or both, Chelms-

ford people formed a company, procured a charter, and commenced operations as a corporation to manufacture glass at the old works. It is from the aforesaid examination of the books of the corporation, at Suncook, chiefly, that I trace the further history of the Chelmsford Glass-Works.

The first recorded meeting of the new corporation was held July 11, 1828, at the house of Mr. Simeon Spalding, in Chelmsford, when the company was legally organized. Jesse Smith was chosen treasurer and William Adams, Samuel T. Wood, Daniel Richardson, Jesse Smith and Amos Whitney, Jr., were elected directors.

"Voted, That Daniel Richardson be an agent of the Chelmsford Glass Company, to take a deed of the real estate, described in bond of William Sullivan, John Bumstead, John Bellows and Eben Chadwick Glass Company, to Cyrus Baldwin, Samuel T. Wood and Daniel Richardson." (Dated March 25, 1828).

He was also empowered to give a mortgage deed to secure the payment of part of the purchase money, and to give notes and securities as necessary, and to use the seal of the company.

"Voted, To assess $12.50 per share, before July 19th, more than was raised, previous to being incorporated."

This last vote seems to recognize some organization previous to obtaining a charter, in which these members of the new company had paid assessments.

It seems that a private copartnership, or corporation, had begun, but whether glass was made during its

existence, I have no means of knowing. Members of such a concern would have been individually liable for its debts; under a charter they would not; besides, a corporation with charter, seal and organization is a stronger body than a private company.

"Voted, That the directors be empowered to assess as much as they shall think necessary, not exceeding $100, on each share, including the sums already paid."

"Voted, To raise by assessment $12.50 per share, to be paid before 15th August, being fifth assessment.

"Adjourned to July 25th.

CHARLES BLOOD, Clerk."

Article third of the by-laws limited the votes of stockholders to ten, however many shares were held. Article fourth, that dividends be semi-annual, if able.

The annual meeting of the next year was held July 13, 1829, at John C. Bixby's Hotel, in Chelmsford. The old officers seem to have been re-elected.

Another meeting was held at Bixby's in 1830, and it was

"Voted, To run the fire of Chelmsford Glass-Works another year.

"Voted, To make preparation for another fire.

"Voted, To purchase wood lots.

"Voted, To prosecute for bad potashes from Maine."

By the first of these four votes, it seems that stopping the works was discussed. By the last vote, that the company had been imposed on in buying bad potashes. If there was not satisfactory prosperity, it was only the common experience of new men in a new business.

The annual meeting was held at Bixby's, July 12, 1830. Charles Blood was elected clerk and Jesse Smith treasurer. Directors elected were Daniel Richardson, Jesse Smith, Amos Whitney, and Eben Adams.

The next annual meeting was held July 11, 1831. It was voted, "to divide at the end of three months whatever money there is on hand." Samuel Burbank was chosen clerk. The directors' report was accepted, and John Kendrick & Co.'s report put on file.

This meeting seems to have left unfinished business, for July 15, 1831, there was a meeting and it was "voted that the treasurer be required to give bonds in $10,000," and "a committee to examine the accounts of John Kendrick & Co., was chosen. Voted, that the clerk furnish the committee with the doings of the selling agents, Kendrick & Co. for the committee's examination."

The annual meeting called July 9, 1832, was twice adjourned, and finally held August 9, 1832. Chose Samuel Burbank clerk and treasurer. Directors—Samuel T. Wood, Shepard Lamb, William Parker, John Kendrick and John McGaw. "Voted, there be a dividend of $20 per share."

In 1833 William Parker was elected clerk and treasurer.

The next record quoted in my memorandum seems to have been August 5, 1839, to wit: "Voted, That William Parker be authorized to *sell and convey* any part or all the real estate of the company and in their name."

This last vote implies the giving up of the works in Chelmsford; and the next record was of a meeting held in Pembroke, N. H., July 14, 1840.

In 1835, the stock of the Company was owned by four or five persons, William Parker holding sixty-two shares and sixty-three more shares being held by other persons. The capital stock was $12,500, at par value $100 per share; and Mr. Hirsch says it sold at one time at $180 per share. From 1829 to 1840 the dividends appear to have averaged about 6 per cent. per annum.

The motive for moving the works from Chelmsford to Pembroke was: reduced cost of supporting the workmen, ease of obtaining cheap fuel, and close proximity to an abundant supply of sand at Massabesic Pond, in Chester, now Manchester. The works were carried on there from 1839 to 1850.

But there were heavy drawbacks in New Hampshire. The expected supply of suitable sand proved a delusion. The sand from Massabesic produced glass of so dark color, by reason of iron, that the glass was unsalable. Sand from Morris River, New Jersey, was the only resort, with increased cost for transportation.

The revision of the tariff in 1845 brought another disaster. The duty on imported glass was made so low that the country was supplied with European glass at less price than the cost of production here, and in consequence the manufacture of glass by Mr. Parker was abandoned in 1850. He made no glass after that date.

Thus ended the second establishment for the manufacture of glass in the Merrimack River basin.

There is another manufactory of glass in Lyndeborough, N. H., well known to Lowell people.* It is

* In response to inquiries concerning the works at Lyndeborough, which were incorporated in 1866, Mr. Putnam writes briefly and as follows:

SOUTH LYNDEBOROUGH, N. H., Nov. 3, 1881.

EPHRAIM BROWN, ESQ.:

Dear Sir—Your notice gives me only time to say that the glass business was commenced at this location on account of the immense supply of pure silica, from quartz

situated upon that vein of silex which is described in the published papers of our Association, No. 25.

rock here, the chief constituent of glass, and the large supply of wood. At the time these works were started there were in New England seven other places where bottle ware was made and other lines of goods similar to those made here. As the ware from these works entered the market, the products of the other manufactories gradually disappeared, until every other factory in this line of goods in New England abandoned the business, confirming the superiority of goods made from pure material. Many improvements have been introduced here to cheapen cost of production, and the business has gradually extended, until its clients are now found in all parts of the country. The present capacity of the works is four tons of molten glass daily, employing eighty-five hands. Carboys and general bottle ware are the staple productions, including rattan-covered demijohns. At first wood was the only fuel used, then coal, and now crude petroleum is successfully used. I would be glad to say more, but must close in order to have this reach you by to-day's mail.

Respectfully yours,

J. D. PUTNAM.

XIV. The Melvin Suits, by Hon. John P. Robinson.

Hon. John P. Robinson was born at Dover, N. H., in 1799; educated at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.; graduated at Harvard College in 1823; studied law in the office of Daniel Webster and commenced practice in Lowell in 1827. He represented Lowell in the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1829, '30, '31, '33 and '42. He was Senator for Middlesex County in 1835, and served as one of the Committee on the Revised Statutes in 1836. He married a daughter of Ezra Worthen, and had one daughter, who, with the mother, still survives. He died October 20, 1864. H. G. F. Corliss was associated with him, first as a student, and afterwards as a partner. It has been truly said that "John P. Robinson was an able and accomplished lawyer, and a thorough classical scholar."

The poet Lowell, in his quaint way, has rendered his name famous:

> George N. Briggs is a sensible man;
> He stays to his home and looks arter his folks;
> He draws his furrer as straight as he can,
> And into nobody's tater-patch pokes.
> But John P.
> Robinson hè
> Says he won't vote for Governor B."

We are indebted to his personal interest in the celebrated Melvin Trials, as counsel for the defendants, for the following characteristic and graphic account of them:

"In 1771, Thomas Fletcher died, seized of a farm of about one hundred and thirty acres, and another piece of outland of about eighteen acres, situate in that part of Chelmsford which is now Lowell. He left two daughters, Rebecca and Joanna, his only heirs at law. Rebecca married Dr. Jacob Kittredge and Joanna married Benjamin Melvin, prior to 1782; so that at that time Kittredge and his wife owned an undivided half in her right, and Melvin and wife owned an undivided half in her right of both pieces. Kittredge and his wife both died prior to 1820, leaving ten children, their heirs at law. Melvin and his wife died prior to 1831, leaving seven children their heirs at law. The lands which the Melvin heirs claimed were the eighteen acre lot and about eight acres of the farm, making twenty-six acres in all.

"The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals claim to hold these lands by deeds from Melvin and wife and Kittredge and wife, made in 1782, by sundry mesne conveyances subsequently made, and more than thirty years possession. The Company in 1820, '21 and '22, bought out, or intended to buy out, the title of every person who had any right or claim to this land, and they paid the owners or occupants the price which they asked. All went on quietly as before until 1832, when the speculation in land was at its height. Some profound lawyer, on examination of the titles, then found out that the Company had no title whatever to these two pieces of land, which had already become valuable.

"In the latter part of 1832, Benjamin Melvin, the son, applied to me to bring a suit for a fourteenth part of the eighteen acre lot. I endeavored to dissuade him from so doing, and told him he had no title, legal or equitable, to any of this land. He thought otherwise, and applied to Samuel H. Mann, Esq., who brought six

suits in the names of the several Melvin heirs. I was then employed by the Company. The first of these suits was tried October term, 1833, before Wilde, J., and the Jury found for Melvin. The case was carried before the whole Court, and argued October term 1834. The court set aside the verdict; Morton, J., giving the opinion of the Court. The case went to a jury November following. This jury disagreed—ten for the Company and two for Melvin. This trial was before Putnam, J. This case was continued to April term, 1835, and tried before Morton, J. This verdict was for the Company. Melvin then carried the case before the whole Court. It was argued October term, 1835, and at April term, 1836. Shaw, C. J., gave the opinion of the whole Court, rendering judgment on the verdict against Melvin. The Kittredge suit was disposed of at the same time, in the same way. (See Pick. Rep., Vol. 16, page 137.) (Vol. 17, page 246 and 255.) The other five suits were continued to October term, 1836, when they were dismissed without costs to either party. Thus the title to the eighteen acre lot was forever put to rest. This lot lies above the Stone House, extending from Merrimack River across the road to School Street.

"But the eight acre lot was of far more value, and gave rise to a longer controversy. Encouraged by his success in the first suit, Melvin brought another suit to recover an undivided fourteenth part of this lot, which is partly on Dutton Street, extending over and including about forty rods of the Western Canal. This case was tried at the April term, 1834, before Putnam, J., and after four days' trial, a verdict was found for Melvin. The Company took exceptions, and the case was carried before the whole Court, and argued in February, 1835. The Court set aside the verdict as against law; Wilde,

J. giving the opinion of the Court. (See 16 Vol., Pick. Rep., p. 161.) Melvin became nonsuit, and the Company recovered $341.90 cost on this suit alone. Encouraged by the verdict on the above suit, the other heirs brought five other suits, which were also nonsuited, and the costs paid by the Melvins. Twelve suits were thus disposed of.

"The Melvins not finding it a very profitable business to multiply suits, now joined together in the great and final remedy of a writ of right to recover their lost inheritance. This suit came on for trial in October, 1836, when we went prepared with about thirty or forty witnesses to have a final trial. I was perfectly certain of prevailing in this suit on three points of law. But as we were just proceeding to trial, a certain lawyer whom I had formerly driven out of the case, had been figuring with one of the Melvins and had got a release, and insisted upon having the case dismissed without having any trial. This I protested against, but finally yielded, by the overpersuasion of the other counsel, upon the understanding that here should be an end of the controversy. Thus there was nothing sealed on this writ of right, a judgment in which would have been a final and eternal bar to all future writs. So in the Fall of 1839, both parties were entirely out of Court. In the Spring of 1837, Kirk Boott, Esq., by whom I had been employed, and who had entrusted this whole business with me, died, and I had nothing to do with any of the Company's business for three years.

"In August, 1839, Melvin and his counsel got new light upon the subject. They had hitherto claimed only one-half the land, they now claimed the whole. The Melvin heirs and most of the Kittredge heirs conveyed all their *titles* to Benjamin Melvin alone and he brought

a suit for the whole. This suit was tried at the October term, 1840 before Judge Dewey, and the jury found that Melvin and wife's deed of 1782, did not cover the demanded premises, which was another false verdict. We then carried the case before the whole Court, and it was decided in October, 1842, Judge Wilde delivering the opinion of the Court, that if the Melvins ever had any title, they were barred by lapse of time. (See 5 Metc., Rep. 15.) Here was a final settlement of the matter in the State Court. But the judgments were all upon nonsuits, and nothing was finally settled that could be pleaded in bar of a suit in the United States Court. And it turned out that Melvin before this last trial had conveyed all his interest (?) in the suit to Jonathan M. Reed, of Michigan, and after the final decision in the State Court, Reed brought a suit in the United States Circuit Court in 1843. This was tried at Boston before Judge Woodbury in 1845. And after four days' trial a true verdict was rendered for the Company. Reed then brought a writ of error in the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was entered December 7, 1846, and continued to the present term, and was argued on the 2d, 3d and 4th of January, 1849, by General Jones and Grenville Parker for the plaintiff in error, and by Mr. Webster and myself for the defendants.

"On the 24th of January 1849, the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court.

"Thus after a controversy of more than seventeen years, in which from $30,000 to $40,000 have been expended, these Melvin suits were ultimately settled."

XV. Merrimack River, its Sources, Affluents, etc., Prepared by Alfred Gilman.

The east branch of the Pemigewasset has its rise in the Willey Mountain, six thousand feet above the ocean, in a pond near the summit of that mountain. Its waters escape in a southerly direction, then turning to the west, the waters of the Ethan Crawford Pond unite with it. Its course is through an unbroken wilderness for forty miles. The accessions it receives from the mountain ranges on either side soon swell its proportions from a brook to a river. Six miles from where the waters of the two ponds unite, a large brook flows in from the right; ten miles further down is the grand fall, said to be well worth a trip to see. Just below another tributary comes in, and still farther down the Hancock River unites with the Pemigewasset. The middle branch has its source in the Profile Lake, north of the Franconia Notch. The west branch takes its rise in the Moosilauke Mountains.

These three branches unite at Woodstock, N. H., from which place large quantities of lumber have been floated to Lowell. Moosilauke and Hill Brooks come in below Woodstock. On Hill Brook is a remarkable fall; thirty feet before reaching the main fall, the descent is one foot in four. The main fall is forty-two feet. Mad River and two other small rivers fall into the Pemigewasset from the east near Campton. In the town of Holderness are situated Great and Little Squam Lakes, which discharge their waters through Squam River into

the Pemigewasset immediately below Bridgewater Falls. The manufacturing corporations on the Merrimack have secured the right to draw from the two lakes when the Merrimack is low. At Plymouth the Pemigewasset receives the waters of Baker's River from the west. Baker's River rises in the Moosilauke Range and is supplied from Stinson's River, the outlet of a pond by that name. Newfound Lake, in the town of Bridgewater, here discharges its waters through Newfound River, from the west, into the Pemigewasset. Newfound River is but two miles long, and is one continuous rapid. The fall in that distance is two hundred feet. The water in its lake is controlled as in Squam Lake. Smith's River comes in at Hill, and is that town's northern boundary. At Franklin the Pemigewasset and Winnipesauke unite and form the Merrimack.

Lake Winnipesauke, the source of the river of that name is something more than twenty miles in length, and is dotted over with a large number of islands, on some of them are excellent farms. This lake has no feeders of importance; Goose Pond, through its outlet, enters it at Meredith Village; Gunstock and Miles Rivers from Gilford; Merry-meeting River from Alton; and Smith's Pond, through its outlet, at Wolfboro'. The outlet of Lake Winnipesauke is called the Weirs, from the fact that the Indians here dammed the river by a netting of bark and twigs, for fishing purposes.

The Weirs is the locality of the rock on which Major Simon Willard and Edward Johnson, in 1652, two hundred and twenty-six years ago, put this inscription:

E I S W
W P JOHN
ENDICVT
GOV.

The claim of Massachusetts extended to a point three miles north of the most extreme northerly point of the Merrimack River; to substantiate and establish this claim, she sent the above-named persons as Commissioners to perambulate and define her claim. At one time the rise of the water in the lake threatened to obliterate this inscription. The Lake Company took measures to preserve it. It is called the "Endicot Rock." A cast of it has been taken and placed by J. B. Francis, Esq., in the custody of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association.

Winnipesauke River falls nearly two hundred and fifty feet, before uniting with the Pemigewasset, just below Webster's Falls in Franklin. Besides the lake, there are two large bodies of water, called bays. They form reservoirs from which Manchester, Lowell and Lawrence are supplied in a dry time. The Suncook River has its source in a pond on the summit of one of the Suncook mountains, and runs in a south-east course through Gilmanton into Barnstead, receiving there the waters of Half-moon and Brindle Ponds. Bear Brook enters the Suncook from the east, furnishing many mill sites. A short distance above the mouth of the Suncook, there is a fall ample for manufacturing purposes; on the Merrimack, just above the confluence of the Suncook, is Garvin's Falls, where the water falls perpendicularly twenty-eight feet. Contoocook River enters the Merrimack at Boscawen; its sources are on the height of land between the waters of the Connecticut and Merrimack in Rindge and Jaffrey, Cheshire County; its general direction is northeast, and it receives accessions from Warner and Blackwater Rivers in Hopkinton. Hillsboro' River unites with the Contoocook at Hillsboro', where many smaller streams swell its current. The Contoocook

is remarkable for its crooked course. Warner River, a tributary of the Contoocook River, rises in the Sunapee Mountains, and in its course receives the waters of Pleasant Pond.

The Merrimack River, from the foot of Webster's Falls at Franklin, to Garvin's Falls, four miles below Concord, is a broad, placid stream, with the exception of Sewall's Falls, near Concord. The Soucook River, which rises in Gilmanton, falls into the Merrimack from the east, at Concord. Turkey River, the outlet of Turkey Pond, enters the Merrimack from the west at Bow. Black Brook and Piscataquog River enter the Merrimack from the west near Manchester. At Amoskeag, the river falls perpendicularly fifty-four feet. Cohas River, the outlet of Massabesic Pond, enters the Merrimack from the east at Goffe's Falls in Bedford. The fall in this stream, from the pond to the river, is one hundred and twenty feet. Beaver River or Brook has its source in a pond of the same name in Londonderry, and falls into the Merrimack at Lowell below Pawtucket Falls. Bowman's Brook enters the Merrimack on the west at Bedford. Souhegan River, and its affluent, Baboosuck River, which flows through two ponds, enters the Merrimack from the west. It has its rise in several large ponds in Ashburnham, Worcester County, Massachusetts. The Nashua River has its source in the Wachusett Mountain in Massachusetts; and enters the Merrimack at Nashua; its fountain heads are numerous; it is supplied by the Still River one of its branches, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, and the Nisitissit at Hollis, N. H. Pennichuck and Salmon Brooks enter the Merrimack, the first above, and the latter below Nashua. The Salmon Brook has its rise in Groton, Mass.; the Pennichuck in a

pond of the same name. Black and Deep Brooks are tributaries of the Merrimack, Deep above and Black below North Chelmsford. Stony Brook unites with the Merrimack at North Chelmsford; it has its rise in Groton. Concord River unites with the Merrimack at Lowell. One of its branches rises in a pond in Westboro', the other in Hopkinton; its extreme length is about fifty miles. River Meadow, or Hale's Brook has its rise in Heart Pond in Carlisle, and enters the Concord at Lowell. The whole length of the Merrimack from its source to the mouth at Newburyport, is two hundred and sixty miles. The fall from Lake Winnipesauke to Haverhill, at the head of tidewater, is four hundred and fifty-two feet.

In 1603 the French monarch, Henry of Navarre, granted to Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Monts, a patent for the entire territory from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude. The next year, 1604, de Monts, accompanied by Samuel Champlain de Brouage, sailed from France, to take possession of the territory and landed on the island of St. Croix (Neutral Island) in Passamaquoddy Bay. Here they passed the winter. The next summer, 1605, having built a pinnace of fifteen tons, he resolved to seek a warmer climate, and, in company with Champlain, the chronicler of the voyage, Champdore, the master, and a crew of twenty sailors and soldiers, they skirted the coast of Maine. They were piloted by an Indian, Panonnias, who was accompanied by his newly-married squaw. On the 17th of July, 1605, he entered a bay (which he called Ipswitch), and discovered the mouth of the Merrimack. He named it Gua's River; but the Indian name being better known has been retained.

VARIOUS ORTHOGRAPHY FOR WINNEPISSIOGEE AND MERRIMACK.

From investigation, J. B. Francis, Esq., gives twenty variations in the manner of spelling the name of our noble river Merrimack, which are given below. He says Monomack means *sturgeon;* that the first mill erected by the Merrimack Company was surmounted by the figure of that fish for a vane. He protests against the practice of discarding the *k* in writing the word, as King Charles sanctioned the use of that letter in making the original grant.

Winipasekek.	Winnepesocket.	Winnipesockee.
Winipesioke.	Winnepesseokeege.	Winnepicioket.
Winnapuscakit.	Winnepisseogee.*	Winnipissaukee.*
Winnapusseakit.	Winnipaseket.	Winnipisseogee.*

Malamake.	Merramack.	Merrimak.
Maremake.	Merramacke.	Merrimeck.
Meremack.	Merremacke.	Merrymacke.
Meremacke.	Merremeck..	Monnomacke.
Meremak.	Merrimac.*	Monomack.
Merimacke.	Merrimach.	Monumach.
Mermak.	Merrimack.*	

Aquedahtau (Weirs).—*Records of Massachusetts Bay, 1652.*
Aquedocktau (Weirs).—*History of Concord.*

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* Modern.

GREATEST HEIGHTS OF WATER ABOVE TOP OF PAWTUCKET DAM, EXTRACTED FROM RECORDS KEPT AT THE GUARD GATES OF THE NORTHERN CANAL.

Year.	Greatest Height in March, April and May.			Greatest Height in the other nine months.		
	Date.	Feet.	Inches.	Date.	Feet.	Inches.
1848	May 4.	4	11½	November 7.	4	6
1849	April 1.	5	10	November 11.	8	7½
1850	May 1.	8	8½	July 21.	4	9
1851	April 18.	4	1	November 1.	5	7
1852	April 22.	13	7	November 28.	5	0¼
1853	May 28.	6	4	February 8.	6	11
1854	May 2.	8	0	November 27.	5	5
1855	April 21.	7	0	October 4.	5	8
1856	April 10.	4	6½	August 8.	5	3
1857	April 16.	8	1	October 28.	6	3½
1858	April 26.	3	10	September 18.	5	8
1859	March 20.	10	3	June 19 and 23.	3	9
1860	March 4.	4	0	November 25.	5	1
1861	April 15.	6	11	November 5.	4	11
1862	April 20.	10	5	November 23.	4	0
1863	April 18.	9	0	November 19.	6	7
1864	March 8.	7	4	November 23.	3	8
1865	March 19.	10	6	November 5.	3	2
1866	April 26.	4	0½	November 18.	5	3½
1867	April 18.	6	0	August 18.	5	9
1868	May 25.	6	4	September 27.	4	11¾
1869	April 23.	7	6	October 6.	10	0
1870	April 21.	12	8¼	January 4.	6	11
1871	May 7.	5	5	November 17.	5	9
1872	April 12.	6	0	August 19.	4	9
1873	April 13,	5	5½	October 22.	6	3
1874	May 23.	5	0	January 10.	6	10
1875	April 6.	5	8	November 1.	4	2½
1876	March 30, and April 16 and 17.	5	8	January 4.	3	8
1877	March 29.	7	8	November 11.	5	1
1878	May 1.	7	0	December 12.	10	8½
1879	May 2.	5	11			
1880	April 6.	4	7½			
1881	May 18.	4	9			

Copied from Records of Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, Lowell, December, 1881.

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VOL. IV, No. 4

Horatio Wood

CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

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"'*Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours.*"—YOUNG.

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XXIV. Brief Biographical Notices of the Prominent Citizens of the Town of Lowell—1826 to 1836, by C. C. Chase, read Nov. 4, 1890.

WHEN the work of establishing the great manufactories of Lowell was begun by the Merrimack Company, in 1822, three farms occupied the grounds upon which now stand the most important structures of our city. The Cheever farm, situated in the bend of the Merrimack River above the Merrimack Corporation, and occupying, probably, all of the site of the Lawrence and Tremont & Suffolk Mills, with its woodland in the vicinity of Tilden Street and a large pasture beside the river. The farm house of Mr. Cheever is no longer standing, but its place is marked by a willow tree on Cheever Street. Next came the Fletcher farm, where now are the Merrimack and Boott Mills, and perhaps part of the Massachusetts Mills. The house of Mr. Fletcher was not far from the corner of Merrimack and John Streets. Third was the farm of Nathan Tyler, on which stand the Prescott and probably part of the Massachusetts Mills. Mr. Tyler's orchard was in the vicinity of Prescott Street and his dwelling house a short distance north of the Prescott Mills and on the north side of Merrimack Street. So rapidly did this new village (known then as East Chelmsford) grow, and so great was the inconvenience of transacting all town business at Chelmsford Centre, four miles away, and so little community of interest existed between the staid old farming town and the young

and vigorous manufacturing village, that in the beginning of 1826, the population being now about twenty-five hundred, measures were taken to procure from the legislature of Massachusetts a town charter. In preparing the charter the last thing to be decided upon was the name of the new town. For this a blank was left in the document to be filled at the last moment by Mr. Boott, who seems to have been the controlling actor in the work of obtaining a charter. Two names in Mr. Boott's mind presented claims for the honor, first that of "Lowell" in honor of Francis Cabot Lowell who, though he had died years before, had been the "informing soul" of the great enterprise of introducing the manufacture of cotton in America, and second that of "Derby," a town in England endeared to Mr. Boott by the associations of his boyhood. When Nathan Appleton asked Mr. Boott by what name the blank should be filled, and Mr. Boott had said: Either "Lowell" or "Derby," Mr. Appleton promptly replied: "Then 'Lowell' by all means." And "Lowell" it was.

The charter was granted, the act of incorporation being signed on March 1, 1826, by Levi Lincoln, Governor of Massachusetts, Nathan Silsbee, President of the Senate, and Edward D. Bangs, Secretary of the Commonwealth. On the next day, March 2, Joseph Locke, an attorney-at-law in Billerica, who seven years afterwards came to Lowell and became the first judge of the police court of Lowell, issued a warrant to Kirk Boott authorizing him to call a town meeting of legal voters to choose town officers, etc., etc., the meeting to be held March 6, at Balch & Coburn's tavern, now known as the "Stone House," and late residence of J. C. Ayer. At the meeting on March 6, Kirk Boott was chosen moderator and Samuel A. Coburn town clerk. The board of select-

men elected were Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Batchelder and O. M. Whipple. Artemas Holden was elected treasurer, and Luther Marshall constable. About four weeks afterwards, April 3, another town meeting was held in the hall of the Merrimack House, at which Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, Samuel Batchelder and John O. Green were elected first school committee of the town. This was also the day of the State election, and the vote of the town stood: Levi Lincoln, whig, 93; James Lloyd, democratic, 53; Samuel Hubbard, 14. It may here be remarked that while Lowell was a town it uniformly gave a whig majority at State elections, though this majority constantly diminished. Levi Lincoln was Governor during the first eight years of Lowell's township.

Having now given the various steps by which Lowell became an incorporated town I come to the main purpose of presenting this article, which is in a familiar and informal way to record for future reference, what I have been able, after considerable inquiry and investigation, to learn of the men who held the offices and took prominent parts in the affairs of the town. This record, though now perhaps, of little apparent value, will, when those who remember the early days and early men of our city, have all passed away, be read with interest when found in the volumes of the "Contributions" of our association. In performing my task, I shall give little space to those men whose biographies have already been published in these volumes.

John Locke of Billerica, who issued the warrant for the call of the first town meeting, was born in Fitzwilliam, N. H., in 1772, graduated from Dartmouth College at the age of twenty-five years, began the practice of law in Billerica in 1801, came to Lowell in 1833,

after a practice of thirty-two years in Billerica. Upon coming to Lowell he became first judge of our police court. This office he held thirteen years. He represented Billerica eight times and Lowell once (1849) in the legislature of Massachusetts. He was once a Presidential Elector, and once a member of the Governor's Council. He died in 1853, at the age of eighty-one years, and seven years after resigning his office as judge of the police court. This association has published in the first volume of its "Contributions" a notice of Judge Locke, written by John A. Knowles.

The life and character of Kirk Boott are so fully delineated in the articles prepared by Alfred Gilman, Esq., Rev. Dr. Edson and James B. Francis, Esq., in the first, second and third volumes of our "Contributions," that I need only add here that Mr. Boott took a very active and efficient part in the affairs of the township of Lowell. He was moderator of the first and subsequent town meetings. He represented the town in the legislature, and his name frequently appears in the records of the town. He was a natural leader of men, and his services in the Peninsular campaign under the Duke of Wellington had admirably fitted him for his position as first agent of the Merrimack Company — a position in which he entered upon a path untrodden before. He had no predecessor. Derby, an old English town, about fifty miles south-east from Liverpool, is the home of the Boott family. Here lived Mr. Boott's father, before coming to Boston, and here also lived his wife before her marriage.

Lowell had but one town clerk during the ten years of its township, Samuel A. Coburn, who was also city clerk for about two years after the town became a city. The town records kept by Mr. Coburn are a

model for scribes of every degree. Mr. Coburn belonged to the Dracut family of Coburns, and many of his relatives still live in Lowell and vicinity. He was a man of fine personal presence and agreeable manners, and well adapted to the position of landlord, in which he spent most of his life. He was landlord of the "Stone House" on Pawtucket Street, and was the first to occupy it. Daniel Balch was his partner. In the *Mercury* for June 27, 1825, the partners advertise that they have taken the elegant house recently erected by Phineas Whiting, and pledged themselves that their cellars will be well stored with old wine and London porter, and their bar furnished with the best of liquors. Mr. Coburn represented the town in the legislature in 1833. He was born in Dracut, May 13, 1795. He died in Portsmouth, N. H., March 24, 1856, at the age of sixty-one years.

Artemas Holden was treasurer of Lowell during the ten years of its township. Mr. Holden was born in Townsend, Mass., Sept. 13, 1776, and died in Lowell, Aug. 8, 1863, at the age of nearly eighty-seven years. He was a cooper by trade, his shop standing near the present residence of S. G. Mack, Esq., on Pawtucket Street. His dwelling house was near the residence of Frederick Ayer, Esq. He represented the town in the legislature in 1832 and 1835. His descendants are still with us. His son, Frederick A. Holden, now seventy-eight years of age, is in the employ of the Locks and Canals Company.

The selectmen first elected by the town were Nathaniel Wright, Joshua Swan and Henry Coburn. A sketch of the life of Mr. Wright, prepared by Mr. Samuel McPhetres, has already been published by this association. He was a lawyer by profession and a very popular man

in those early days. He held almost every office in the gift of the people. He was elected as first state senator (living in Lowell) in 1834. He represented the town in the lower house in 1826, 1827 and 1828. He was four times elected on the board of selectmen of the town and twice as mayor of the city. He was born in Sterling, Mass., Feb. 13, 1785, graduated at Harvard College in 1808, and died Nov. 5, 1858, at the age of seventy-three years. His residence was on the corner of School and Pawtucket Streets.

Joshua Swan was another of the most popular men of the town. He shared with Mr. Boott the honor of being elected moderator at the town meetings. He was chosen on the board of selectmen for eight out of ten years of Lowell's township. No other citizen served as long, though Benjamin Walker held the office five years. Mr. Swan represented the town in the legislature in 1830 and 1831; was president of the Middlesex Mechanics Association. served on the board of aldermen and was county commissioner in 1848, when the court house was built. He was also on the first board of directors of the Boston & Lowell Railroad. Mr. Swan was born in Methuen and came to Lowell in 1824, and served as contractor in the Lowell Machine Shop for sixteen years. He resided on the Hale estate near Hale's Mills. He was born Jan. 10, 1788, and died Aug. 21, 1867, at the age of seventy-nine years.

Samuel Batchelder, a member of the first board of selectmen of the town, and one of the most active and efficient servants of the town of Lowell in its early days, has been made the subject of an extended biographical sketch, written by Rev. W. R. Bagnall and published by this association in the third volume of its "Contributions." He was born in Jaffrey, N. H., June 8, 1784.

He came to East Chelmsford (now Lowell) in 1825, when forty-one years of age, and after attaining a reputation as a manufacturer, he became the agent of the Hamilton Mills. He served the town on the board of selectmen and on the school board. He was a great inventor and a man of wonderful mental activity. His last years were spent in retirement in Cambridge, Mass., where he died of old age Feb. 5, 1879, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. No other of the founders of Lowell attained such longevity, while many of his compeers were cut off in early manhood, Kirk Boott at the age of forty-seven; Francis Cabot Lowell at forty-two; Warren Colburn at forty; Ezra Worthen at forty-three; Paul Moody at fifty-two; however, Nathan Appleton lived nearly eighty-two years; Dr. Edson about ninety; and Dr. J. O. Green eighty-six years.

Oliver M. Whipple, who was one of the three members of the first board of selectmen, was long one of the most enterprising and successful business men of Lowell's early days. He was for four years alderman of the city, and for three years a representative in the legislature He took a deep interest in the welfare of the city. Especially is the establishment of Lowell Cemetery indebted to Mr. Whipple's generosity and aid. It is situated mainly on land once owned by him. He was born in Weathersfield, Vt., May 8, 1794, came to Lowell in 1818, and started the extensive powder works on Concord River, long known as "Whipple's Mills." He died April 26, 1872, at the age of seventy-eight years.

Henry Coburn who was elected on the second board of selectmen (for 1827) was a prominent farmer, living on the Chelmsford road, and was the father of our well-known fellow-citizen, C. B. Coburn. He was born Dec. 16, 1780, and died Sept. 27, 1835, at the age of seventy-five years.

Capt. Artemas Young, on the board of selectmen in 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831, was born in Worcester, Mass., Aug. 13, 1785, and was a manufacturer of paper and flannel at Massic Falls. He also kept a West India goods store, first at corner of Central and Hurd Streets and then at corner of Central and Church Streets. He died April 5, 1837, at the age of fifty-one years.

James Tyler served on the board of selectmen in 1830 and 1831. James, Joseph, and William Tyler, brothers, came from Billerica to Lowell among the first to join the new enterprise. They were cousins of our well-known fellow-citizen, the late Capt. Jonathan Tyler. Before Lowell became a town James and Joseph Tyler opened an English and West India goods store on Central Street, nearly opposite the law office of George F. Richardson. Here for a considerable period the two bachelor brothers continued in trade, both of them being honored with office by the town.

Josiah Crosby was on the board of selectmen in 1832. He was a young physician and came to Lowell from Concord, N. H., at the solicitation of Samuel Batchelder. He practised in Lowell five years. He was born Feb. 1, 1794, and was one of the distinguished sons of Dr. Asa Crosby of Sandwich, N. H. Of his brothers, Nathan was judge of the police court of Lowell, Dixi was professor in the Medical School of Dartmouth College, Alpheus was the distinguished professor of Greek in Dartmouth College, and Thomas was also a professor in the same institution. Josiah Crosby was born Feb. 1, 1794, and died in Manchester, N. H., Jan. 7, 1875, at the age of eighty-one years. He was long a physician in Manchester. Fifty-four years ago I knew Dr. Asa Crosby, the venerable father of this distinguished family, and was one of those who followed him to his grave in Hanover, N. H. He died at Hanover, April 12, 1836.

Matthias Parkhurst was on the board of selectmen in 1832 and 1833. He was born in Chelmsford June 10, 1795, came to Lowell in 1823 and resided on Chapel Street. He was long engaged in the dry goods business on Central Street. He early took an active part in local affairs. He represented the town in the legislature* in 1835, was on the school board of Lowell in 1843 and 1844, and was an assessor of the city from 1842 to 1856. He died Aug. 10, 1877, at the age of eighty-two years.

Samuel C. Oliver was on the board of selectmen in 1832 and 1833. He was born in Reading, Mass., Jan. 20, 1801. He was a machinist by trade, and not far from the age of twenty-one years, having already married and having lived a short time in Waltham, came to Lowell among the earliest of those who embarked in the new manufacturing enterprise. He was employed in the machine shop and became superintendent of the department of forging. He resided on Dutton Street and was one of the most important and active members of the Worthen Street Baptist Church. He removed from the city about 1846 and died in Chicopee, Mass., Oct. 28, 1863, at the age of sixty-two years. Recently two of his daughters have presented his portrait to the city of Lowell. This portrait now adorns the walls of the common council room.

Benjamin Walker was on the board of selectmen in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836. He was born in Wilmington, Mass., June 23, 1801, and came to Lowell in 1826, where he followed the calling of butcher, living on School Street near Pawtucket Falls. After a few years of successful business he built and occupied the house on Middlesex Street, now owned by Mrs. Sidney Spalding.

* Throughout this article those who are said to have represented Lowell in the legislature, were members of the house of representatives unless the contrary is stated.

He also purchased in the vicinity a large tract of land which he cultivated for many years. Through a part of this land now runs Walker Street, which received its name from Mr. Walker. He was very active in promoting the business and educational interests of Lowell, was one of the founders of the Unitarian Church, and was, 1835, elected to the state legislature. His son and namesake is now an honored member of this association. He died in the prime of his manhood on Sept. 7, 1840, at the age of thirty-nine years.

Dr. Elisha Huntington was a member of the board of selectmen in 1833 and 1834. A sketch of his life, prepared by Mr. McPhetres, was published in the first volume of our "Contributions." Probably no citizen of Lowell has been more beloved or held more public offices. He was three times elected to the common council, three times to the board of aldermen, eight times to the office of mayor, and in 1852 was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts. He filled with grace and dignity every position to which he was called. He was born in Topsfield, Mass., April 9, 1796, and was the son of a clergyman. He died Dec. 13, 1865, at the age of nearly seventy years.

Dr. Jesse Fox was on the board of selectmen in 1834. Dr. Fox was born in Dracut, Feb. 28, 1786, and died of old age, at his residence on Third Street, Oct. 12, 1870, at the age of eighty-five years. He practised medicine in his earlier years in Middleton, but having a taste for mechanical pursuits and being an inventor by nature, he quit his profession and engaged in manufacturing in Saugus, Mass. In 1823 he came to Lowell, being invited by Thomas Hurd to aid him in his manufacturing enterprise established on the site of the present Middlesex Mills. He left Mr. Hurd after six years, and

for the last forty-one years of his life seems to have had no fixed and regular employment. His mind, however, was busy in the invention of several machines. His son, Gustavus V. Fox, distinguished himself as assistant secretary of the United States navy in the war of the rebellion.

William Livingston served on the board of selectmen in 1834, 1835 and 1836. He was born in Tewksbury, April 12, 1803, and until twenty years of age remained upon his father's farm. He came to Lowell when the work of erecting mills called for laborers, and as a common laborer took part in excavating and laying foundations. His industry and skill were soon noticed and his merits recognized. From a simple laborer he became a contractor in a small way. At length he became one of the most successful contractors in America in the work of constructing mills, canals, and railroads. He engaged in the enlargement of the Middlesex Canal, in the construction of the Indian Head and Blackstone Canals, of the Salem & Lowell and the Lowell & Lawrence Railroads, and other great works. He also built a saw mill and grist mill, and dealt in grain at his place of business on Thorndike Street. He was intensely laborious and active. It was by his excess of exhausting night work upon constructing railroads that he is supposed to have brought on the disease of his lungs, which cut short his life. He died of consumption, in Florida, March 17, 1855, at the age of fifty-two years.

William N. Owen was on the board of selectmen in 1835 and 1836. He was born in Dedham, Aug. 2, 1806, and came to Lowell in 1828, when twenty-two years of age. He was engaged in the carriage manufacture on Market Street till 1842, when he became a dealer in provisions on Merrimack near Worthen Street. In 1852 he removed to East Merrimack Street, where he died

Aug. 12, 1877, at the age of seventy-one years. He represented the city in the legislature in 1837, and was one of the oldest of the Lowell Odd Fellows.

Of John Chase who was on the board of selectmen in 1835 and 1836, I have little knowledge. He was a machinist, living at Swamp Locks, Dutton Street. He was a member of the committee of twenty-five chosen Feb. 3, 1836, to consider the expediency of establishing a city government.

James Russell, who was on the board of selectmen in 1835 and 1836, was a stone mason, much employed in putting in foundations of mills. He died of cholera, Sept. 5, 1849, aged sixty-one years. On the week of his death twenty-six persons died of cholera in Lowell.

In the selection of town officers the town of Lowell was remarkably fortunate from the fact that the great and novel enterprise of introducing manufactures on a magnificent scale by incorporated companies endowed with very large capital and supported by the wealth and intelligence of the city of Boston, had filled the new town with men of talent. The grandure of the enterprise pleased the imagination of ambitious young men just starting upon a business career and allured a large class of superior men to seek their homes and their fortunes in the rising town. This statement finds a good illustration in the character and talent of the first board of school committee selected by the town. The board consisted of Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, Samuel Batchelder and John O. Green. The "Contributions" of this association already contain the Memoirs of Dr. Edson, written by his daughter; those of Samuel Batchelder, written by Rev. W. R. Bagnall; and also the autobiography of Dr. Green, our late honored and venerable president. Of these three, therefore, I shall speak only very briefly.

Dr. Edson was born in Bridgewater, Mass., Aug. 24, 1793. In his youth he learned the trade of millwright in the service of his older brother. The pursuit of his trade was interrupted by a long period of sickness which began with a severe typhoid fever. Upon recovery he undertook the business of school teaching, and at length resolved to enter the gospel ministry. To this end he studied at Phillips Academy at Andover for two years, and entered Harvard College when he was twenty-five years of age. Upon completing his theological education he first took charge, for a brief period, of St. Matthews' Church in South Boston. From South Boston, upon the invitation of Mr. Kirk Boott, he came to Lowell under the auspices of the Merrimack Mills Company, and preached his first sermon on March 7, 1824, in the second story of a wooden building erected by the company for the purpose of a school and for religious worship. This building then stood upon the site of the Green school-house, but it is now a dwelling-house on the west side of Cabot Street, between Merrimack and Salem Streets. Dr. Edson with a firm hand, an ardent zeal and an iron will, entered upon his duties in the rising town. He became the father of the school system of Lowell, and on June 25, 1883, reached the close of a life of almost ninety years, filled with labor and crowned with usefulness.

Of Samuel Batchelder we have already spoken in this paper.

Dr. John O. Green was born in Malden, Mass., May 14, 1799, and was the son of Rev. Aaron Green, the minister of that town and a graduate of Harvard College. When only fourteen years of age he entered Harvard College. While in college he taught a winter district school in Andover with sixty-nine pupils, for $16 per

month. He was then very small and only seventeen years of age. Upon graduating he taught a Latin school in Castine, Me., with a salary of $300 per annum. Having completed his medical studies he came to Lowell on horse back on April 23, 1822, when the work upon the new manufactories was just beginning, and entered upon a practice as physician, which continued with success and honor for sixty-three years. He always took a deep interest in the welfare of Lowell and especially in its schools. When I came to Lowell, in 1845, I found the High School in the special charge of Dr. Green, and I soon learned to love and admire the man. He has ever been my beau ideal of a good school committee man. We all honor and reverence his memory as the first president of this association. He died Dec. 23, 1885, at the age of eighty-six years.

Warren Colburn was born in Dedham, Mass., March 1, 1793. When seventeen years of age he was put to work as a machinist, and afterwards learned the business of weaver. But resolving to acquire a liberal education he fitted for college at the Academy of Stoughton, Mass., and entered Harvard College when twenty-four years of age. During the years of his early studies Mr. Colburn had exhibited a decided fondness for mathematics in which he became so distinguished in future life. Upon graduating from college he taught a private school in Boston, and it was while engaged in this school that he wrote that most celebrated school-book ever published, "Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic." This work attained, both in America and in England, a wonderful popularity. In England fifty thousand copies were annually sold and two million copies had been sold as early as 1856. The secret of the great success of this book is found in the fact that it was the first common school arithmetic to

throw aside the stupid and unsatisfactory method of reaching mathematical results by applying rigid rules without reason, and to appeal directly to the reason and the intellectual powers of the pupil. The pupil was delighted to know that he could not only find his answer, but could clearly see and explain every step by which he reached it. After serving one or two years as superintendent of mills in Waltham, Mr. Colburn was invited to Lowell, in 1825, to take the place of superintendent of the Merrimack Mills, left vacant by the resignation of Paul Moody. This office he held until his death in 1833. While in Lowell he took a very deep interest in the schools of this city. He did efficient service on the school board. He delivered lectures and in various ways sought the intellectual welfare of the people of the city. He died Sept. 13, 1833, at the age of only forty years. The writer distinctly recollects the enthusiasm and pride with which, nearly fifty years ago, a citizen of Lowell spoke to him of the excellence of the primary schools of this city. The excellence of these schools is easily accounted for when we know the character of the men who instituted them.

The school committee of the town for 1827 were Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, J. O. Green, I. A. Beard, J. S. C. Knowlton, and John Cookson.

Ithamar A. Beard was born in Tewksbury, Mass., Oct. 5, 1789. He came to Lowell about 1826, having before this been the preceptor of the Academy at Littleton, Mass. In Lowell he served as paymaster of the Hamilton Company, as member of the school board and as alderman and treasurer of the city. While for several years absent from Lowell he engaged in manufacturing in Saco, Me., Brunswick, Me., and Pittsfield, N. H. He died in Lowell March 12, 1871, at the age of eighty-one years.

Rev. John Cookson was the first pastor of the First Baptist Church. He came to Lowell from Malden, Mass., and was installed as pastor Nov. 15, 1826. He held the office of pastor about one year.

The school board of 1828 were Abraham D. Merrill, William Gardner, Jr., Jonathan C. Morrill, John Johnson, Harlan Pillsbury.

Rev. A. D. Merrill was the second pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, which worshipped on Chapel Hill. He served the church only one year.

William Gardner, Jr., was a trader in Lowell. For several years prior to 1829, he advertised largely and kept a great assortment of goods in what was denominated the "Cash Store," on Central Street, near the site of the Boston & Maine Railroad station. Gardner bought out Jonathan C. Morrill. Capt. William Wyman, afterward postmaster, was one of Gardner's clerks.

Jonathan C. Morrill was one of the earliest to join the new manufacturing enterprise. He was Lowell's first postmaster, having been appointed in 1824, and having his office on Tilden Street. He took the most prominent part in establishing the First Baptist Church. He was a trader, his store being first on Tilden Street and afterward on Central Street. He was born in Amesbury, August 16, 1791, and died in Taunton, August 22, 1858, at the age of sixty-seven years.

John Johnson was a builder. He built the First Baptist Church on Church Street. In the celebrated political contest in 1828, which resulted in the first election of President Jackson, John Johnson and Capt. William Wyman were leading friends of Gen. Jackson in Lowell. Upon the election of Jackson, Johnson received (in 1829) the appointment of assistant doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. He held office in Washington several years and died there.

Dr. Harlan Pillsbury was born in Hanover, N. H., in November, 1797, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1823, began the practice of medicine in Lowell in 1827. After a long and successful practice, he spent his last few years at his summer residence in Billerica, where he died April 12, 1877, at the age of nearly eighty years.

The school board for 1829 were Harlan Pillsbury, E. W. Freeman, J. C. Morrill, William Gardner, Jr., and Rev. E. Case.

Rev. Enoch W. Freeman was the second pastor of the First Baptist Church. His mysterious death while in office, after a pastorate of seven years, was at the time the subject of a profound sensation.

The school board for 1830 were Theodore Edson, E. W. Freeman, E. Case, Elisha Bartlett, and Josiah Crosby.

Dr. Elisha Bartlett, the first mayor of Lowell, was born in Smithfield, R. I., in 1804. In 1827 he began the practice of medicine. He served the city two years as mayor. He was also representative of the city in the general court. He was a man of handsome person and attractive manners. He was a professor in various medical schools, and an eloquent, accomplished, and popular man. He was an invalid for several of his last years, and died in his native town in 1855, at the age of fifty-one years.

The school board for 1831 were Theodore Edson, Elisha Bartlett, Elisha Huntington, and William Barry.

Rev. William Barry was born in Boston, Jan. 10, 1805, and graduated at Brown University and Harvard Divinity School. He was ordained first pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Lowell, Nov. 17, 1830. He served the church five years. He was afterwards pastor

of a church in Framingham and of the Lee Street Unitarian Church in Lowell. His last years were spent in Chicago, Ill., where he died at an advanced age. In Chicago he was president of the Chicago Historical Society.

The school board of 1832 were Theodore Edson, Amos Blanchard, E. W. Freeman, Calvin Gardner, William Twining, Elisha Huntington, and Gilman Kimball.

Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., was born in Andover, Mass., March 7, 1807. After studying eight years at Phillips Academy, he entered Yale College when only fifteen years of age. He graduated from Yale Theological School when only twenty-two years of age, and in the same year (1829) he was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church of Lowell. In 1845 he became the first pastor of the Kirk Street Church of Lowell. It is doubtful if Lowell has ever had a citizen of wider range of learning. He died Jan. 14, 1870, at the age of sixty-two years.

Rev. William Twining was the first pastor of the Appleton Street (now Eliot) Church. He was in office as pastor from 1831 to 1835. He graduated from Yale College in 1825, and after leaving Lowell was for several years professor of mathematics in Wabash College, Ind.

Rev. Calvin Gardner, was the second pastor of the First Universalist Church. He filled the office of pastor only two or three years.

Dr. Gilman Kimball was born in Hill, N. H., December, 1805, and came to Lowell in December, 1830, where he still lives at the age of eighty-five years, having throughout his long medical practice, especially as a surgeon, stood in the front rank of his profession.

The school board of Lowell for 1833 were Elisha Huntington, Theodore Edson, James Barnaby, J. W.

Graves, William T. Heydock, Samuel F. Haven, and Joshua Merrill.

Rev. James Barnaby was the first pastor of the Worthen Street Baptist Church. He was in office as pastor from 1832 to 1835.

Dr. John W. Graves was born in Deerfield, N. H., Jan. 7, 1810, and came to Lowell in 1826, where he enjoyed a long and successful medical practice. He died Nov. 28, 1873, at the age of sixty-three years.

William T. Heydock, Esq., was an attorney-at-law in Lowell for about two years prior to 1835. He was a nephew of Daniel Webster and a brother of the accomplished Professor Haddock of Dartmouth College. The two brothers indulged the fancy of spelling their names differently.

Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., practiced law in Lowell for about three years prior to 1838. He graduated from Harvard College and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College. Subsequent to living in Lowell he resided in Worcester where he became secretary of the American Antiquarian Society.

Joshua Merrill was a member of the school board while acting as principal of one of our grammar schools. He was born in Milford, N. H., March 17, 1802. At twenty-five years of age he came to Lowell, where for eighteen years he was a well-known teacher. After 1845 he devoted himself to his bookstore and his farm in Centralville. He died Nov. 9, 1889, at the age of eighty-seven years.

The school board of 1834, consisted of William Austin, Theodore Edson, James Barnaby, J. W. Graves, Joshua Merrill, E. Case, and Samuel F. Haven.

Captain Austin will be noticed on a subsequent page.

The school board of 1835 consisted of Theodore Edson, John Aiken, J. W. Graves, T. B. Thayer, E. Case, and John D. Pillsbury.

John Aiken was born in Bedford, N. H., graduated from Dartmouth College in 1819, having Rufus Choate as a classmate, and practiced law in Manchester, Vt. In 1834 he became agent of the Tremont Mills in Lowell, and in 1837 agent of the Lawrence Mills. He left the latter position in 1849, and removing to Andover acted as treasurer of the Cocheco and Salmon Fall Company. He died Feb. 10, 1867.

Rev. Thomas B. Thayer was, for eighteen years, pastor of the First Universalist Church of Lowell. He accepted the office in March, 1833.

Dr. John D. Pillsbury was a son of Dr. John Pillsbury of Pembroke, N. H. He was born April 16, 1805, and came to Lowell in 1831. He practiced medicine in Lowell twenty-five years. He removed to Rochester, N. Y., in 1854, where he died in 1855 at the age of fifty years.

I come now briefly to notice the citizens who represented the town of Lowell in the legislature of Massachusetts. Ten of their number having held town offices, have already been noticed in this paper, and will need no further mention. These ten representatives are Nathaniel Wright, 1826–27–28; Elisha Ford, 1828; Kirk Boott, 1830–31–34–35; Joshua Swan, 1830–31; Artemas Holden, 1832–35; O. M. Whipple, 1832–34–35; S. A. Coburn, 1833; Jesse Fox, 1833; Matthias Parkhurst, 1835; Benjamin Walker, 1835.

John Paul Robinson was senator from Lowell in 1835, and representative in 1829–30–33–42. He and Nathaniel Wright were the only senators elected from Lowell during its township of ten years. Mr. Robinson

was born in Dover, N. H., March 16, 1800, and died at McLean Asylum, Somerville, Oct. 20, 1864, at the age of sixty-four years. He studied at the Exeter Academy and graduated from Harvard in 1823. Having studied law in the office of Daniel Webster, he entered upon its practice in Lowell in 1827. He married the daughter of Ezra Worthen, first superintendent of the Merrimack Mills. He represented Lowell five times in the general court of Massachusetts, and gained a very high reputation as an orator and a classical scholar. Especially did he excel in his knowledge of the Greek language. His intemperate habits, however, beclouded his bright intellect. His last years were years of enfeebled health and erratic political courses. He had been a life-long whig, but his course in opposing the re-election of Governor Briggs in 1846, when the Mexican War threatened, and advocating that of Gen. Caleb Cushing, attracted a very wide notice and was the subject of much surprise. It was this course that drew forth, in the "Bigelow Papers," the popular stanzas of James Russell Lowell, the exquisite humor of which will long survive:

Guverner B. is a sensible man;
He stays to his house and looks arter his folks;
He draws his furrer ez straight ez he can
An' into nobody's tater-patch pokes:—
But John P.
Robinson he
Sez he wunt go for Guverner B.

Gineral C. he goes in fer the war,
He don't vally principle more'n an old cud;
Wut did God make us raytional creatures fer
But glory and gunpowder, plunder an' blood?
So John P.
Robinson he
Sez he shall go fer Gineral C.

Elisha Ford represented the town in the legislature in 1828. He was a son of Capt. John Ford, a captain of

a company of Chelmsford men in the Revolutionary War, who participated in the capture of Ticonderoga. The house erected by Captain Ford is still standing on Pawtucket Street, near School Street. In this house Elisha Ford was born in October, 1778. He became a surveyor or civil engineer and took part in the construction of the Pawtucket Bridge. Many of his last years were spent in the service of the Locks and Canals Company in charge of the works of the company at Pawtucket Falls. He died May 2, 1855, at the age of seventy-six years.

John Stocker Coffin Knowlton represented Lowell in the general court in 1829–31. He also served on the Lowell school board. Neither the first nor the last of his life was passed in Lowell. He was born in Hopkinton, N. H., Dec. 11, 1801, and died in Worcester, July 1, 1871, at the age of seventy years. He graduated from Dartmouth College. He resided in Lowell from about 1825 to 1831, being thirty years old when he removed from Lowell to Worcester. In 1825, the year before Lowell became a town, he was proprietor of *The Phenix*, a new paper published in East Chelmsford (now Lowell). The name of the paper was changed to *The Journal* when Lowell became a town, and Mr. Knowlton continued its editor till Aug. 6, 1831, when he went to Worcester and started *The Worcester Palladium*. He was elected to the office of high sheriff of Worcester County in 1856.

Eliphalet Case represented Lowell in the legislature in 1831. A sketch of his life appears in the "Contributions" of this Association already published, among the lives of the Lowell postmasters. He was born in Vermont, in July, 1796; spent his youth in Athens, Ohio; was settled as the first pastor of the First Universalist

Church in Lowell in 1828; was for eight years postmaster of Lowell; and was editor of several democratic papers in Lowell, Portland, Me., and Cincinnati, Ohio. He spent his last years on his farm in Patriot, Ind., where he lost his property and died Dec. 14, 1862, at the age of sixty-six years.

Ebenezer Appleton represented the town of Lowell in the legislature in 1832. He was a brother of Hon. Nathan Appleton, and was appointed treasurer of the Hamilton Mills in February, 1830. Unlike most treasurers of the mills he resided in Lowell. He came to Lowell in order to aid Samuel Batchelder, the overworked agent of the Hamilton Mills. He was born in Ipswich, N. H., June 7, 1784, and died in Lowell, April 29, 1833, at the age of forty-nine years.

Seth Ames represented the town in the legislature in 1832. He was a son of the celebrated Fisher Ames, whose residence was in Dedham, Mass. Mr. Ames graduated from Harvard in 1825, and practiced law in Lowell for many years. About 1851 he left Lowell, residing in Brookline during his last years, and holding the office of Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He was born in Dedham, Mass., April 19, 1805, and died in Brookline, Aug. 15, 1881, at the age of seventy-six years.

Maynard Bragg was a representative of Lowell in the general court in 1832. He was a machinist by trade and was employed in the Machine Shop. At one time he was a shoe manufacturer in Milford, Mass. He was born in Milford, Jan. 16, 1797, and died in Lowell, Jan. 30, 1868, at the age of seventy-one years.

Dea. William Davidson represented the town in the legislature in 1832 and 1835. He was born in Windham, N. H., Jan. 26, 1790. His father, John Davidson, was born on the Zadock Rogers farm about 1754, and hav-

ing at the age of two years removed, he returned after an absence of seventy-nine years and died in October, 1835. William Davidson was a carpenter by trade, and was one of the earliest to engage in the new manufacturing enterprise. He was especially prominent in starting and sustaining religious meetings for conference and prayer among the early operatives. While most of the leading men of the new enterprise attended the Episcopal services under Dr. Edson, there was a large class of workmen and operatives who had been nursed among Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists. This class united in holding devotional meetings in private houses. As Jonathan C. Morrill, the first Lowell postmaster, was a leader among the Baptists in this kind of religious work, so was William Davidson the leader of the Congregationalists. Out of this primary work in Lowell's earliest years, sprang the First Congregational Church, the First Baptist Church, and St. Paul's Methodist Church. The First Congregational Church was formed in William Davidson's house, and he was one of its first two deacons. He continued in very active service in this church as deacon for thirty-three years. For several years he kept a dry goods store on Merrimack Street. Meantime he acted as treasurer of the church. He also was the first treasurer of the city of Lowell, holding the office from 1836 to 1843. He left the city in 1859, and died at Springfield, Vt., on Jan. 22, 1864, at the age of nearly seventy-four years.

Willard Guild was a representative from Lowell in the general court in 1832. He was born in Marlborough, N. H., Feb. 8, 1798, and died in Greggsville, Ill., Feb. 20, 1865, at the age of sixty-seven years. He was a machinist, living at one time on Lowell Street. He was deacon of the First Congregational Church in 1831–32.

Cyril French represented Lowell in the legislature in 1833. He came to Lowell from Waltham in 1824, and worked in the Machine Shop as contractor. He acquired property, and was entrusted with office, having been elected not only to the general court but to both branches of the city government. He was born in Rehoboth, Mass., March 30, 1790, and died in Lowell, May 15, 1864, at the age of seventy-four years.

Simon Adams represented Lowell in the legislature in 1833. He was born in Carlisle, Nov. 4, 1796, and died in Lowell, Sept. 8, 1847, at the age of fifty-one years. He was a brother of the late Joel Adams, president of the Prescott Bank. He came early to Lowell and at one time engaged in trade, but feeble health early impaired his ability to perform active labors.

Jacob Robbins represented Lowell in the legislature in 1833. A sketch of his life has already been published by this Association in the history of "Lowell Post Office." He was born in Harvard, Mass., Oct. 29, 1798, came to Lowell in 1828, and kept a drug store on the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. He was succeeded in 1844 by Dr. J. C. Ayer who had been a clerk in the store. He served on the Lowell school board for several years, was a clerk in the Custom House in Boston, and also for several years a director of the Lowell Mutual Fire Insurance Company. He died at his home in East Merrimack Street, May 8, 1885, at the age of nearly eighty-seven years.

John Lane Sheafe represented Lowell in the general court in 1833 and 1836. He was born in Portsmouth, N. H., Nov. 28, 1791, and died in New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1864, at the age of seventy-three years. During his brief residence in Lowell he occupied a prominent position and gained the reputation of a lawyer of talent.

Royal Southwick represented Lowell in the legislature in 1833 and 1836. He was born in Uxbridge, Mass., Sept. 9, 1785, and died in Boston, Sept. 23, 1875, at the age of ninety years. He came with Alexander Wright from Medway to Lowell in 1829, and engaged in the manufacture of carpets in the Lowell Company's mills. He acquired wealth by manufacturing and other operations in Lowell. He was an ardent Henry Clay whig. He was in the Lowell common council in 1841, and in the state senate in 1844 and 1845, and was for several years president of the Merchants Bank of Lowell. He left Lowell to reside in Boston in 1859.

Joseph Tyler represented Lowell in the general court in 1833 and 1835. What I know of him has already been mainly given in this article in connection with the notice of his brother, James Tyler. Mr. Tillinghast, of the Massachusetts State Library, informs me that he was born in Chelmsford and died in Lowell.

Jonathan Spalding represented Lowell in the legislature in 1833. He was born is East Chelmsford, now Lowell, June 12, 1775. He was born a British subject, and only five days before the battle of Bunker Hill. His grandfather, Col. Simon Spalding, represented Chelmsford in the general court of Massachusetts during the Revolutionary War, and was a member of the provincial congress. His father, Joel Spalding, owned and lived upon the farm in East Chelmsford on which his son Jonathan lived and died. The old farm-house still stands on Pawtucket Street near School, and was the home of the late Dr. Joel Spalding, the son of Jonathan Spalding, who died April 17, 1864, at the age of nearly eighty-nine years. At the time of his death he was probably the oldest citizen of Lowell who was born within the precincts of the city.

Samuel Howard represented Lowell in the general court in 1833. He was born in Temple, N. H., March 4, 1803. He was a mason by trade, and many of the factories and houses of Lowell were constructed by him. He died in Richwood, Mo., July 18, 1844, at the age of forty-one years.

James Chandler represented Lowell in the legislature in 1834–35–36. He was born in New Ipswich, N. H., May 16, 1796, and died at New Ipswich, Jan. 3, 1879, at the age of eighty-three years. He was a machinist by trade and was employed in the Machine Shop. He was a brother of Rev. Mr. Chandler, Unitarian clergyman in Shirley, Mass. He was a very ardent supporter of Henry Clay.

Osgood Dane represented Lowell in the legislature in 1834. He was a blacksmith with his place of business on School Street, his house being also on School Street. He was in the common council in 1836.

Jesse Phelps represented the town of Lowell in the general court in 1834. He was an overseer in the Merrimack Mills and was a leading Free Mason. It was at his house on the Merrimack corporation that Pentucket Lodge, under its renewed charter, held its first meeting, Sept. 16, 1845. He was born in Lancaster, Dec. 21, 1800, and died in Lowell, Sept. 29, 1847, at the age of forty-seven years.

Alpheus Smith represented the town in 1835. Upon the completion of the town house (now the city government building), he opened in that building a hardware store in 1830. The late Samuel Burbank became his partner in the business about 1832.

Abner W. Buttrick represented Lowell in the legislature in 1835. He was born in Stetson, Me., June 24, 1809, and came to Lowell in 1828, at the age of nineteen

or twenty years. For twenty-nine years he traded in groceries on Market Street. The firm of Buttrick & Co. held an honorable position among the first mercantile firms of Lowell. Mr. Buttrick was a director of the Appleton Bank and of the Lowell & Lawrence Railroad. He was alderman in 1867, and died while holding this office of alderman, June 29, 1867, at the age of fifty-eight years.

Col. John Mixer was a representative of Lowell in the general court in 1835. He was born in Lexington, Mass., Oct. 24, 1802, and died in Boston, Dec. 7, 1881, at the age of seventy-nine years. On coming to Lowell he engaged first in the carriage and harness business. Subsequently he dealt in oils, having at one period C. B. Coburn as partner. He was a member of the common council in 1836 and 1838, and alderman in 1850.

Capt. William W. Wyman represented the town in the legislature in 1835 and 1836. This Association has already published a notice of Mr. Wyman in the history of Lowell post office. He was born in West Roxbury, Feb. 10, 1782, and died in Lowell, Aug. 6, 1864, at the age of eighty-two years. He was an ardent admirer of President Jackson, by whom he was appointed, in 1829, second postmaster of Lowell. His farm covered the highlands of Belvidere. He was a visionary but very enterprising man. By him were erected many of the buildings of the city, and from him Wyman's Exchange received its name.

John A. Knowles, Esq., represented Lowell in the legislature in 1835. His life, prepared by J. K. Fellows, has been published by this Association. He was born in Pembroke, N. H., April 25, 1800, and died in Lowell, July 25, 1884, at the age of eighty-four years. He had an extensive law practice in Lowell and was president of

the Appleton Bank, member of the school committee, and senator in the general court. He was for many years honored as the senior deacon of the Unitarian Church.

Although Lowell became a city in March, 1836, the representation of Lowell in the general court of Massachusetts for 1836 were representatives of the town, having been elected Nov. 9, 1835. Since 1831 the general court has convened in January instead of May, as in former times. In 1836 Lowell sent seventeen representatives to the lower house. In 1890, with about four times as large a population, it sends about one-third as many representatives.

Following is a brief notice of the representatives for 1836, not before mentioned:

Capt. William Austin was the first agent of the Lawrence Company, having been appointed in 1830. Before coming to Lowell he had been warden of the state prison at Charlestown. Formerly he had followed the seas, and hence probably his title of "Captain."

A. Waldo Fisher was a job-taker, or contractor, at the Machine Shop. He was among the earliest to join the new manufacturing enterprise. He was a very prominent Free Mason. He was born in Killingly, Ct., July 16, 1794, and died at his residence on Gorham Street, June 23, 1864, at the age of nearly seventy years.

Horatio W. Hastings was a dealer in West India goods at the town house, now city government building, and afterwards on Central Street. He left Lowell prior to 1840.

Aaron Mansur was born in Temple, N. H., March 7, 1776. His father, William Mansur, a farmer, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and did service at Ticonderoga and Saratoga. Aaron Mansur was for many

years one of the most prominent merchants in this city. He died June 24, 1859, at the age of eighty-three years.

Sidney Spalding was born in East Chelmsford (now Lowell), Nov. 14, 1798, in the farm-house of his father still standing on the corner of School and Liberty Streets. He spent most of his life in Lowell, and dealt largely in real estate. He was president of the Lowell & Lawrence Railroad and a member of both branches of the city government. He was four years in the legislature. He died Sept. 3, 1871, at the age of seventy-three years.

Capt. J. M. Marston was born in Brentwood, N. H., Dec. 21, 1806, came to Lowell in 1827, and engaged in the liquor trade when that trade was looked upon as more honorable than it now is. He was a man of stalwart frame and generous impulses. He died of pleurisy at his residence on Anne Street, March 17, 1857, at the age of fifty-one years.

Stephen Mansur, who as mayor of Lowell in 1857, has already been noticed in the publications of this Association, was born in Temple, N. H., Aug. 25, 1799, and came to Lowell in 1822 when the first mills were being started. He was long a dealer in hardware and crockery on Central Street, and was one of Lowell's leading citizens, having been a member of both branches of the city government and having held many offices of trust and honor. He died in Lowell, April, 1, 1863, at the age of nearly sixty-four years.

Jonathan Tyler was born in East Chelmsford (now Lowell), Jan. 17, 1790. His father, Nathan Tyler, was the owner of a farm which is now the site of much of the business part of Lowell. His father erected the house near the corner of Bridge and Merrimack Streets, known as the Mansion House, which was kept as a hotel by Jonathan Tyler. Mr. Tyler dealt largely in real estate

and acquired wealth. He was alderman in 1840. He died Oct. 14, 1877, at the age of eighty-seven years.

Josiah B. French is noticed among the mayors of Lowell in the "Contributions" of this Association. He was born in Billerica, Mass., Dec. 13, 1799, and came to Lowell in 1824. Throughout life he took an active part in public affairs. He was an assessor, a deputy sheriff, a collector of taxes, a bank president, a member of the common council and board of aldermen, and mayor of the city in 1849 and 1850. Much of his life was devoted to staging and constructing railroads. He died Aug. 21, 1876, at the age of seventy-six years.

Samuel Hale Mann was born in Orford, N. H., May 25, 1801, and died in Charlestown, Oct. 30, 1838, at the age of thirty-seven years. In the early days of Lowell, prior to 1839, he was a prominent attorney-at-law, having his office at Tower's Corner. He was distinguished as a criminal lawyer. It is said to have been by his advice that William Kittredge brought to Lowell for sale the first load of anthracite coal, and that in his office it was first burned as fuel.

Erasmus D. Leavitt was born in Cornish, N. H., Dec. 20, 1808, and died in Cambridgeport, Mass., Sept. 29, 1888, at the age of nearly eighty years. In 1834 he kept a hat store in Tyler's Block on Central Street, in 1835 a hat and cap store on the corner of Central and Merrimack Streets, and afterwards at the corner of Central and Lowell (now Market) Streets. He manufactured caps in 1842 and afterwards. He left Lowell to reside in Cambridgeport in 1870. Many of his last years were spent in retirement from business on account of his ill health. Three of his sons were clergymen.

Alexander Wright was born in Paisley, Scotland, May 5, 1800. On coming to America he established the

manufacture of carpets in Medway, Mass. His skill and success in business gained for him, in 1828, the appointment as first agent of the Lowell Company's mills in Lowell. This office he held until his death, June 8, 1852, at the age of fifty-two years.

It is worthy of record that the town of Lowell in 1833, when its population was probably not far from twelve thousand, had eighteen attorneys-at-law. These were Elisha Glidden, John P. Robinson, J. L. Sheafe, Seth Ames, S. H. Mann, S. F. Haven, Wm. T. Heydock, Joseph Locke, John R. Adams, Elisha Fuller, Wm. Hilliard, Jr., Francis Hilliard, Isaac O. Barnes, B. Streeter, Francis E. Bond, Horatio Merriam, Edward R. Olcott, and John M. Wilson. The first eight have been already noticed in the "Contributions" of this Association. Of the others John R. Adams was born in North Chelmsford, Dec. 7, 1798, and graduated from Harvard College in 1818, and studied and practiced law in Lowell. He was the uncle of Daniel S. Richardson and George F. Richardson of the Lowell bar. With the expectation that the business of Lowell would centre upon Lowell Street, he early erected Adams Block, corner of Lowell and Salem Streets, and there located his law office. He was once the owner of *The Lowell Journal*. He died in North Chelmsford, June 16, 1848, at the age of fifty years.

Isaac O. Barnes, after practicing law a short time in Lowell, received the appointment of United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts, and removed to Boston. He afterwards was appointed pension agent. He was remarkable for his buoyant good-nature and ready wit, and many anecdotes are told of him. Once when very sick he told his doctor he had not long to live. To which his doctor replied: "Mr. Barnes, your feet are

warm and no man ever died with warm feet." "That is not true," said Mr. Barnes, "for John Rogers died with warm feet."

Elisha Fuller was a brother-in-law of the late Dr. John W. Graves. Fuller's failure to honor notes upon which he had obtained Dr. Graves' name very seriously embarrassed Dr. Graves and tarnished the good name of Mr. Fuller. Mr. Fuller removed to Worcester where he died.

B. Streeter was a brother of the celebrated Universalist clergyman, Sebastian Streeter, and uncle of the editor of *The Lowell Courier*, familiarly known as Corporal Streeter. He studied for the ministry, but eventually devoted himself to the law. He left Lowell for the state of Maine where he died.

Horatio Merriam came from Tewksbury, where he owned a farm. The anecdote is told of him that on one occasion in trying a case in court with Samuel H. Mann as his opponent, Mr. Merriam adorned his plea with the following misquotation from Shakspeare: "Who steals my good name steals trash." "That is a fact," shouted Mr. Mann.

XXV. Capt. John Ford, by C. C. Chase. Read Feb. 4, 1891.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, in 1775, there were in Chelmsford five men who deserve an honorable historical record. Two of these men belonged to that part of the town which is now a portion of the city of Lowell. These five men were Col. Simeon Spalding, Col. Ebenezer Bridge, Lieut.-Col. Moses Parker, Benjamin Pierce, and Capt. John Ford. This article, after a brief notice of the first four, will be devoted to the history of Capt. John Ford.

Col. Simeon Spalding was a descendant of one of the early settlers of Chelmsford, and lived near the centre of the town. In the years just preceding the war he represented the town in the legislature, and during the entire period of the war he remained the trusted and honored representative of the town. He was also a member of the two provincial congresses held in Cambridge and Watertown. In civil matters he was doubtless the first and most influential citizen of Chelmsford in the great crisis of the Revolution. It was at his house that the meetings of the Pentucket Lodge of Free Masons were held in the early days of the City of Lowell.

Col. Ebenezer Bridge was the son of Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, pastor of the church in Chelmsford, and was born April 29, 1744, and graduated from the University at Cambridge when twenty years of age. After spending a year or more in teaching a public school in Worcester, he engaged in mercantile business in Billerica. In 1775,

the first year of the war, he was chosen Colonel of the 27th regiment of Minute Men, and was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, where he received two slight wounds from a sword. During the war he was chosen registrar of deeds of Middlesex County. For nineteen successive years (1781 to 1800), he served as senator in the Massachusetts legislature, and for twenty-five years (1783 to 1808) he was treasurer of Middlesex County. He died in Hardwick, N. Y., Feb. 9, 1814, at the age of seventy years. Though Colonel Bridge commanded the Minute Men in the early days of the war, it appears that he soon returned to civil life, in which his career was highly honorable.

Lieut.-Col. Moses Parker of the 27th regiment of Minute Men, of which Ebenezer Bridge was Colonel and John Brooks, afterwards Governor Brooks, was Major, was a soldier, remarkable for his bravery and for his life-long love of military pursuits. First he was commissioned lieutenant in Capt. Jonathan Butterfield's company, raised in the French and Indian War for the invasion of Canada. In 1759 he was promoted as captain. and in 1760 commanded a company at Fort Frederick, St. John's. So dauntless and skilful an officer was he that Colonels Thwing and Arbuthnot protested to Governor Bernard that they would not enter upon the campaign of 1761 without him. When the Revolutionary War broke out he was just the man for the crisis. As Lieutenant-Colonel of Bridge's regiment he engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, where he was wounded by a ball which fractured his knee. He was by the British carried to Boston, where his leg was amputated and where he died of his wound in prison on July 4th, just one year before the Declaration of Independence. Though Gen. Joseph Warren has left a more illustrious name,

there did not fall on Bunker Hill a braver soldier than Lieut.-Col. Moses Parker of Chelmsford.

Benjamin Pierce, on the morning of the battles of Lexington and Concord, was ploughing in the field of his uncle, Robert Pierce, near Powell Street, now a part of Lowell, and heard the firing of the guns. He was then in his eighteenth year, and his father having died he was in the service of his uncle. He started on foot for Concord, taking with him his uncle's gun and equipments. Before his arrival the British had retreated, but young Pierce went forward by night to Cambridge, where he enlisted in Captain Ford's company of Colonel Bridge's regiment, of which we shall soon speak. He was in the battle of Bunker Hill, and continued in service during the war, belonging to the regiment of Col. John Brooks, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. His regiment took part in many hard-fought battles, especially the battles preceding the surrender of Burgoyne, in 1777. On leaving the army at the close of the war, he had risen to the office of Captain with a noble record for bravery, and in after years was promoted to the position of Brigadier-General. In 1786 he went to Hillsborough, N. H., where he had purchased fifty acres of wild land and, living alone in his log hut, he proceeded to clear the forest from his farm. From this small beginning, being a man of remarkable talent and energy, he rose to be Governor of the State of New Hampshire. He was the father of Gen. Franklin Pierce, President of the United States. He was an ardent democrat, and filled almost every civil office in the gift of the people. He died at Hillsborough, April 1, 1839, at the age of eighty-one years.

Capt. John Ford, the subject of this sketch and the fifth of the Chelmsford men most distinguished in the

Revolutionary War, was born in Haverhill, Mass., Nov. 6, 1738, and was a son of Robert Ford of that town. It is probable that Robert Ford, the father, was inured to a soldier's life, for in Chase's History of Haverhill we find that in 1725, thirteen years before the birth of John Ford, one Robert Ford heads the list of a company of scouts called "Centinels," under Ensign Moses Huzzen, whose perilous duty it was to search in the woods about the town for the Indians, who lurked in the vicinity in the time of the French and Indian wars, for the purpose of murdering the inhabitants. This was the year which followed the celebrated "Lovewell's Fight" with the Indians. This Robert Ford is doubtless identical with Robert Ford, the father of Capt. John Ford.

Captain Ford, on coming to East Chelmsford (now Lowell), settled near Pawtucket Falls, where he spent a long and honorable life. The house which he built, though probably not that in which he first lived, is still standing. It is known as No. 179 Pawtucket Street and is the residence of William D. Earl, Esq., whose wife was the great-granddaughter of Capt. Ford. On the same premises is the residence of Henry A. Lambert, Esq., whose wife is also the great-granddaughter of Captain Ford.

Before the Revolutionary War, Captain Ford was engaged in a large range of business. He owned a saw-mill at the foot of Pawtucket Falls, near the mouth of the Concord River, and his account-book shows that he dealt largely in planks, boards and other kinds of lumber. He also kept a store, furnished with a great variety of West India and other goods. From 1771 to 1782 he sold a very great amount of lumber to Timothy Brown, who built and occupied as a tavern the celebrated "Old Yellow House" in Belvidere.

Captain Ford was a man of superior talent and marked character. He was very tall and had a florid complexion. His grandson, Horatio G. F. Corliss, long a well-known lawyer in Lowell, who died in 1870, at the age of sixty-four years, is said to have resembled him in personal appearance.

Captain Ford was a man of distinguished bravery and great physical strength. Mr. Cowley, in his History of Lowell, mentions a tradition which he does not think well authenticated, that "Captain Ford once killed an Indian by pitching him into the wheel pit of his saw-mill, the Indian being on the watch for a chance to take the life of the Captain, who had killed one of his brothers during a former war."

As to this tradition, it is said that Captain Ford told Col. Thomas J. Adams, that one day when he went to his saw-mill, wearing his "revolutionary" coat, having three brass buttons, two inches in diameter, he was met by an Indian who sprung at him shouting, "Me got you," and immediately attempted to stab him with a knife, but the knife striking one of his buttons his life was saved. Captain Ford having in his hand a bar with which he moved the logs in his mill, struck him a powerful blow with the bar and sent him dead out the tail-race of the mill.

This story seems to be founded in fact for Mrs. Lambert, great-granddaughter of Captain Ford, assures the writer that Capt. Elisha Ford, his son, often told her the story as if he had no doubt of its authenticity, and Capt. Elisha Ford was a man of sound judgment, who in his long service of the Locks and Canals Company was known as a man of investigating mind and high integrity.

What part John Ford took in the French and Indian War seems to have been nowhere recorded. Neither Mr. Allen, in his notice of Captain Ford in his history

of Chelmsford, nor Dr. John O. Green, his physician, in his article concerning Captain Ford published in the *Vox Populi*, June 16, 1875, make any mention of him in connection with the French and Indian War. But Frederick P. Hill, in his History of Chelmsford, calls him a veteran of the French and Indian War. Mr. Cowley, also, in his History of Lowell, refers to a tradition of his having killed an Indian in a former war, referring, doubtless, to the French and Indian War. It is altogether probable that a young man of Captain Ford's impetuous and adventurous spirit did not fail to participate in a war which raged around him when he was in the very prime of martial age, for he was seventeen years old at the time of Braddock's Expedition, and twenty-one years old at the capture of Quebec. Moreover history records that in this war Chelmsford men were at the front. Capt. Jonathan Barron of Chelmsford lost his life at Fort George, and Capt. Moses Parker of Chelmsford won distinguished praise for valor at the siege of Fort Frontenac.

But it was in the early years of the Revolutionary War that Captain Ford became most conspicuous for patriotism and bravery. It has been recorded that he was among the first to hear of the battles of Lexington and Concord, and to hasten to the rescue. This is hardly true, for when the news of these battles reached Chelmsford the Minute Men of that town were already on the march for the scene of action. On this occasion the following seems to have been the order of events: General Warren, at ten o'clock in the evening of April 18th, the day before the battles, despatched William Dawes to Lexington through Roxbury, and Paul Revere through Charlestown, to bring the news of the approach of the British under Pitcairn. Both messengers arrived just

after midnight and pushed on to Concord. From them the alarm in the night spread like wildfire through the country. In Chelmsford on the morning of the 19th drums were beat, the alarm-guns were fired, and the Minute Men gathered on the village green. Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, the patriotic pastor of the church, was promptly on the ground, and urged that before starting all should gather in the church for prayer. To this the impetuous Captain Ford objected, declaring that they had more important business than praying. The Minute Men, sixty-one in number, under Capt. Oliver Barron, hastened towards Concord, twelve miles or more away. They arrived after the battle at Concord Bridge, but in season to participate in the fights with the retreating British at Meriam's Corner and Hardy's Hill, In the latter place Captain Ford, then acting as sergeant, behaved with great bravery and conspicuous daring. Gordon, in his "History of the American Revolution," avers that "it can be fully proved that Captain Ford killed five regulars."

But these patriotic Minute Men of Chelmsford were far from being soldiers enlisted for the war. Their term of service was only about one week and that of some of them only three days. They were farmers totally unprepared for a military campaign. But Sergeant John Ford proceeded immediately to raise a company of which he took the command as Captain. Ten days after the Lexington battle he had raised fifty-seven men, and on May 19th he received his commission as Captain. This new company joined the American army at Cambridge under General Ward and engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill. Their term of service was somewhat over nine months.

The following is the muster-roll of the company:

John Ford, Capt.,
Isaac Parker, Lieut.,
Jonas Parker, 2d Lieut.,
Moses Barker, Serg.,
Parker Emerson, Serg.,
Daniel Keyes, Serg.,
Jonas Pierce, Serg.,
John Bates, Corp.,
Wm. Chambers, Corp.,
Wm. Campbell, Corp.,
Benj. Barrett, Corp.,
Wm. Rausteau, Drum.,
Barzilla Lew, Fifer,
John Keyes,
Alex. Davidson,
John Chambers,
Samuel Britton,
Moses Barker, Jr.,
Benj. Parker,
David Chambers,
Samuel Wilson,
Nath'l Foster,
Isaiah Foster,
Benj. Pierce,
Benj. Farley,
Enoch Cleveland,
Benj. Butterfield,
Samuel Howard,
Moses Esterbrooks,
Robert Ainger,
Elijah Hazelton,
John Glode,
Joseph Spalding,
Francis, Davidson,
Oliver Cory,
Samuel Marshal,
Jesse Dow,
Wm. Parker Jr.,
Joseph Chambers.
Nath'l Hunt,
Reuben Foster,
Joseph Spaulding, Jr.
Noah Foster,
Jonas Spalding,
Solomon Keyes,
Isaac Barrett,
Timothy Adams,
Josiah Fletcher,
John Parker.
James Chambers,
Silas Parker,
Benj. Haywood,
Wm. Rowell,
Robert Richardson,
James Dunn,
Ebenezer Shed,
Jonathan Sprague,
James Alexander,
Solomon Farmer,
Wm. Brown,
Thomas Bewkel.

The part taken by Captain Ford in the battle of Bunker Hill does high honor to his skill and bravery. On the day before the battle he volunteered to carry from Cambridge to Bunker Hill a message of General Ward. To do this he must pass over Charlestown Neck in the range of British guns, at the imminent peril of his life. He had orders from General Ward to dismount from his horse at the Neck and cross on foot in order to escape observation. But he run the risk and passed and re-passed on horseback. While at Bunker Hill he warned General Prescott that from the movements of the enemy it was evident that they were preparing to attack the Americans upon the hill, and urged the necessity of immediately casting up breastworks and redoubts. Prescott, who had not feared such an attack, yielded to the persuasion of Captain Ford and before the morning of

the battle the breastworks were completed, without which the Americans could not have held their ground or achieved the immortal glory of that illustrious day. Is it asking too much to claim a large share of that glory for the brave and sagacious Captain Ford?

Captain Ford's company belonged to the regiment of Col. Ebenezer Bridge, of whom we have already spoken. This regiment on the morning of the battle had not yet left their quarters at Cambridge. Captain Ford, restive at the delay of the regiment, obtained permission to lead forth his company alone and proceed forthwith to the scene of strife.

On reaching the battle-field, when the British, after a repulse, were preparing for another attack, General Putnam ordered Captain Ford to bring into line of action two deserted cannon. Captain Ford protested that his men knew nothing of artillery practice, and his men, while willing to fight with their own weapons, positively refused to handle the cannon. But General Putnam insisted and Captain Ford like a true soldier promptly obeyed his superior officer. "He then," says Governor Pierce, who was a young soldier of the company, "addressed his company in a very animated, patriotic and brave strain, which is the characteristic of the man. The company then seized the drag-ropes and soon drew the cannon to the rail fence." In that position the cannon were effectively used upon the foe, General Putnam himself aiding in aiming and firing them. One of these pieces was burst after being fired eleven times. The firing continued until all the ammunition was spent.

It was probably when the Americans began their retreat from Bunker Hill that Captain Ford found Capt. Benjamin Walker, of the second Chelmsford company, lying wounded on the field and took him upon his shoul-

der and carried him about forty rods to save him from capture by the British. Captain Walker, however, persuaded his friend to drop him and save himself. The unfortunate man was carried to Boston where his leg was amputated and where, after several weeks of suffering and neglect, he died. He was a brave man who had been trained to arms in the French wars.

Upon or near the expiration of the nine months' service of Captain Ford's first company, another company of Chelmsford men, with Captain Ford as commander, was raised to re-enforce the American army in Cambridge. This company served from January to April, 1776. During this period the army engaged in no considerable fighting, and as summer approached the Chelmsford soldiers returned to their farms.

In the summer of the same year another company was raised in Chelmsford and stationed at Ticonderoga under command of Captain Ford. This company was in service for about six months without engaging in any important battle. While stationed at Ticonderoga, Captain Ford kept a regimental order-book which is still in the possession of his descendants. In this book, now one hundred and fourteen years old, are recorded regimental orders, trials by courts-martial, promotions of officers, punishments of disorderly soldiers, and various other matters pertaining to a military encampment. Every day are recorded the *parole* and *countersign* of the camp, two words instead of a single countersign. For example, on August 30, 1776, the first word, called the parole, was *Brutus* and the countersign *Hancock.*

Captain Ford and his company returned from Ticonderoga at the close of 1776, and during the first nine months of 1777 he does not appear to have been engaged in military service. It must be borne in mind that he

was largely engaged in business when the war broke out, having a saw-mill and a considerable trade in various kinds of goods. There was much to call him home.

During the year, however, another Chelmsford company was raised, which marched Sept. 30th under Captain Ford to re-enforce the northern army against the British under Burgoyne in their attempt to sever New England from the rest of the country. As the last of the two battles which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga took place only eight days after Captain Ford's company left Chelmsford, it is not certain that this company engaged in either battle. The company was in service only forty-three days. On returning it brought with it, from Stillwater to Cambridge, forty or fifty British prisoners.

I am not aware that Captain Ford engaged in any further military service. For forty-five subsequent years, at his home near Pawtucket Falls, he followed the peaceful avocations of civil life.

Dr. John O. Green, the late venerable president of this Association, who was his physician in his last sickness of several months, in the article from which we have already once quoted, describes him as "a tall, wiry, active man, bowed by the weight of years and his great privations and labors, of few words, direct, of primitive simplicity and sterling integrity," and adds that "it was with great reluctance and true modesty that he ever referred to his exploits as a soldier.

He died Nov. 6, 1822, at the age of eighty-four years. In regard to his last sickness Dr. Green makes the following statement: "His patriotism was sadly shocked when hundreds of Irish were first brought here to dig our canals. On one occasion when he could not refrain from indulging in some angry, disparaging words

in their hearing, they fell upon him and beat him severely and dangerously, on School-Street Hill, which was supposed to have hastened his death, which occurred two months afterwards."

His grave is in the little burying-ground nearly opposite the Pawtucketville Church, and near by it are the graves of his son, Capt. Elisha Ford, and his daughters, Deborah and Prudence.

The children of Captain Ford were: (1) Deborah, who lived unmarried at the homestead; (2) John, who lived unmarried, and died at Brownville, Me., at an advanced age; (3) Capt. Elisha, who lived upon the homestead; (4) Sarah, wife of John Corliss of Lowell; (5) Prudence who lived unmarried at the homestead; (6) Capt. Horatio G., who followed the seas, was unmarried, and died in early manhood.

The only living representatives of Captain Ford are the descendants of his daughter, Sarah Ford Corliss.

XXVI. Lowell Island, by Alfred Gilman. Read Feb. 4, 1891.

It is recorded in history that this island was granted by the general court, in 1665, to Governor Endicott and his heirs. It was bequeathed in 1680 by Z. Endicott to his daughters, under the designation of Cotta Island, and this was its proper name, but it was afterwards corrupted into Cat Island. History also informs us that previous to the time that Martin Luther entered the convent at Eisenach, while yet a youth about fourteen years of age, his poverty was such that he was obliged to beg his bread from house to house. On one occasion, after an ineffectual attempt to obtain food by this method, being repulsed in every instance, his spirits were weighed down by hunger and his want of success. As a last resort he applied at the residence of a burgomaster named Cotta. Through the intercession of the wife of this worthy man he was taken in and comforted and cared for. The couple were so pleased with the youth that he was adopted by them and found a home in the family. I think there can be no doubt that in commemoration of this Christian act we find an island in Salem harbor named after that family. If so it is a source of regret that the name was ever changed.

My correspondent at the Asylum Station, Mr. Andrew Nichols, has kindly supplied me with the following facts in regard to this property: "That the island varying as nine, ten and twelve acres, shifting from the entrance of Salem harbor to the entrance to Marblehead harbor, and described as at the *bottom* of Marblehead har-

bor, with a house and woods upon it in 1746. It was owned by Gov. James Bowdoin of Boston, and later by Gov. Elbridge Gerry, and were it not for that other island in Boston harbor, could rightly have been called 'Governor's Island.'" My correspondent was not aware that the ownership was once in Endicott. He says: "I startled one of Salem's antiquarians when I told him the fact that Cat Island was conveyed by Ebenezer Lowell, of Marblehead, merchant, and his wife Mary, in 1732, to her brother Samuel Reed, and that probably was one of the reasons of its name, 'Lowell Island.' I find Middlesex County men owned it in 1761, viz: Messrs. Oliver, Green and Wills of Malden. Perhaps they run it as a summer resort."

The act incorporating the Lowell and Salem Railroad was passed by the legislature in 1846. William Livingston was instrumental in chartering and building this road, and he, in connection with his brother Elbridge, and Sidney Spalding, took the contract to build the road including all the bridges and stations. The road was completed in 1850.

Mr. Livingston was possessed of an active brain, and although he was what would be called an unlearned man, he was, nevertheless, a good student, always ready to take in the situation, and estimate, pro and con, its advantages and disadvantages. Things that other people would pass by unheeded he regarded with the keenest interest, and when the subject had passed the crucible of his brain, he became master of the situation.

Having established a railroad between Lowell and Salem with an eye to a direct communication with the ocean, evidently and purposely to enable Lowell people to be supplied with the various kinds of coal, he built a track connecting his railroad with Phillips' wharf in

Salem. This brought him in contact with the ocean, and his restless activity saw an unlimited field for further operations. What more natural than that he should, in the course of his investigations, look out over the water and see an uninhabited island ready to have him appropriate it, with its salubrious air and isolated position, for the advantage and benefit of his fellow-citizens, to say nothing of its benefit to the railroad. He found ready helpers in the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips and a large number of his neighbors and friends in Lowell. There still remain a few survivors of that day who were their personal friends and intimate associates.

I have obtained from the Registry of Deeds in Salem a copy of the following records: "June 11, 1851. David Blaney of Marblehead, and wife Ellen, releasing dower for $1000 to Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, a certain island known as Cat Island, lying at the entrance to Marblehead harbor, bounded southeasterly on the passageway from 'Halfway Rock' to Salem harbor, northwesterly on the passageway from 'Baker's Island' up to Marblehead harbor, and northeasterly and southeasterly on the sea." On the back of this deed Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, wife Margaret M., for $1000, quitclaim to Salem Steamboat Company the within described Cat Island, dated Jan. 16, 1852.

In the early days of this experiment to make the island a place of resort, the great difficulty was the means of communication by water. Sailing vessels, in pleasant weather, offered the only method, but their size and capacity were so limited that they could only afford accommodation for small parties. In boisterous weather with the wind and tide against them, and during the prevalence of fog, it was a hazardous trial to endeavor to reach the island in them.

On one occasion our friend, Mr. Samuel Horn, being at the island, there came up a dense fog that completely shut from view the main land, and made an attempt to gain it in the frail craft at his disposal extremely hazardous. A necessity to reach the train for Lowell made it imperative for him and his friends to make the trial. The skipper encouraged the plan of a trial, stating that he had had forty years' experience in navigation and considered himself competent and able to land them safely at the wharf in Salem. Trusting to these assertions the party embarked in the boat, but after witnessing its management they were led to doubt the capability of the skipper, as the craft, standing on the wind, would careen over and take in a lot of water. Landsmen were not accustomed to this sort of navigation and sharply cautioned the man at the helm, but he continued to encourage them, reiterating his confidence in his ability to land them safely. While running along the Marblehead shore, which revealed its vicinity more by the dashing of the waves on the rocks than by anything to be seen, another lurch and another shipment of water completely used up what little confidence they had in the skipper's ability. They ordered him to land them on the Marblehead shore, from whence they would find their way to Salem. The skipper, after landing them, continued on his course to Salem. The boat capsized, but the skipper was able to right the boat and was saved. Mr. Horn and his friends have ever since considered this a providential escape from a watery grave.

I resume the account of the transfer of the property, inferring that in the meantime improvements were being made: "Oct. 11, 1852, the Salem Steamboat Company mortgaged for $12,000 to Stephen C. Phillips, George L. Newcomb and Daniel Bowker of Salem, and

Samuel Horn, Daniel S. Richardson, William Fiske and Abiel Rolfe of Lowell, Cat Island, now called Lowell Island, with all buildings and personal property of every description thereon." This mortgage was assigned at the same date to the City Institution for Savings as collateral for a loan.

At the time of the purchase of the island the only building upon it was one used by fishermen as a fish-house. This was altered and enlarged to serve as a place of resort and entertainment for visitors. It was partitioned off so as to accommodate as many as possible in a given space. The partitions were not much higher than a man's head, consequently the conversation held in one room became common property. When the opening of the house was advertised to take place a large number of people from Lowell and vicinity embraced the opportunity to enjoy the ride to Salem and a visit to the island. Some delay in their transportation from the wharf in Salem to the island was unavoidable, consequently those who were so lucky as to secure a passage on the first trip were well provided for at the house, but those who were conveyed by the later trips of the boat found that everything in the shape of eatables had disappeared. Neither love nor money had any influence to obtain a crust of bread and scarcely a drink of any kind. This excursion was engineered by Timothy Pearson and he must have been well paid, if curses were worth anything.

This experience, while it was a cause of disappointment to many pleasure-seekers, was a source of gratification to the proprietors, who were encouraged by it to erect a building ample to accommodate all and make the island a paying investment as a popular resort. Accordingly it was decided to erect such a structure. This was

brought about by the persistent efforts of the Salem members of the corporation, not however without much opposition from some of the Lowell proprietors, who did not believe that Salem people could be induced to patronize it to the extent required to leave a cash balance on the right side of the ledger account.

The last transfer mentioned was to the Savings Bank. June 20, 1854. The mortgage was assigned by John A. Buttrick, treasurer, to Stephen C. Phillips, George L. Newcomb, D. H. Bowker, Samuel Horn, D. S. Richardson, William Fiske, and Abiel Rolfe, and by them assigned, at the same date, for $12,000, to William Livingston, Isaac Farrington, Daniel S. Richardson, Sidney Spalding, Samuel Horn, Horace Howard, Abiel Rolfe, and Ignatius Tyler, all of Lowell.

In 1854 I was chosen treasurer of the Salem Steamboat Company and my recollections of that period are given from memory. A steamboat called the Argo had been purchased for the sum of $25,000, and was run regularly from Phillips' Wharf to the island and back so as to connect with the trains from Lowell. The services of George W. Larrabee had been secured as landlord at the house. Mr. Larrabee was a very efficient manager and the establishment was conducted to the satisfaction of its patrons. He was a model landlord, and my intercourse with him was of the pleasantest nature. But even under his management the house did not pay the running expenses. What was gained by the house was swallowed up by the expense of running the steamboat, so that at the end of the season the proprietors were somewhat disappointed with the problem they had so laboriously tried to solve. Under these circumstances it was decided to put the whole establishment under the hammer and close it out at auction. By vote of the corporation, power was

given to the president and treasurer, Messrs. Phillips and Gilman, to convey the property to the purchaser. I think it was extensively advertised, but there was a small attendance and bidding was not very lively. The buyer, by the conditions of the sale, was to assume the whole indebtedness of the company, some $25,000. The accounts, according to the best of my recollection, exhibited a total of nearly $70,000 expended upon the island for land, buildings, furnishing, and steamer. The property was struck off to Samuel Horn, who bid a small sum above the liabilities. A previous arrangement had probably been made by Mr. Horn with the other proprietors to perfect a re-organization of the company, or else his bid was waived and he took a mortgage, as I find from the records this was done Aug. 7, 1855. Thus my position as treasurer was vacated.

At one time, while I was at the island, an incident occurred which I can record at this distance of time without fear of a charge of being egotistical. There had been an easterly storm and its effects were displayed by the heavy waves as they rolled in their majestic proportions toward Salem harbor. Their appearance attracted the crowd assembled at the house, the piazza of which on the northeasterly side was well filled with delighted spectators. From this position the view took in Baker's Island. A man was seen standing on its shore waving a white handkerchief as a sign of distress. Not knowing how serious such a call might be, and thinking only how to relieve the person who evidently needed assistance, I immediately made my way to a boat hauled up on the beach near the steamer. Finding that singly I should not be able to drag it down to the water, I appealed for help to a young man from Salem who was fortunately near. There were two oars and a paddle in

the boat which we launched, and I asked the young man if he could steer a boat; he said he would try, and relying on that we started, very much against the expressed wishes of Mr. William Livingston, who, from the deck of the steamer, shouted to us that such a boat could not ride such a sea, that we would be drowned and that he positively forbade us! We were afloat and must go on. I threw my whole strength into the oars, but the tide and wind both being against us we could make no headway past the steamer. I requested the young man to put the boat's bow dead against the wind, which he did, and then we gained. It was glorious, riding now on the crest of a wave and anon in the trough between two waves, apparently lost to those who were watching us from the island. Our progress was slow but with little apparent danger. The buoyancy of the skiff was very much in our favor as it rode like a sea-bird on the water. It seemed to us but a short time ere we reached Baker's Island, although it was a mile distant, and found the wrecked mariner sitting on a rock close to the water's edge. We took him in and inquired of him the cause of his trouble. He stated that he and his mate started from Salem to have a sail down the harbor. While sailing along under the lea of the island, about three-quarters of a mile from the spot he occupied, the boat capsized and sank. He had taken his partner, who could not swim, on his back and brought him half a mile when he was so exhausted that he was obliged to let him go, and he sank beneath the billows. We commenced to return, and had not proceeded more than four boat's lengths from the shore, when I noticed just below the surface of the water what looked like the top of a boat's mast. This led me to doubt the man's story. The whole transaction became plain at once. As long as the

boat kept under the lea of the island she was safe but when she shot out from the southern point of it the full force of a stiff easterly breeze struck her and she capsized. Her hull being the heaviest part of her, sank but a very short distance from the shore with her mast standing upright.

We conveyed the man safely to Lowell Island, where he was refreshed with a good dinner, his clothes dried and a passage given him on the steamer, from whose deck, after the ebb tide, could be seen about two feet of the boat's mast above the water.

Subsequently, from a Salem paper, we learned that the seamen, fresh, from a voyage, chartered a sail-boat, supplied themselves with an abundance of ardent spirits, and started to have a time. They probably, in sea-parlance, got half-seas over, belayed the sheet and let the boat take care of herself.

To resume the subject of transfers: The last that I recorded was the assignment of the mortgage to the Savings Bank, and by that institution to Lowell parties June 20, 1854. The next record is dated July 10, 1857, on which date the original mortgage to Phillips was discharged and released. This was mortgage number one. March 27, 1854, it was mortgaged by the president and treasurer to Sidney Spalding and Stephen H. Phillips, trustees. This was mortgage number two. July 10, 1857, this mortgage was discharged and released. Aug. 7, 1855, it was mortgaged by the treasurer to Samuel Horn, John Avery, Horace Howard, Daniel S. Richardson, Ignatius Tyler, William Fiske, Joshua Converse, Sidney Spalding and George W. Larrabee. This was mortgage number three. June 15, 1857, said mortgage was discharged. July 10, 1857, the establishment, including steamboat, was sold by Gorham L. Pollard.

This is the last mention made of the steamboat, as she was sold by Mr. Pollard.

Her last enrollment at the Custom House in Salem was in 1857. Willard P. Phillips informs me "that in the summer of 1861 the Argo was a guard boat on the Potomac, armed with cannon and protected, I fear, only by wood, but nevertheless she passed the rebel batteries safely. It happened that my younger brother was detailed to service on her."

Mr. Pollard was connected with the Lowell Museum from 1849 to 1851; followed the business of baker from 1853 to 1855, and was owner and landlord of the island for nearly ten years. At the date of his purchase of the island he mortgaged it to Sidney Spalding and Samuel Horn. This is mortgage number four. Aug. 8, 1861, the mortgage was discharged. Aug. 10, 1869, Pollard sold to Andrew L. Johnson, of Boston, who at the same date mortgaged it to Charles W. Skinner of Boston. This is mortgage number five. Feb. 28, 1871, Skinner assigned to John S. Blair of Boston. Sept. 20, 1871, Blair assigned to Skinner. Oct. 3, 1871, Skinner took possession. Nov. 18, 1871, affidavit of sale to Skinner. June 1, 1872, Skinner sold to Edward J. Coleman, of Hyde Park, and at the same date Coleman mortgaged to Skinner. This is mortgage number six. June 12, 1873, Skinner assigned the mortgage to George E. Foster of Boston. Oct. 2, 1873, Foster took possession. Jan. 12, 1874, Foster assigned to William B. Richards of Boston. July 2, 1875, Richards took possession. Nov. 3, 1876, Richards released the mortgage to Shaw and Shattuck, trustees and attorneys of Edward J. Coleman. Jan. 27, 1877, sold by said trustees to Fred E. Bryant of Boston. Same date Bryant sold to Shaw and Shattuck for $1000. Same date notice of sale on premises of the island, buildings, etc., by deputy sheriff to Shaw and Shattuck. Jan.

8, 1878, Samuel Shaw and Lucius A. Shattuck, of Boston, trustees, etc., quitclaim for $4500, to Samuel B. Rindge, of Cambridge, the island and buildings. Dec. 11, 1888, to Frederick H. Rindge, of Los Angeles, Cal., for one dollar, quitclaim to Children's Island Sanitarium.

Mr. Livingston died in 1855. If he had lived it is a fair presumption that the island would have remained in the possession of Lowell parties. The proprietors did not anticipate failure and the loss of their funds in generously giving for what they considered the benefit of the public, and it is to their credit that they twice endeavored to sustain, by their subscriptions, the establishment for a permanent summer resort, one too that all who visited it proclaimed to be one of the best on the coast. One of the most enthusiastic of those who made prolonged visits to the island, a brother of Samuel B. Rindge, the last purchaser of the property, repeatedly and invariably spoke of it as superior to any seaside resort that he ever had visited, on account of its location, its healthful and invigorating air, the regularity and promptness of the service that made it so homelike, and its easy access. His opinion may have influenced a generous relative to finally acquire possession of it.

In 1888, Lowell or Cat Island was given by Frederick H. Rindge, the owner, to the Children's Island Sanitarium, a corporation duly established by the laws of the Commonwealth, subject to the following conditions: "That said property shall be used by the Children's Island Sanitarium only for the use and purpose for which said corporation was organized, and as set forth in its articles of incorporation, and the title hereby conveyed is expressly limited to that use, and whenever said corporation shall cease to use as above, said transfer to be of no effect, and the property will revert and reinvest in me and my heirs and assigns." Dated Dec. 11, 1888.

Frederick H. Rindge was the son of Samuel B. Rindge who was born at East Cambridge, Dec, 26, 1820. In 1836 he entered the counting-room of Messrs. Parker & Blanchard in Boston, as the youngest boy. His first year's salary did not exceed fifty dollars, to be increased the same amount for each additional year of service. He is described as having a natural gift for trading. He would make the acquaintance of masters of vessels bound for the West Indies and Spanish main, and intrust to them little invoices of merchandise, to be sold on joint account, and the proceeds to be returned in the produce of the country, thus unconsciously imitating the career of Lord Timothy Dexter of Newburyport. His usefulness and value to his employers insured his promotion and he became head book-keeper and cashier. At twenty-five years of age he became a partner in the firm. When he died, May 3, 1888, his property was valued at nearly two millions of dollars.

The new City Hall in Cambridge, which cost $300,000, is a gift to the city from his son, Frederick H. Rindge of California, a native of the place, and was formally presented to the mayor, Dec. 9, 1880. In making the gift he was represented by Col. F. J. Parker, being unable on account of illness to be present. Mr. Rindge is also building a public library and English high school-house, which he will present to the city when finished.

A correspondent of the *Boston Transcript* spent a day at the Children's Island last September, and I avail myself of his account of this visit to show the condition of the island at that time. He says:

"Leaving Boston at 9.40 A. M., an hour's ride brought us to Marblehead, the nearest point on the main-land to the island. On leaving the cars the first sight was a party of children, twenty-five

or thirty in number, under the charge of a Sister, waiting for the train to return to Boston. These were the children returning from a fortnight's stay at the island, and very reluctant they seemed, too, to go back to the city.

"The island, much larger than it appears from the water, contains about fifteen acres of land and rock. There is sufficient pasturage for three cows, and quite room enough for its present purposes. The house itself is a large building, originally a summer hotel. Owing to the lateness of the season the number of children present was smaller than it had been before. Nearly two hundred had been there during the three months' occupancy. Many of the children are unable to get farther than the broad piazza, though often the little crutches help to climb many of the rocks.

"We first entered the house, leaving the island itself for later inspection. A long corridor runs straight through the building, through which a breeze must always pass. As we entered the door, such a charming picture of blue sea, green grass, and grey rocks was revealed through the door at the farther end! The house is shaped like a large T, the long dining-room being in the stem of the letter, and over it the children's dormitories. Down stairs are long, cool-looking parlors, simply and tastefully furnished, with muslin curtains at the many windows looking out on the wide piazza. A piano, much weather-stained, stands between the folding doors, and is a source of much entertainment, equal to the accompaniment of familiar hymns, and often in the evenings keeping time for impromptu dances. Beyond these long parlors is a pretty, square room called the reading-room, where those wanting quiet can find a pleasant retreat.

"Before going up stairs we were taken into the dining-room, where the children were at dinner. They looked very happy and seemed to have excellent appetites. Over the dining-room is another long corridor from which lead off twenty-five little rooms, each containing two small iron bedsteads, thus allowing room for fifty children, the number usually present at one time. There are other rooms that can be utilized, and in a remote part of the house a room used as an isolated ward in case of an infectious disease breaking out, though great care is taken that no contagious cases are admitted. At the farther end of the corridor where the children's rooms are, there is a room devoted to the visiting doctor's needs.

"Besides the children there is a number of women taken as boarders, who find here rest, pure air, and freedom from care, for a

moderate charge. The conveniences of the house amply allow for this. A great want is certainly supplied when working women can find such a resting-place.

"After enjoying a tour of the house, even to the cupola, from which there is a fine view, we went out of doors to see the island itself. Near the house is a large refreshment saloon, on one side of which is a bowling alley with balls and pins intact. The large room of the saloon is used for a play-room in wet weather, and here also parties are held. Each set of children has a 'sail' and a 'party.' The rocks on the farther end of the island are rugged and picturesque. Perched on two of the highest points are summer-houses. delightfully cool spots in which to read or work on a summer's day. A pebbly beach in a little cove affords good bathing facilities, and here are the bath-houses. When we left, most of the children were allowed to take the sail to Marblehead with us. How they delight in sailing."

XXVII. Residences on Nesmith Street, by James S. Russell. Read Feb. 4, 1891.

When the Messrs. Nesmith laid out their extensive land in Belvidere into streets and house-lots, their own name was given to the principal street, which was designed to be a first-class thoroughfare. It is on elevated ground, a half mile long, straight and level, and sixty feet wide, with sidewalks ten feet wide—wider than can be found in any other part of the city so far from the centre. It is lined with ornamental trees and borders on a park unsurpassed in beauty. It is bordered by over forty houses, some of which are equal to the best in the city; and from the occupants of which no less than five mayors of the city have been taken, as well as three others from the immediate neighborhood. A street car track runs the length of the street, affording ready conveyance to all parts of the city.

I located upon the street in 1843, and have continued there till the present time. The street was then in a rude state, and only a few houses upon it.

I have observed the successive improvements upon the street, the progress of building, and the people dwelling there. Commencing at East Merrimack Street, on the westerly corner stood a double house, owned and perhaps occupied by Mr. Ziba Abbott. It has had numerous occupants, and is at present owned and occupied by Mrs. Sawyer. I remember only Mrs. Thompson, Mr. Fifield, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Reed, Mr. E. S. Hunt, Mr. Charles Hovey, Mr. C. C. Hutchinson, and Mrs. Sawyer. This, perhaps, was the first house built upon the street.

The next house on this side was built by Dea. Thos. Ordway, for many years city clerk and registrar. He occupied the house while he lived and was succeeded by one of his sons, who has enlarged and much improved it. He is its present occupant. The next house was built by Mr. Ricker and sold to Mr. William S. Merrill, who kept a fur and clothing store on the corner of Merrimack and Central Streets. It was first occupied by Mr. Ricker, a painter; then sold to Mr. Merrill and by him to the present owner and occupant, Mr. C. C. Chase, for many years the honored principal of the Lowell High School. The next house was built by Mr. Merrill, who sold it to Mr. Caleb Weaver, unless Mr. N. L. Dayton, who owned the vacant land on the corner of Chestnut Street, previously owned and sold to Mr. Weaver. Mr. Moses Johnson succeeded Mr. Weaver, who, with his brother, kept a furniture store in Wyman's Block. Mr. Johnson's family still occupies the house.

The house on the other corner of Chestnut Street was built by Mr. Thomas Nesmith, and was occupied by Mr. Charles Hovey, then by Rev. Mr. Atkinson of the High Street Church, who afterwards built and occupied the Manse on Andover Street. The house was sold to the Middlesex Company and occupied by Mr. Whipple, one of its officials. It was bought by the late S. K. Hutchinson, and descended to his son Charles C., who enlarged it, occupied it for a time, and sold it to the present occupant, Mr. Julian Talbot.

Samuel J. Varney built the next house. It has been owned and occupied by Mr. Varney, Benjamin Weaver, ex-Mayor E. F. Sherman, and John F. Rogers, whose widow is the present owner. It has been rented to S. P. Griffin, Mrs. Eastman, Mr. Alfred Chadwick, and ex-Mayor Noyes who is its present occupant. This house,

my house, and the one first mentioned, were the only houses on the west side of the street in 1843.

The house next in order is a double house built by Currier & Upton, butchers. It was finished and occupied by them in 1843. Mr. Upton's part was sold to Mr. Joseph Merrill who kept a shoe store on Central Street. Mr. Upton built in the woods, on the present Fairmount Street, the house afterwards owned by Mr. Butters, stable-man on Church Street, and now owned by Walter H. McDaniels. Mrs. James Wight bought of Mr. Merrill and sold to Mr. Samuel Kidder, the present owner of the whole house. Mr. John Currier sold his part to Mr. Seth Pooler, who was long time principal of the Moody School. Mr. Pooler sold to Mr. Kidder, who occupies that part of the house and rents the other part. His tenants have been Mrs. Smith, Mr. J. Tyler Stevens, and the Misses Folsom.

The next house was built by the Hon. John Nesmith for his clerk, Henry Phelps, in 1841, who occupied it till May, 1843, when I took possession and have held it to the present time. The house has been changed and enlarged from time to time till its original could not be recognized.

The next house was built by Mr. Franklin Forbes, a former principal of the Lowell High School and a successful agent of the Lancaster Mills. He sold it to Mr. John K. Chase, who turned it quarter way round, enlarged and occupied it while he lived. It was sold to Henry L. Williams, rented to Mr. E. J. Benner, and after his death it was sold to Mrs. Ransom Reed, who is the present occupant. Mr. Williams built the next house, on the corner of Andover Street, and occupied it while he lived. It is now owned and occupied by his widow.

Mr. Aaron Mansur built the house on the other cor-

ner of Andover Street. He was one of the earliest inhabitants, and previously lived at the corner of East Merrimack and Davidson Streets. He and his widow occupied the new house while they lived. The house was purchased by the Middlesex Company and occupied by their officials, Mr. Avery first and now by Col. A. A. Haggett, ex-postmaster.

The next house was built by Mr. David Dana. It passed from him to Mr. George Motley, who is now the occupant. Mr. William Nichols, a veteran grocer, built and occupied the next house, and his widow lives there still. The next house was built by Mr. Levi Sprague, who sold to Mr. Alfred Chase, who sold it to the late N. M. Wright, a veteran shoe dealer on Central Street. His family still occupies the house. Mr. Jeroboam How built the next house, on the corner of Oak Street. It has been occupied by Mrs. William Wyman, Mrs. Edward Tufts, Colonel Dimon, and a family by the name of Battles, now living there.

Mr. O. H. Moulton, general superintendent of the Hamilton Company, built the house on the opposite side of Oak Street. Then comes the house built by Mrs. Burrows, the widow of Mr. Henry Burrows, superintendent of the Merrimack Print Works. Ex-Mayor Stott owns and occupies the next house, on the corner of Porter Street. On the other corner of the street is the house built by Mr. Samuel K. Hutchinson, and now belonging to Mr. Charles C. Hutchinson. The next house is on the corner of Sherman Street, not yet finished; Mr. Lamson, of the Store Service Consolidation, is building a palace there. The next is a cosy house built and occupied by the widow of the late William A. Burke. The next building is a stable belonging to the Sweetzer estate. Mr. John Stott is the builder, owner

and occupant of the next house. Next stands the last house on the west side of the street, built and occupied by Mr. Thomas Costello, the veteran plumber on Central Street.

The first house on the east corner of East Merrimack Street was built by Mr. F. J. Ladd, and is now occupied by the Rev. Mr. Huntington, of the High Street Church. There was formerly on the lot a small house, altered from a stable by Mr. Aaron Walker, former principal of the Green and Colburn Schools. I do not know who built the next house. It was owned and occupied, at one time, by Mr. Ransom, a carpenter, and by Joseph R. Hayes, the apothecary on Central Street; sold to Mrs. Guild, and by her sold to Mr. Jason Fuller, the present owner, and now occupied by Mr. E. L. White. A cottage house stands next, built by Mr. John Holt and sold to Mr. Fuller. It has had numerous tenants, among whom were Mr. P. P. Haggerty and a Mr. Mansur. A double house stood next, owned by Mr. John Holt. He occupied one part and rented the other; then moved the house down on Bartlett, and built an elegant house upon the site, which he occupied while living. It is now occupied by his son-in-law, Mr. E. Hylan. The next house, on the corner of Chestnut Street, is a double house, built by Mr. S. N. Arlin and Mr. Daniel Holt. Mr. Arlin was a furniture painter, but a California fever turned a good mechanic into a clothing dealer on Central Street. The tenement is now owned and occupied by Mr. Jason Fuller. Mr. Holt occupied his part of the house while he lived. It is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Sarah Holbrook.

The Belvidere Park occupies the space between Chestnut and Andover Streets. In 1843, it was surrounded by a slat fence and occupied as a pasture. Mr. Shepard,

the florist, occupied it for a fruit and vegetable garden for ten years. He built upon it a small house, in which his family dwelt and kept a saloon for pleasure parties. It was afterwards sold to the city, with the aid of liberal contributions from the abutters. And now, surrounded by a granite curb, concrete walks, and ornamental trees, enclosing a well-kept lawn, there is no lovlier spot in the city limits. The John Nesmith estate occupies the space between Andover and Wyman Streets. Between Wyman and Mansur Streets stands the house built by Mrs. Paul Moody, who sold to Mr. William Wyman; and by him sold to the late Daniel S. Richardson, Esq., whose family are still its occupants. On the opposite corner of Mansur Street is the residence of ex-Mayor George F. Richardson. The house was built by ex-Mayor Stephen Mansur. It has been enlarged and modernized, and well becomes its commanding position.

The next house was built by Mr. Samuel C. Pratt, the first principal of the Green School. Mr. John Mixer, the father-in-law of ex-Mayor Abbott, owned and occupied and sold it to Mr. Addison Putnam, the proprietor of the furnishing store on Central Street.

Mr. John Avery commenced building the next house, but sold out to Mr. William A. Burke. He completed and occupied the elegant establishment. His son, E. N. Burke, now occupies the premises. The next was a cottage house, one of the oldest on the street. Mr. Winslow How and a Mr. Cambridge once occupied it. It was bought by Mr. Sweetzer, father of the late T. H. Sweetzer, the standing democratic candidate for governor. He enlarged and occupied the house. His son-in-law, Mr. Willis Farrington is the present occupant. The late Judge Crosby was the pioneer in that end of the street. He built and lived there; and his son-in-law,

W. H. White, now occupies the premises. Beyond him lives Mr. O. H. Perry, agent of the Middlesex Mills, in the house built by ex-Mayor J. P. Folsom. Dr. Gilman Kimball built the next house; which has had numerous tenants, among whom were Mr. Cunningham, a civil engineer; Rev. Mr. Blanchard of the Unitarian Church; and Mr. Foss, a mason.

The next, and last house, is an old cottage at the junction of Nesmith and Rogers Street. It was probably on the old Tewksbury road before Nesmith Street was laid out. The only one of its numerous tenants I have known was Mr. William Bunker, a mover of buildings.

Pawtucket Street is a rival of Nesmith Street; and it is claimed that the west and northwest winds, prevailing most of the time, drive the smoke and exhalations of the city eastward, to the disparagement of Belvidere. But it should be borne in mind that when these winds prevail, the atmosphere is dense, and the noxious exhalations of the city rise above the air breathed by the Belvidere people, whereas, when the winds are easterly, the atmosphere is comparatively light, and the noxious vapors and health-destroying germs settle down to the breathing strata of the west-enders.

The numerous situations eligible for first-class dwellings on the high ground of Belvidere, are attracting the attention of people who will soon put Belvidere past all rivalry.

XXVIII. Vice President's Report, by Benjamin Walker. Read May 5, 1891.

In consequence of the impaired health of our honored president, whose ultimate recovery we all so ardently and sincerely desire, the duty of making the annual report before the Old Residents' Historical Association, at this time, devolves upon me. While undertaking this service with no little degree of diffidence, in view of the completeness and excellence of the annual papers which have been presented ever since the formation of this Association, I am quite certain that, in consideration of the comparatively little time I have been able to devote to this matter, any shortcomings will be charitably regarded.

As time rolls on the importance of this Association, as a nucleus whereby to collect and collate any and everything pertaining to the early history of Lowell, becomes more and more apparent, and the value of its collections, even now, cannot be over-estimated. This is shown by the frequency with which its library and its records are consulted, the important data which are often afforded, and the vast fund of information already to be derived, relative to the men who have shaped the destinies and enterprises of our city, making it what it has become and giving it especially a manufacturing reputation second to no other in the country, and perhaps not, all things considered, in the world.

No other local association, and no other organization, is or can be so well calculated to complete and perpetuate its history, and thereby encourage its industries, as

the Old Residents' Historical Association. For this reason it becomes us to labor for its enlargement and growth, to exercise extra and earnest efforts to increase its membership, and as its old members, one by one, bow to the inevitable decree for all the living, younger and more vigorous spirits may assume the duties and responsibilities, which a healthy growth of this Association already does and ever will demand.

To this end the suggestion comes, and it seems to me with unerring force, that with the advancing light of recent years, and not only the acknowledged but proven ability of women to cope successfully with the "lords of creation," in very many of the walks of life, this Association may, possibly, be making a grave error in allowing their prejudices to obtain the mastery over their better judgment in closing its doors against female membership. The names of women are not wanting who have become conspicuous in the growth and history of Lowell, and there are, at this day, many who are fully competent, and I have no doubt willing, to contribute what, it is safe to assume, would prove among the best and most interesting papers in the archives of this Association. Surely our constitution admits *any person* to membership who has reached the age of forty-five years, (if any lady was ever known to acknowledge these figures) and has resided in Lowell twenty-five years, and it seems to me that we are only half accomplishing the good, and half deriving the benefits which we all seek, when we deprive by word or vote, the ladies from rendering the aid and assistance, by their presence and otherwise, so essential in the social and domestic walks of life. The age is progressive, our Association should be progressive, and when we awake to the realities of our former mistakes and blunders we shall acknowledge the ability of the women of the city

of Lowell, and encourage them *to come to the front* in such labors and good works as are contemplated in the ranks of the Old Residents' Historical Association.

During the current year twenty-three new members have been added to the Association, and the following contributions to its library, viz:

The Dows or Dowse Family in America; Genealogy of the descendants of Lawrence Dowse, etc.

Memorial Sermon; William F. Salmon. Presented by C. C. Hutchinson.

Evolution of the University, by Prof. George C. Howard, Lincoln, Neb.

Unitarian Church, Chelmsford, Mass. Presented by Bradley Marshall.

Pride's History of Tewksbury. Presented by Bradley Marshall.

Smithsonian Institute Report for 1888.

State Library Bulletin, University of the State of New York, Albany.

Hyde Park Historical Record, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1891.

Report of the President of Yale University for 1890.

Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Annual Report of the Woburn Library, 1890.

Dedham Historical Register, Vol. II, No. 2.

Complete Files of Lowell Morning Mail. Presented by Alfred Gilman.

Register of the University of California.

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, 1890–91.

Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1890–91.

During the year nine members of the Association have departed this life:

Isaac Deming died at Woodstock, Vt., Aug. 3, 1890, aged eighty-four years and eleven months. He was for many years an overseer in the Tremont Mills, and his remains were brought to Lowell for interment.

Isaac N. Fitts, well known as one of Lowell's oldest and most respected citizens, died Aug. 21, 1890, at the

age of eighty-one years and nine months. He was born in Candia, N. H., and came to Lowell in 1828. He worked at the joiners' trade for several years, subsequently entering the employment of the Lowell Corporation as mill-wright, where he remained for nearly half a century. He was a skilful mechanic, and it is said under his supervision the first turbine wheel in this city was put in position and operation. Musically Mr. Fitts was, in early life, quite prominently and favorably known in Lowell, his favorite instrument being the so-called "double-bass" viol, upon which he was a performer of much merit. Before the days of organs he was almost continually connected with church orchestras, and often participated in the concerts and public entertainments given at various times and for various purposes. His last engagement as a performer was at the Fifth Street Baptist Church, only a few years ago, closing with the introduction of a fine organ, originally built for, and for many years located at, the residence of the late Joseph H. Ely, Stackpole Street, it having been purchased by this church a few years after Mr. Ely's death. Mr. Fitts served as a member of the common council in 1842, and was a member of the Pentucket Lodge of Masons. He was most exemplary in his character, held in the highest esteem by a large circle of acquaintances, and was, in a word, an upright citizen and a thoroughly good man.

Andrew J. Wiggin, an old resident of Lowell, died Aug. 29, 1890, aged seventy-five years and five months. Mr. Wiggin was born in Stratham, N. H. He came to Lowell more than fifty years ago, and pursued his vocation as a carpenter all these years, being employed either by the Lowell or Merrimack Corporations. He was a member of Oberlin Lodge, I. O. O. F., and was held in high esteem by all who knew him.

John Smiley, one of the earliest and oldest residents of Lowell, died Sept. 5, 1890, aged seventy-nine years and four months. He was a native of Peterboro, N. H., and came to this city in 1833, and, as I understand, was a wood-worker, devoting his latter years to pattern making. His remains were taken to Great Falls, N. H., for interment.

George W. Fullerton died Oct. 12, 1890, at the age of seventy-two years. Mr. Fullerton was the faithful engineer of the J. C. Ayer Company, and was there employed for thirty years, and until incapacitated by sickness. He was a man of much intelligence and refinement, interested in all that pertained to his employers and the city, and his death was very generally regretted. He was a member of Oberlin Lodge, Monomake Encampment, and the Patriarchs Militant, I. O. O. F., and, if I am correctly informed, was a member of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, John Street.

Dr. Gustavus A. Gerry, who was the son of a farmer, was born at Harvard, Mass., in 1831, and died Oct. 24, 1890, at the age of sixty years. After graduating from the public schools of his native place, he entered the office of a dentist in Clinton, Mass., where he partially acquired his profession, dental colleges being unknown in those days. From Clinton, Dr. Gerry removed to Gardner, Mass., and remained a few years, coming to Lowell in 1857, since which time he has continued to be prominently and favorably known in his profession. After the Boston Dental College was established, Dr. Gerry took the prescribed course, thus perfecting himself in the details of dentistry, and received a diploma in July, 1874. That Dr. Gerry was a progressive man in his profession is shown by his connection with several dental societies, being, at times, president of two and

treasurer of a third, and by the large practice which he always had in this city. As a citizen, and with an earnest desire as well as signal ability to promote the interests of his adopted city, Dr. Gerry did much, in various public ways, serving in the school committee and also in the common council and board of aldermen. He was also a prominent Mason, belonged to the Odd Fellows, and was actively interested in the First Unitarian Society. He leaves behind him a character and a reputation such as we may all respect and admire.

Samuel T. Lancaster, who died Dec. 2, 1890, at the age of sixty-six years, was born in Milford, N. H., July 12, 1825. His early life was one of peculiar hardship and poverty. His father having died soon after the birth of this son, Samuel was placed on a farm by his widowed mother; but the labor proved distasteful and irksome to the last degree. At an early period of his life, he was apprenticed to the tailoring business, in Amherst, N. H., where he remained until 1844, at which time, being then nineteen years of age, he removed to this city. With a little trunk on his shoulder, containing all his worldly possessions, and almost penniless, as well as without much education, he arrived in Lowell and sought the residence of William S. Bennett, where he boarded for a time. It is thus easy to picture his advent into our midst, to make his way and fortune in the world. After three years' service with Mr. Bennett, and in the year 1847, he commenced business for himself, on the site of the present Swan Block, on Central Street. In 1852 he moved into the building then standing at the corner of of Central and Hurd Streets, and in 1855 associated himself with Stark Totman, the firm of Lancaster & Totman continuing sixteen years. The firm name was afterwards changed to S. T. Lancaster & Co., the partner

then being Wilbur L. Bates, since deceased, and later Henry J. Dean. Mr. Dean succeeded to the business in 1886, upon retirement of Mr. Lancaster in consequence of ill health. Mr. Lancaster was a director in the Merchants National Bank (and also the oldest bank director in the city); also a director in the Traders and Mechanics Insurance Company, the Lowell Hosiery Company, and a trustee in the City Institution for Savings. He was also prominently identified with the Masonic fraternity, was twice elected a member of the common council, and was an earnest and a consistent member of High Street Church. He was also not without honors in his military career, having served, to great acceptance, two years as lieutenant whilea member of the City Guards. While modest and unassuming even to diffidence, Mr. Lancaster gained the good will and respect of all with whom he came in contact, and so great was my personal confidence in him that, for more than thirty years, I depended entirely upon him for the selection and making of my clothing, simply stating the garment wanted. That his reputation as a business man was without reproach, the places of honor and trust in which he was placed afford ample evidence. In his death he was not less sincerely mourned than he was universally respected while living.

In the death of Alfred Gilman, on April 8th, this Association loses one of its first, most zealous, active and valuable members. As secretary and treasurer since 1869, two years after its organization, he has in a great measure directed its course, given character to its proceedings, and watched, with an almost paternal oversight, for everything that would add to its influence and prosperity. Mr. Gilman's early advent into Lowell, his connection, in various ways, with its general interests, his force of character, his well-balanced and well-trained

mind, together with his natural taste and literary ability for historical work, have together rendered his labors for this Association far more valuable than would at first appear. We all recognize the fact that Mr. Gilman was, during the latter years of his life, authority on most matters pertaining to the history of Lowell, and he most certainly was so on all with which this society is identified. We can only hope that his example and his memory will serve to stimulate those who are left to follow in his footsteps, and in some small degree to achieve for the future what he has accomplished in the past. Mr. Gilman was born at Portsmouth, N. H., March 19, 1812, and had, therefore, reached the age of seventy-nine years at the time of his death. As a youth he only received a common school education, and at the age of seventeen years commenced his business life as a printer, first being employed as such at Nashua, N. H. From that place he came to Lowell and persued the same avocation through employment at *The Lowell Journal* and other newspaper and job-printing establishments, serving in a variety of capacities. He left the printer's trade to accept the position of paymaster at the Hamilton Print Works, where he remained until 1849, when he was appointed postmaster under the administration of Zachary Taylor, the writer of this sketch succeeding Mr. Gilman at the Hamilton Print Works. Mr. Gilman held the office of postmaster one term of four years, retiring after the inauguration of President Franklin Pierce. Mr. Gilman next became landlord, for one year, of the Lowell Island House, which may in some degree account for his familiarity with that place, and the excellence of the paper on Lowell Island, prepared and read by him at the last quarterly meeting of this Association. Mr. Gilman was an active and ardent whig in the days of that party, and

was several times elected a member of the common council in the early municipal history of Lowell. While courteous and respectful to all with whom he had business intercourse, he was firm in his convictions, and in his more active days fully able to support and defend his views on public questions, being a debater of acknowledged merit. For many years Mr. Gilman had been in the tailoring business, having been connected successively with Leonard Worcester, Charles H. Burbank, and his son Alfred, upon whom the mantle of the father has naturally fallen, as secretary and treasurer of this Association, thus still preserving us the name of him whom we have all learned so much to respect, and whose memory we shall henceforth hold in such high veneration and esteem.

Leonard Brown, a member of the Old Residents' Historical Association, died Monday the 4th inst., at the age of seventy years, and that this record may be, as far as possible, complete, I have incorporated the following excellent sketch of his life from the columns of *The Morning Mail* of this date (May 5th):

"Leonard Brown, whose long and serious illness has been frequently mentioned, died Monday afternoon at his home, No. 7 Durant Street, at the age of seventy years. He was born in Lexington, and learned the printer's trade in Concord in the same office with William S. Robinson, who afterwards became widely known under the *nom de plume* of 'Warrington.' Mr. Brown came to this city in 1842 and went to work as a compositor in *The Courier* office, and since that time he has been, with the exception of a very few years, identified with the printing business in Lowell. He remained in *The Courier* office until 1851, when he bought out the Norton job printing office and began business for himself at No. 56 Central Street, in the block now occupied by Robertson Brothers as a furniture establishment. He remained there until 1854, when he sold out and was elected city auditor, a position he filled for two years. A year or two later he and George F. Morey, Esq., bought out *The*

Lowell Citizen of Mr. Z. E. Stone and the *News*, of other parties, and published a paper with the combined title *Citizen and News*. This connection continued about three years when Mr. Brown sold out his interest to Mr. C. L. Knapp, and the business was carried on under the firm name of Knapp & Morey. Mr. Brown remained in the employ of the paper as local reporter until the breaking out of the rebellion. He served with the historic Sixth regiment during its three months' campaign, and re-enlisted for nine months' service. Upon returning from the war he accepted a position as clerk in the office of Adjutant-General Schouler and remained there for several years. About the year 1871 he and Samuel M. Chase became associated as partners in the job-printing business and were located in the Savings Bank building on Shattuck Street. This firm continued for a few years when it dissolved, and Mr. Brown's next business connection was in the job-printing business with H. F. Gove, under the style of Leonard Brown & Co., at No. 56 Central Street, the same number at which the deceased first started business on his own account, about thirty years before. Mr. Gove withdrew after about a year, and Mr. Brown continued for a short time alone. Since that time he has worked in the various printing offices of the city, his last employment previous to giving up active work being in *The Mail* office.

"He became connected with the fire department during the early years of his residence here, and for several years was associated with Wamesit Three, having suggested the name for the engine when it was added to the department. He subsequently became foreman of Wamesit, and during his captaincy it became the pet company of the department. It was during his command of the company, in August, 1849, that the company ran to Lawrence to a fire, and would probably have disbanded had it not been for the efforts of Hon. J. G. Peabody, at that time a member of the board of engineers. Mr. Brown was a member of the Veteran Firemen's Association and took great interest in the organization so long as his health permitted. He was a member of the common council from Ward Three in 1853, and a representative to the legislature from Ward Two in 1881. He was the last charter member of Ancient York Lodge of Masons, and a member of the Commandery and other branches of the order. He was also a member of the Old Residents' Association and Post No. 42, G. A. R.

"His surviving family consists of a widow, one son, William Schouler (named after Mr. Brown's first employer in Lowell, for

whom he always entertained the highest regard), and one daughter, the wife of ex-Alderman W. D. Brown. The son is a mechanical engineer in Boston.

"The deceased, probably, had as extensive an acquaintance in the city as any of the older residents and by all was esteemed and respected. He was familiarly known by the title of 'Deacon,' and probably but few of his later acquaintances ever knew that the title was simply a nickname. His illness has been of long continuance, and he has felt for the past year that recovery was impossible. He made all arrangements for his end with methodical precision. Few men have died and left behind a pleasanter memory than Leonard Brown."

With the foregoing sketches of those who have been taken from our ranks, and the brief summary of facts connected with the workings of this Association, as they have transpired during the year, I can, in closing, only renew the hope that each member will do what he can to increase its membership, and bear in mind that everyone in our ranks is cordially invited to prepare papers and submit facts, no matter in how plain and unpretentious a form, as all contribute greatly to the value of our records.

Although in the early history of the Association, it was customary to appoint a committee at each quarterly meeting to furnish historical papers to be read at the next, our late secretary has very faithfully attended to this duty, and, as we are all aware, with great success. Deprived of him, we should all now interest ourselves, and a notice, at any time, to the present secretary, of the preparation of any contribution, bearing upon the history of Lowell, will be gratefully received, and a place assigned for its presentation to this Association. Let each of us, therefore, consider himself under this personal obligation, and we will be assured of future meetings of interest and usefulness.

XXIX. Sketch of Lucy E. Penhallow, by James S. Russell. Read May 5, 1891.

SAMUEL PENHALLOW, the first immigrant of the Penhallow family to this country, was born at St. Mabyn, County of Cornwall, in Great Britain, July 2, 1665. In 1686 he came to Boston, in New England. He joined the church in Charlestown and pursued his studies for the ministry, but soon abandoned that purpose and removed to Portsmouth, N. H., where, on July 1, 1687, he married Mary Cutts, daughter of John Cutts, the first president of the council of the province of New Hampshire. Mary Cutts was born in Portsmouth, Nov. 17, 1669, and in her eighteenth year married Mr. Penhallow, inheriting from her father a valuable patrimony, part of which was land whereon a large portion of the town of Portsmouth is built.

Mr. Penhallow engaged in trade, accumulated a large estate, and "lived in a style not inferior to any of the first rank in the government." He was early appointed a magistrate, and in the discharge of his duty was prompt, decisive, and a terror to evil-doers.

In 1714, Mr. Penhallow was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in 1717 chief justice of the same court, which office he held until his death, Dec. 2, 1726. He was the author of the History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians.

Mr. Penhallow was the father of thirteen children, the fourth of whom was John, born Jan. 13, 1693. He married Elizabeth, widow of John Watts. She was

a daughter of Peter Butler of Boston. He was a clerk of the Supreme Court in New Hampshire in 1711, and later was a merchant in Boston, engaged in trade with the West Indies and England. Still later he was engaged in a new settlement at Georgetown, Me., about sixty miles east of the Piscataqua, where he had a long-continued warfare with the savages. Mrs. Penhallow, writing May 2, 1721, to her kinsman, says: "We met with many discouragements in this new settlement." And he writes to Colonel Hutchinson: "I suppose you have had an account of the confusion and disorder occasioned by the Indians, both at Cork and Garden Island, which has driven the people from Cork down here, who would have gone to Boston, in their fright, if we had not stopped them."

In August, 1721, Mr. Penhallow, then governor of Arrowsick (an island at the mouth of Kennebec River), was commissioned a captain "that he might fight for his property and kill Indians according to law and order." He writes, June 15, 1422: "May it please your Excellency, the common calamity of this part of the country is such that the people upon the river and bay are all flying for shelter, and that no arguments can persuade them to keep their houses."

"The Indians began their hostilities upon nine or ten families, and took such a number of them as they thought fit; they used them very barbarously, forcing into their houses at midnight, hauling them out of bed by the hair and stripping them of whatever was valuable."

With this commission to "kill Indians according to law and order," we have this letter, written Portsmouth, Nov. 9, 1728: "When I arrived in this place, I took care to write to the Rev. ministers of Boston, in your name,

thanking them for their care of you, in behalf of a minister; since which the Rev. Mr. Colman's care for you has been such as to prevail with Mr. Baxter's son to come among you. I now desire and earnestly charge you to carry it respectful and dutiful to him. Let the Sabbath be carefully regarded and diligent attendance on the public worship. Take care not to begin your weekly labors so as to borrow of the Sabbath. What I write is out of a sincere desire for your good."

The son did the fighting and the father wrote the history of the war.

John Penhallow had three children, Mary, Samuel and John. This John, the third in descent, was born about 1720, and married (1) Sarah, daughter of Hunking Wentworth, about 1750, by whom he had eleven children. For a second marriage he took for wife Ann Wendell, sister of Judge Oliver Wendell. But she left no issue. Hunking, the tenth child (named for his grandfather, Hunking Wenthworth) was born in October, 1766, and died Sept. 24, 1826.

Benjamin, the youngest child, was born in 1768. He married (1) Lucy Hart, who bore him one child, named Oliver Wendell, born in 1796 and died in 1874. He married (1) Margaret, daughter of John Scott and Hannah Pearce. They had twelve children and all but one daughter died young. By his second wife, Frances Smith, he had no issue.

The second marriage of Benjamin, the father, was somewhat romantic—an instance of love at first sight. Standing in his store one day he observed a strange lady enter a house opposite, to rest awhile on her journey to Portland. He was so decidedly smitten that he sought an introduction to her, and in due time they were married. She was Susan Pearce, daughter of Col. William Pearce of Gloucester, Mass.

Benjamin Penhallow was appointed judge of sessions in New Hampshire. "His little shop afforded to the public the needles, pins, thread and tape, snuff and other useful and fancy articles, while in the adjoining room the penalties of violated law were decreed with all the rigor which a sense of the majesty of the law required. This little room of justice was only large enough to admit the magistrate, the culprit, two attorneys and four witnesses. If more appeared they could only look in at the door. The smallness of the room seemed to make the law operations work with more celerity." "Judge Penhallow was a strict constructionist." "He imbibed his father's concientious nicety. If everybody could be made to move with the same carefulness and affability the world would have few accidents to record. The influence of such examples does not die in a single generation."

By Judge Penhallow's second marriage he had seven children. Lucy Elizabeth, the eldest, was born May 29, 1805, and died in December, 1880. Susan Pearce was born April 29, 1807, and died in November, 1880. The two sisters died near together. Miss Lucy was so overcome by her sister's death that she met with an accident that proved fatal. Ann Calder was born Aug. 11, 1809, and died in 1885. William Pearce was born July 19, 1813; Julia Maria was born in 1814, and died in January, 1873.

At this date, 1891, the Penhallow family is not represented in Lowell. The only one of the name residing here, is the widow of Benjamin Hunking, the youngest of the family, born May 1, 1816, and died March 30, 1873.

After Miss Lucy's appointment to the High School, the family, consisting of the mother and four daughters,

came to Lowell, and located on Tyler Street, midway on the south side, where they continued until the mother's death; then the sisters moved to Kirk Street, into a tenement in the brick block on the site of the present primary school-house. The destruction of that house caused their removal to a tenement in the brick block on the south side of Appleton Street, which they purchased and occupied while they lived, excepting sister Ann, who was unfortunate, both in body and mind, and who, in accordance with their mother's advice, was provided for away. They were all peculiar, but Miss Julia least so. She was more humble, sympathetic and like other people.

Miss Susan was more domestic and subservient. But Miss Lucy was the governing spirit. All acquiesced willingly, in appearance, to her will. They lived by rule well-defined. Each day in the week and each month in the year had its duties assigned. Their round of formal calls must be made twice in a year. Their circle of acquaintance was extensive, but their intimates were limited. On a leisure half-day the trio would start out to do a certain section of the city, Miss Lucy on the lead and Miss Susan and Julia, each two steps in her rear. The short calls at some houses and the cards at others would in due time do up that section for another six months.

Their distinguishing trait was excessive family pride. Being descended from a long line of noble ancestors, they were bound to keep up the appearance, at least, of that nobility. No one ever found them in dishabille. Unless all was in order within, one might ring and ring and hear no response. From the fact that the daughters resorted to teaching and a son to a mechanical trade, we infer that the father died leaving them without

the means of keeping up a style of living congenial to their aspirations.

Benjamin Hunking, the eighth child, learned the printer's trade, and in 1843, went to the Sandwich Islands. There he introduced the first printing-press and established a newspaper. He came to Lowell in 1847, and established a job printing office, doing an extensive and honorable business. He took a more rational view of life and accepted the situation that fortune had assigned him. He married for love, in defiance of family pride. This was the sorest affliction to the sisters. But love proved a sure guide in this instance. His wife was worthy of him and he of her, and the fruit of their marriage was two worthy sons. These their Aunt Lucy, passing by their parents, took the charge of as if they were her own children, conducted their education, lavished upon them her favors, apparently intending them to sustain the family nobility.

William Pearce, the elder, is in Chicago engaged in mercantile business, and Arthur Lincoln, though a graduate of Harvard College, turned aside from professional life and is pursuing his fortune on the plains of New Mexico.

Miss Lucy, with all her efforts, failed to inspire her nephews with her ambition. They turned their backs upon antiquity to live in the present. They disposed of the ancient relics at an immense sacrifice, handing over to the junk-shop quantities of ancient documents that would have delighted the heart of any antiquarian. They spared only a few things, at their Aunt Lucy's request, among which was the old bible, containing a most extensive family registry. The book is now in the possession of the nephew at Chicago.

Of the other brother I have been able to learn but

little, beside his name and date of birth. He was named for his grandfather, Col. William Pearce, who was a man of wealth and extensive influence in Essex County.

Miss Lucy had a taste for literature and art, which she cultivated and employed in writing for various periodicals and multiplying paintings, as she had leisure. She taught a young ladies' select school in Nashua, N. H., also in Haverhill, Mass., and was teacher of the ornamental for a short time in the Dracut Academy. At the instance of some Portsmouth friends residing here, she conducted a genteel school in the Unitarian vestry. In 1840 she was elected principal of the female department of the Lowell High School, when the school was first opened in the new building on Kirk and Anne Streets. Previously the school had been under male teachers exclusively. But in the new building the sexes were seated in different rooms, each with its own principal, yet the school was united as one, the female department being in some degree subordinate. Miss Penhallow held her position for seven years, having her sister Julia for assistant much of the time.

Subsequent teachers have differed from Miss Penhallow in many respects and among themselves; but no one made better scholars or trained them more judiciously. Those whose purpose was to make the most of their opportunities, respected and even loved her. But others chafed under her vigilant eye, which looked well to their orderly conduct and neatness and even to their proper carriage on the public streets.

The crisis soon came. Certain young ladies concocted a suspicious-looking paper in which they mingled their sentences in such manner that each could say, "I didn't write it." It was placed where it might take the

eye of Miss Penhallow in her rounds of inspection. It took, and its uncomplimentary character led to an investigation by the higher powers, which resulted in the establishment of her authority beyond further question. One sentence in this remarkable document ran thus: "Mr. Russell says Miss Penhallow shall never make his coffee."

Another anecdote, illustrating the spirit of some pupils at that time I may relate. A certain young lady having incurred the displeasure of Miss Penhallow, the case was referred to Dr. Green, the sub-committee. After the interview with the doctor, her mates asked her what the doctor said to her. "Oh," said she, "he wanted me to kiss him!" This scandal led to the calling in of the doctor once more. Said the doctor to her: "Did you say I wanted you to kiss me?" Didn't you?" says she. The Doctor came off second best that time.

The Penhallows were an important accession to the Unitarian Church, Miss Lucy especially. She was the head of the female department of the evening school at the Free Chapel for three years, and of the male department for one year. She conducted the bible class for women thirty-two years, until her death.

The Sunday School was held after the afternoon service, which she always attended, and then retired with her class to their room. Her instruction was thought by some to be more dictatorial and oratorical than sympathetic. "She taught as one having authority, and not as the Scribes."

One of her female friends who knew her well, considers her most striking characteristic, "her fidelity in the discharge of duty and in her friendships." She says she was warmly hospitable and glad to receive her friends. She always exhibited a dignified and unwaver-

ing courtesy, and never unbent to her most intimate friends. She was very punctilious in discharging all social obligations.

It should be said in justice to Miss Penhallow, that she repented of her neglect of her sister-in-law, entreated her forgiveness, and would accept of no other person to nurse her in her last sickness. I presume there are surviving many elderly ladies — mothers and even grandmothers — who remember Miss Penhallow with increasing favor. Even those who once thought her too exacting, have modified their opinions as the juster judgement of maturity has had its proper influence.

One gentleman says: "She was a shrewd and efficient manager and mistress of her household. She was proud of her inherited gentility, and with some reason." These characteristics agree with my own observation and the opinion of others who have been consulted. As evidence of her efficient management, may be adduced that it is said that her estate netted some $60,000, which much surprised even those who were acquainted with their economical habits.

XXX. Memoir of Horatio Wood, by his Son. Read August 4, 1891.

HORATIO WOOD, son of John and Elizabeth (Smith) Wood, was born at Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 1, 1807. The father was for fifty years a prominent merchant of Newburyport, and, for several years, president of the Mechanics Bank in that city. The son was fitted for college, partly at the Newburyport Academy, but chiefly by Mr. Caleb Cushing, who was then entering upon the practice of the law and was employed by several gentlemen to give their sons a better preparation for college than could be got at the schools of the town. In the spring of 1823, I think, the boys and their tutor spent a day or two in making a little excursion to see the busy beginning of what was afterward the city of Lowell. In 1823 Mr. Wood entered the freshman class at Harvard College, graduating in 1827. Beside the excellence of the usual instruction, the college then enjoyed certain new stimulating influences. Professor Ticknor, fresh from the German universities, gave lectures on French and Spanish literature. Dr. Charles Follen, an enthusiastic teacher, gave instruction in the German language, introduced gymnastics among the students and taught them how to run long distances "with a minimum of fatigue." Mr. Wood's copious and carefully written notes of Professor Ticknor's lectures are still preserved; he was captivated by Dr. Follen, studied German, practised the gymnastic exercises vigorously and kept up through life the habit of exercising in the open air. The mode

of running he frequently used, I am sure, until after he was seventy years of age. After graduation he taught school for a year at Concord, Mass., and for another year at Newburyport. He thoroughly enjoyed the year at Concord — his school and the social advantages of the place. Among his pupils were two who afterward removed to this city: Mr. Frederic Parker, deceased, who was for a year secretary of the Board of Directors of the Ministry-at-Large while Mr. Wood was minister; and Mr. James S. Russell, whose suggestive teaching of mathematics Mr. Wood's son enjoyed in his turn.

In 1829 Mr. Wood entered the Divinity School of Harvard College. Among his classmates were Rev. A. P. Peabody, his life-long friend; Rev. Charles Babbidge of Pepperell, and Rev. Henry A. Miles, formerly of this city. His real life from 1830 to 1844 is best learned from the following account, written by him, which I found among his papers after his death. It is written in so confidential a spirit, it is so complete a revelation of his early aspirations, that I can only imagine it to have been the beginning of an article intended to be read to his brother ministers-at-large at some meeting of their association.

My mind was taken by the first movements of Rev. Dr. Tuckerman among the poorest, the most friendless, the most neglected, the most exposed to sin and ruin of our fellow-men. It struck me like the dawning of a new day for the Unitarian Church if it would be not only doctrinally, but practically, truly Christian. Rev. F. T. Gray, Rev. C. F. Barnard, Rev. J. T. Sargent, Rev. R. C. Waterston,* I saw step forward, one after another, and put their hands zealously and vigorously to the plough of Christ in the new field, and my heart went with them. On a Saturday of my

*Those named were all ministers-at-large in Boston. Dr. Tuckerman began his labor in December, 1826; Mr. Barnard in April, 1832; Mr. Gray in October, 1833; Mr. Sargent in June, 1837, and Mr. Waterston in 1840.

last collegiate year, in 1827,* I went alone and spent a day in visiting the crowded rooms, cellars and attics of Broad Street [Boston], where there was a stifled mass of degradation and woe. I let nothing escape my eyes, heard all tales, sat down and talked familiarly with many till they unburdened themselves and turned themselves inside out, letting me know all that was in their hearts. I carried away knowledge and lessons which were never to leave me.

When in the Theological School, I started a philanthropic society of inquiries into missions and other plans of benevolent operation, and sought out and invited Dr. Tuckerman to go to Cambridge and address the students on his new experience, which he did with such interest, feeling and effect that I was as clay in the hands of the potter. Soon after I took another excursion alone to the under world and visited the spirits in prison; went to the State Prison, felt interested in the Sunday School effort in behalf of the prisoners, offered my services as a teacher and asked leave of the chaplain to introduce to the charge of the vacant classes as many of brother students as might feel impelled to come; a proposition which was readily accepted. The next day, Sunday, I entered upon the work with William G. Eliot, now of St. Louis; Nathanael Hall, now of Dorchester; [Frederic W.] Holland and others; which was the beginning of a train of divinity students from Harvard, as teachers in the prison, kept up for years. On this same Saturday I also visited Lechmere Point jail, which I found without any chaplain and never visited by any brother or sister of mercy. I talked with every prisoner, male and female, felt my bowels yearn toward them and offered to the jailor my own services and that of others, undoubtedly to be procured, in Sabbath instruction to the inmates. I was referred to Sheriff Varnum of Lowell for permission, visited Lowell with Mr. Hall and readily obtained admission at any time for the purpose in view. The jail was then divided into large square cells with from one to ten drunkards, prostitutes, thieves and desperate persons in each. The plan adopted was for one student to be locked into a cell, the keeper retiring to his house, for one hour of talk and instruction with the inmates.† Generally five or six students thus employed themselves on Sabbath mornings. With some of us storms or severe cold had little power to deter from the service here or at

* He was then nineteen years old.

†At one time Mr. Wood was shut up in a cell with a single occupant who soon showed signs of insanity, and, drawing a knife, threatened to kill him. He appeared not to regard the threat and contrived, unseen by the prisoner, to throw his handkerchief out of the window. This attracted the attention of the keeper who instantly released him.

Charlestown, though the distance was from one and a half to three miles. I went myself on Sundays first to the Lechmere Point jail and from there to the State Prison; the walk and the instruction were considerable but love for the work made it easy. Thus was I born to be a minister-at-large.

In 1832, having completed the course of study at the Divinity School, I took the common round of a beginner in the ministry, preaching when invited at Portsmouth, Boston, Providence, New Bedford, etc.; but mere preaching, shifting supplies and a liability to an early settlement were not to my mind, so I decided to seek employment for a couple of years in new societies at a distance, go to work somewhat as a missionary, complete my knowledge of society in all its grades, in its country as well as city aspects, and get needed experience. At Fryeburg in Maine, but for most of the time in the two neighboring towns of Franklin and Salisbury, N. H., I labored with my might to enlighten and liberalize, and to make practical, consistent christians, where darkness, prejudice, despotic creed and resisting worldliness with ruining habits held sway.

When the two years were completed, as the two societies were not in a condition to maintain stated preaching, I left with most valuable experience and with my powers in a good working condition. I received and accepted a call to settle in Walpole, N. H., but it was too comfortable and dead a state of society to operate in to advantage in following out a missionary propensity, and in four years I withdrew from a ministerial partnership which, when once formed, I had hoped would be for life. Soon I was called to take charge of a society in Tyngsborough, near Lowell, which was in a state of transformation from Calvinism to Liberalism. There was at this time a great struggle for supremacy between four sects; but education, social life and good morals were in a low state. In this town and at Walpole the most lowly, the most ignorant and unchristian were made objects of special attention. It was not the Society and the village but those unconnected and unreached, the uncared for children and those living in the outskirts of the town, to whom sympathy and effort were particularly given.*

This course was the course of nature, of an adopted and cherished idea — and of Providence who was leading me on, though I

* One of Mr. Wood's side labors in Tyngsborough was the formation of a Tree Association, by which the common adjoining the Unitarian Church, before a dusty waste, was planted with trees and grass. The spot now adds much to the beauty of a beautiful village.

knew it not, to a large field for the action of my energies where I could be of most service to man, and accomplish a work for which, it would appear, I was best fitted.

While at Tyngsborough, after a six years' service, I was invited to take charge of the Ministry-at-Large in Lowell, just started. I leaped to go, believing it to be just the opening for me. This was in 1844.*

Even those who knew Mr. Wood best when he first came to Lowell were surprised at the skill and tact he at once displayed in dealing with the very poor, at the knowledge of right methods of alms-giving shown in his early annual reports, and at the assured manner with which he entered upon his new duties. He did not falter or feel his way, made no misstep, but went on with a swift and steady progress, retarded only by lack of means and the limitations of time and strength. The perusal of the above auto-biographical fragment dispels all wonder at his speedy success.

Before I speak in detail of Mr. Wood's work in Lowell, let me say a word of the city as he found it, and of the institution of which he was to take charge. It has been said many times that Lowell was fortunate in its founders. In the early days the chief stockholders in the mills and the resident agents employed by them were, for the most part, men of large and liberal minds, many of them college-bred. They sincerely desired that their work-people should be men and women of good

* I will give briefly the chief events of Mr. Wood's life, with dates, for the period included in his account.

He graduated from the Divinity School of Harvard College in 1832; was ordained as an evangelist at Portsmouth, N. H., Oct. 24, 1833; was settled at Walpole, N. H., from Sept. 24, 1834, to June 22, 1838; married, March 11, 1835, Miss Abby Abbot, daughter of Rev. Jacob and Catharine (Thayer) Abbot,—his friend, Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, then of Portsmouth, performing the ceremony; was settled at Tyngsborough, Mass., from October, 1838, to October, 1844; took charge of the Ministry-at-Large, Lowell, Mass., Oct. 28, 1844.

moral character, that the surroundings of the operatives should be such as to preserve their morality and increase their intelligence, and they took measures to that end.

As Dr. John O. Green once said, there was the added motive of self-interest, for the New England farmers hesitated about trusting their daughters in a manufacturing town; still there was the benevolent feeling and a sense of moral responsibility. The new town was fortunate, too, that many young men of high character, education and ability came here to find an opening in the practice of the professions of law and medicine and in the conduct of business. The influence of these men — the mill-owners, the agents and the better class of residents — gave rise to a spirit of liberality and of consideration in the treatment of the operatives which has done much for the prosperity of the city and of the manufacturing companies, and for the stability of their welfare.

But in 1844 the character of the city was undergoing a rapid change. Its prosperity and quick growth in population* had been noised abroad and a stream of poorer persons, seeking employment, was pouring in — most of them from Ireland. The manufacturing corporations were relaxing, perhaps necessarily, their previously almost parental care of the operatives. In May, 1843, several members of the Unitarian Society formed what was called the Unitarian Missionary Society. In June, 1844, this Society, impelled, probably, by the increase of poverty from immigration,† resolved to drop the word "Unitarian" from its title and to establish an

* Population in 1830, 6,474; in 1840, 20,796; in 1850, 33,383.

† Between 1844 and 1852, inclusive, twelve ministries-at-large were organized in New England; three in Boston, making five in that city, and nine in other cities. In 1850 Mr. Wood originated the "Association of Ministers-at-Large in New England," a society which still exists and holds regular meetings.

unsectarian ministry-at-large. Dr. E. S. Gannett once said that he thought the term "ministry-at-large" originated with Dr. Tuckerman; that the name was given because the minister-at-large had the whole city for his field—the poor to relieve, the degraded to raise, the well-to-do and benevolent to bring into communication and sympathy with the poor. The Lowell Missionary Society appointed Rev. Crawford Nightingale the first minister of the new institution, who held the situation but for one month, because, upon trial, he modestly thought himself unfitted for the peculiar duties of the place. At the instigation of Rev. Henry A. Miles, pastor of the Unitarian Church, the Society invited Mr. Wood to assume the vacant position. He began his labors Oct. 28, 1844. He once defined the work of the Ministry-at-Large to be "a large intertwined work of religion, education and charity." In my necessarily brief account of his management of the institution, I shall consider it under these three heads of charity, education and religion.

During the first years of Mr. Wood's service the number of persons seeking assistance was large in proportion to the population. Laborers, chiefly Irish, were coming to the city with their families in increasing numbers and many of the most industrious had so exhausted their means in coming that they needed aid until they could obtain employment.

In 1848, especially, the number of those who really desired work and could not get it was very large and there was much suffering. Beside the able-bodied and industrious, whose passage was paid by themselves or their friends, many infirm and idle paupers were sent here, their expenses paid, from other cities, from the country towns of New England, from the alms-houses of Ireland and, in 1851, from Canada. Confronted by this

mass of poverty and beggary, Mr. Wood was compelled to adopt a method of alms-giving adapted to the limited means under his control and calculated to lessen pauperism instead of increasing it.

He always relieved extreme suffering whether there was money in the "Poor's Purse" of the Ministry-at-Large or not; that is, no one should starve or freeze if he could help it. Beyond that, he employed the means of the Ministry-at-Large only to relieve those who were temporarily disabled by sickness or other misfortune. One exception he made to this rule; he gave slight continuous assistance to some aged or infirm persons who could almost support themselves and were anxious to do their utmost to escape the alms-house. He strove to furnish the needed relief as far as possible without the expenditure of money. Sometimes the applicant had well-to-do relatives who could be shamed into doing for him; or he only needed work which could be got by inquiry; perhaps he was a member of a church able to do for him and willing if his wants were known; or he could be assisted to some other town where he might reasonably expect to do better. Still, when all these persons were disposed of, there remained two classes; the first comprising those poor by reason of idleness and vice; the second, those permanently disabled by illness or accident, and those families which had lost the earning members. For these last there was only relief from the city government and the dreaded alms-house. As to the idle and vicious, he would not see them starve, but he thought they should be well pinched into adopting better courses. Before giving anything to an applicant, unless it were a little dole of food, he made a thorough investigation into his circumstances, learned his reputation with respectable neighbors, visited his home and, if

he suspected imposture, did not hesitate minutely to examine the premises. He sometimes made ludicrous discoveries of hidden treasure—food, furniture and clothing given by the recklessly benevolent. He did not search for impostors alone, but also for those shrinking poor who suffered in secret and were ashamed to beg. In the very coldest weather he used to go rapidly through the crowded districts to see if any were without fuel. In these tours of investigation he received much information voluntarily given by those warm-hearted poor who felt for others poorer than themselves.

Mr. Wood's unwillingness to assist the undeserving frequently brought him, at first, into conflict with the well-to-do and benevolent. It must be remembered that in 1844, most New Englanders had seen little of real or feigned poverty and did not know how to deal with it. They made a feeble resistance, if any, to the fluent beggar with his tale of woe and exaggerated expressions of gratitude. The city then swarmed with beggars running from door to door; ladies gave freely and reported the cases to Mr. Wood. When he refused to give aid they were indignant and thought him hard hearted, but, after being repeatedly duped, they learned to have confidence in his judgment and resolved to give only through him. In a few years he was able to say, in one of his reports, that street beggary had almost entirely ceased.

During Mr. Wood's twenty-four years of service as minister-at-large there were at least five periods when there was unusual suffering from poverty: from 1846 to 1848, owing to an excessive immigration; in 1850–51, a time of depression in manufacturing when the mills were partly closed; during the commercial crisis of 1857–58; at the beginning of the War, and at its close.

In 1857, the stoppage of business, the lack of employment and the consequent poverty were general, but the unusual efforts made by citizens to raise funds for charitable uses went far to meet the difficulty. Early in the War a majority of the manufacturing companies closed their mills, some even selling out their supplies of cotton; their action at that time formed a marked exception to their usual consideration for the welfare of the operatives which it is not pleasant to recall. A more unselfish policy would have been as much to the advantage of the mills as to that of the work-people they employed. There was then a good deal of suffering and Mr. Wood found it very hard to get money to relieve it. Matters grew much worse toward the close of the War in consequence of a rise in the prices of food and clothing, much more rapid than the rise in wages. He says in his report for the year ending in October, 1864: "In the cotton-manufacturing district of Lowell, the wearing of cotton cloth was entirely abandoned by not a few. . . . I have never known so many people to live so low. Some came down to two meals a day, others to only one." One who well remembers that time said to me recently: "Women and children came in early winter to the office of the Ministry-at-Large wearing but one thin garment with no underclothing. I stripped our house of all we could spare, and was obliged to buy poor cotton cloth for the Ministry at fifty cents a yard. At the sewing school we made undergarments from the fragments discarded by societies working for the soldiers." This was almost the only time that Mr. Wood had the pain of seeing extreme suffering which he could not relieve. He spent all he dared in excess of the charity fund at his disposal and found it almost impossible to obtain money from citizens. Their purses and

their generosity had been exhausted to furnish supplies for the Sanitary Commission, for soldiers, sailors and their families. But, while worthy poor were barely kept alive, impostors were posing as soldiers' widows with success.

The sum of money expended each year by the Ministry-at-Large for charitable purposes was called the Poor's Purse; it was at Mr. Wood's disposal and he had to account for it. He was obliged, especially in the earlier years, to raise a good part of it himself, and by every possible device. He organized courses of lectures; when people got tired of these, he had, for several years, floral sales on the Fourth of July, and a great labor they were for him and for Mrs. Wood; later he arranged promenade concerts. During the latter half of his term of service more money came in of itself and he had less labor; still the furnishing of the Poor's Purse was always a source of care and anxiety.

When Mr. Wood began his ministry in 1844, he found here an unusual degree not only of poverty but of ignorance. A large proportion of the Irish immigrants were unable to read and write. Two months after his arrival in the city he opened an evening school on two evenings a week at the Free Chapel on Middlesex Street; the third school of the kind in New England. The inconvenience of the place for the purpose was enough to have deterred most men from the undertaking. The Ministry-at-Large had then the use only of the second story of the building; this story contained the audience-room and two small dark closets. All the materials of instruction had to be packed into these closets and brought out again weekly. He says in one of his reports: "The starting of the school necessitated much personal solicitation and expla-

nation.* One evening I managed to gain admission to a theatre of wild and ignorant boys in Belvidere and persuaded them all to drop their theatre and join our school, which they did the next school night. The school in one month numbered two hundred scholars, male and female." † In after years he advertised his schools by posters, placed about the streets and in the mills. In 1846, or early in 1847, the Ministry-at-Large was enabled to hire the whole of the Free Chapel building so that the school had better accommodations and the attendance was much increased. For several seasons both stories and the basement were occupied by the school

In January, 1853, Mr. Wood opened two other evening schools; one at the Howard Chapel in Centralville; the other at the Suffolk Street Hall, in a region densely populated by Irish. The Centralville school was carried on only for two years as Mr. Wood found the labor too great in addition to all his other duties. In 1853 there were in all the schools 756 pupils from twelve to sixty years of age; in 1855, 1,000 pupils; in 1857, 1,200 pupils and sixty-eight teachers. These numbers include all those whose names were registered. Usually about three-fourths of those registered came long enough to be called attending scholars. Those who failed to continue their attendance were chiefly women who, probably, became discouraged by the rigor of the season. The whole number of pupils was about equally divided between the sexes. In the Suffolk Street school there was usually more young men; in the Middlesex Street school, more young women. None were admitted who attended the public schools. At first none were received

* To obtain teachers and pupils. He had also to make it understood that no religious instruction would be given.

† Mrs. Wood acted as principal of the female department of the Middlesex Street school for the greater part of the twenty-four years it was carried on.

under twelve years of age; soon the age of admission was raised to fourteen, and later to fifteen years. There was always a goodly number of pupils over twenty years of age, and always some over thirty. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the branches chiefly taught. For several years the privilege of taking books from the City Library, then not a free library, was given at the close of each season to the most meritorious scholars. The greater part of the pupils were employed in the mills. On one corporation, the Hamilton, where especial effort was made to induce the operatives to attend the evening school, the number of those unable to sign their names was reduced in three years from three hundred to thirty. The eagerness of the young people to avail themselves of this chance to learn, and the determination which brought them out in spite of fatigue and wintry weather were most gratifying. It was most interesting to observe the older scholars, those who came at twenty, thirty, forty years of age to learn to read and write. I can see them now as they sat laboring over their hard and novel task and striving to overcome the drowsiness induced by fatigue and the heat of the crowded room. Many of adult age acquired a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic which enabled them to obtain permanent employment in place of uncertain day labor. In after years Mr. Wood was not unfrequently accosted by those who wished to thank him for the instruction received in the evening school which had given them a better position in life. Then was he paid for his labor. None of the teachers were paid; all gave their services, many for two, three years or more. Some were teachers in the public schools, and the majority labored in some way during the day. A few became so interested in their scholars as to continue

the instruction after the schools had closed for the season.

Mr. Wood organized the schools, procured the teachers, the materials for instruction, and through his influence and efforts the money was obtained to defray the expenses. He was the acting head of each school. Many of the pupils were unused to discipline or control; although most of them were restrained by their desire to learn, still a few were disposed to make disturbance. Mr. Wood always had a policeman at the outer door to keep roughs away from the entrance, but he never called the man inside to assist him in maintaining order, as he thought it would lessen his authority to do so. If a pupil was disorderly, he was quick to detect the offender and ordered him to leave the school for the evening. If the boy refused to go and clung to his chair, Mr. Wood put him out at once. Although a small man, he had much muscular strength and never feared that he should not accomplish what he undertook. When a pupil was repeatedly disorderly, he was expelled from the school for the season, but this extreme step was seldom necessary. When the Suffolk Street school was begun, it was feared by those influential in that region that, not simply an educational, but a religious invasion of their district was attempted. A strong feeling of opposition to the school was excited, and one evening, when this feeling was at its height, the attending policeman was absent by some mistake. Mr. Wood saw the hall-way filling with roughs; there were disorderly cries in the school, and riotous proceedings seemed imminent. He went into the entry, seized the ringleader by the collar, pulled him over backwards, dragged him down the stairs, his heels clattering from step to step, and dropped him on the sidewalk. The other intruders left the entry at Mr.

Wood's order, the disturbance in the school-room was quelled, and, for six years, a most successful school was kept at that place.

These evening schools were free in much the same sense that the public schools were then free — that is, the pupils bought their books and paid a small fee, ten or fifteen cents, for the use of stationery. The schools were most economically carried on; the cost of conducting them amounting to about fifty cents for each pupil for the season of four or five months. At first the expenses were paid chiefly from the slender Poor's Purse, but, in 1851, the School Committee of Lowell appropriated fifty dollars for the support of the Middlesex Street school; this appropriation was increased upon the establishment of the other schools, and, in 1855, it amounted to five hundred dollars. In 1859 the City assumed the management of the evening schools, and Mr. Wood was relieved from excessive labor almost beyond his strength. Still he continued his school at the Free Chapel on Middlesex Street, raising the age of admission to sixteen years and offering instruction in higher branches — for instance, book-keeping and mechanical drawing. He found that the elder pupils preferred his school where they did not have to associate with those much younger than themselves. During the twenty-four years he estimated that more than twelve thousand pupils attended his schools, and during that time he was absent but one evening, to attend the funeral of his mother.*

For about twenty years a sewing school was con-

* On June 29, 1891, after Mr. Wood's death, the School Committee of Lowell passed unanimously a series of resolutions recognizing him as the founder of evening schools in Lowell, and expressing their appreciation of "the philanthropic spirit that inspired him and his faithful band of assistant teachers to freely give their services" in instructing the illiterate of the city.

ducted at the Free Chapel on Wednesday afternoons during the colder part of the year, which was under the charge of Mrs. Wood and was attended by from eighty to two hundred girls, the greater part of them of foreign parentage.

Mr. Wood's efforts in behalf of religion were less prominent than his educational and charitable labors for several reasons. At first many persons supposed the establishment of the Ministry-at-Large to be a masked attempt to organize a second Unitarian Society; a supposition not unreasonable as a few Unitarians then desired that issue. Unless Mr. Wood could allay this prejudice, his usefulness as minister-at-large would speedily end, especially as he had to deal largely with Catholics, a sect peculiarly sensitive to religious interference. By exercising the utmost caution and by keeping himself entirely free from affiliation with any sect, he was most successful in overcoming the difficulty, and with a rapidity that seems remarkable as we look back upon it; in a few years he had the assistance, in money or service, of persons of every sect. He was well aware, too, that any reference to religious subjects only repelled the most degraded, and those he most desired to lead a step forward. Charity, physical aid, he once called the "entering wedge;" then came secular and moral instruction; finally, the inculcation of religious faith and feeling. It was the more difficult to induce the poor to attend the Sunday services because they wished on that day to rest, to enjoy the open air or to avail themselves of the opportunity to do many things which they could not do during the week. The attendance on the Sunday services was not large, varying from seventy to two hundred persons. Mr. Wood never solicited the presence of those connected with other churches, but of those

who went to no church, and many of them he had to supply with suitable clothing to enable them to come. His preaching was never doctrinal, but of a plain and practical nature. Beside conducting the services at the Free Chapel, he acted as chaplain at the Poor Farm for six years, beginning with 1851; then at the Jail for two years; introducing into each, for the first time, religious services which have continued to the present day.

Mr. Wood made the strongest effort to attract and influence the young; but never admitted any children to his Sunday School who attended the schools of other churches. At the conclusion of the morning service, the children remained for a few moments to receive each a juvenile paper; in the afternoon, during the warmer months, he distributed among them flowers gathered in his own garden. The Sunday School, which he superintended, was held at the conclusion of the afternoon service. It opened in 1844 with four scholars, had in two years one hundred and fifty registered scholars, and in after years from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty. For the enjoyment of the children there were the Fruit Festival in the autumn, the Christmas celebration with its tree of gifts, and on the evening of Washington's birthday, and at other times during the winter, social gatherings at which the children were taught to amuse themselves in a free but orderly manner. Mr. Wood collected two small libraries for the children,—one of religious books distributed on Sunday, and one of miscellaneous books given out during the week. Some persons, both young and old, attended the religious exercises of the Ministry-at-Large for years, but for many the Free Chapel was a temporary, rather than a permanent, resort. A few, as their condition in life improved, naturally preferred some other place of worship, but many were drawn away

by other churches, which found it easier to replenish their congregations and Sunday Schools from the Chapel than to scour the streets as Mr. Wood did.

For the first two years he had the use only of the upper story of the Chapel building, and suffered much inconvenience for want of room. In 1846 the directors were enabled to hire the whole building. School-rooms and a storage-room were arranged in the basement; on the ground floor were a school-room, an office where applicants for aid were received at stated hours, and a room where clothing was kept for distribution. In April, 1863, Mr. Wood learned that the Hamilton and Appleton Corporations meditated selling the building. He instantly secured the refusal of it at a price generously low, quickly raised the money from a few persons, and bought the building. The property was conveyed to five trustees by a deed specifying that it should be used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes; that the management should be entirely unsectarian, and that the seats in the Chapel should be free.

I have already spoken of the "Poor's Purse," that portion of the annual receipts expended by Mr. Wood, chiefly in charity. The other expenses of the institution were paid from what was called the "General Fund," a sum at first given mostly by members of the Unitarian Society. In 1846, at the suggestion, and largely through the influence, of Mr. John Clark, the manufacturing corporations consented to give six hundred dollars, on condition that the like sum should first be contributed by citizens. In 1857, at the solicitation of Mr. Wood, the corporations increased their annual gift to one thousand dollars on the same conditions. Without this generosity of the corporations the usefulness of the Ministry-at-Large would have been greatly abridged, if, indeed, its

existence could have been maintained. The sum contributed by citizens was given by individuals of every religious sect, who pledged each an annual sum. This list of subscribers to the General Fund was a remarkably stable one. A little effort, from time to time, on the part of Mr. Wood and of others, kept the list full. Only once or twice, and then at times of unusual distress, was the management of the Ministry-at-Large obliged to make any public appeal for money.

Mr. Wood read every year to the Lowell Missionary Society a report of his operations for the preceding twelve months, which was printed and widely distributed. While the greater part of each report was taken up in giving a detailed account of the condition of the Ministry-at-Large and of his labors in its several departments, a few pages were always devoted to the treatment of some special subject, such as the causes of poverty, the methods of relieving it, the dwellings of the poor, the hours of labor, the effect of immigration upon the welfare of the city, the right treatment of vicious youth, etc. These general reflections attracted much attention to his reports, and he was often asked for copies by persons living in this and other countries who were interested in the solution of social problems.

He also availed himself of his report to introduce to the attention of the citizens of Lowell whatever new undertaking he thought the time demanded. To such suggestions, supplemented by some effort on his part, are owing the establishment of the City Reform School, the appointment of a Truant Commissioner by the city, and the organization of the Lowell Five Cent Savings Bank. I doubt if the Reform School ever took the shape he desired. At any rate he afterward came to the opinion that the majority of youthful offenders would do

better if they could be placed, singly, in respectable homes in the country. He said: "Very seldom is juvenile depravity so deep as it appears to be. It needs only separation from evil and subjection to good influences to work gradually, and sometimes speedily, out of the system." The Five Cent Savings Bank began operations in June, 1854. Mr. Wood was chosen its first president, and held the office until he resigned it in January, 1885, in consequence of physical disability.

Any account of Mr. Wood's conduct of the Ministry-at-Large would be incomplete which did not mention the valuable assistance he received from Mrs. Wood. In his last report as Minister he says: "Justice requires that the record should be made on these pages that Mrs. Wood in the evening school, in the sewing school, in the Sunday School, in the choir, in the clothing and library departments, has rendered constant service; her head, heart and hands have contributed materially to the results in which we all rejoice." It is but just to add that this constant service, which at times severely taxed her strength, was freely given without other compensation than the satisfaction of performing it.

During twenty-four years of service as Minister-at-Large, Mr. Wood labored to the extent of his strength, and at one period, from 1853 to 1859, beyond what was wise. In those years his week began with three services on Sunday beside the superintendence of his Sunday School. During the rest of the week he began his day by going to his office at eight o'clock to receive applicants for aid. The rest of the day was taken up with visiting, and in the evening came the schools from which he returned home at ten o'clock too excited to sleep. Beside these regular duties there was always some exceptional call upon his time and strength, and, under-

lying all, was the almost constant anxiety: "How shall I replenish my Poor's Purse." Even his iron constitution could never have endured the strain, were it not that his work was lighter in the warmer part of the year when he refreshed himself by the cultivation of his garden or by a summer journey. As it was he broke down three times: once from lameness caused by excessive walking; twice he was threatened with organic disease and was forced to rest for a month or two.

In 1868, after a long period of distress among the poor, the city became more prosperous and Mr. Wood's labor and care were somewhat lightened. He could contemplate with satisfaction the condition of the Ministry-at-Large. That institution, which at his coming he found poorly housed and without form, now owned its building; its usefulness was generally acknowledged, and its hold upon the regard of the citizens of Lowell was strong. Its resources had lately been increased by two funds, the Dalton and the Holbrook funds, of about five hundred dollars each, of which the interest was to be spent in aiding the poor. He had recently, under pledge of secrecy, been consulted by a wealthy resident of Lowell as to a provision in his will by which the income of the Ministry-at-Large would probably be largely augmented.* He looked forward to having an assistant and to carrying out long-cherished plans of benevolent action which lack of means had hitherto hindered his adopting. These pleasing anticipations were not to be realized.

* Mr. Thomas Nesmith, who died in 1870, left twenty-five thousand dollars to the City of Lowell on condition that the city should agree to pay annually six per cent. of that sum to certain trustees, under whose direction the income should be expended for the relief of the poor of Lowell. Without binding the trustees to any particular course of action, he expressed the wish that they should commit the income to the "Ministry-at-Large for distribution, especially so while the Rev. Horatio Wood, the present Minister-at Large, shall occupy and fill said office, . . . having great confidence in the present operations of said Ministry-at-Large and in the distribution, etc."

In September, 1868, the Board of Directors took such action, or rather came to such a determination, as to leave Mr. Wood, in his opinion, no course but to give up his office. With great reluctance he sent in his resignation, which took effect Dec. 31, 1868. Although he said little of it, his retirement from the Ministry-at-Large gave him great pain; how intense I never knew until since his death. His love for the institution and his desire for its prosperity were never diminished.

Before leaving the subject of the Ministry-at-Large, I beg to be excused if I add a word, which I should not venture to utter if it were merely to give expression to my own opinion. The function of the Ministry-at-Large has been somewhat misconceived. It has been too commonly supposed that it is simply a charitable association. This limited view of its scope has at times been held by persons concerned in its management, perhaps to its disadvantage. If Mr. Wood had made himself a mere routine almoner, the institution would never have attained its present prominence, or have enjoyed its present prosperity. He defined its work to be an "intertwined work of religion, education, and charity"; he believed the final object of that work to be the social, intellectual, and spiritual elevation of men and women, especially of the most degraded. The institution, while well provided with funds for the relief of poverty, now needs the means of performing more fully its higher duties. But, however ample the means of the Ministry-at-Large, the extent of its usefulness must depend largely upon the character of its minister, in whom should be found the qualities, not often combined, of force, sensibility, discretion, and zeal. When a man of these qualities is secured, let those whose duty it is see that his hands are strengthened and that he is not disheartened by personal care.

In 1869 Mr. Wood found himself without occupation. He hoped, probably, to find some employment of a philanthropic nature for which he was peculiarly fitted by his experience and personal qualities, but such positions are not common. He was now sixty-one years of age and could not easily adopt an entirely novel occupation. Indeed he felt unfitted, as well as disinclined, for the performance of the usual duties of a parish minister. But if remunerative labor is sometimes hard to find, there is always in every community enough good work to be done by those who will do it gratuitously.

In 1874, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Wood became interested in the People's Club of Lowell. This institution did not originate with him, as some newspapers stated at the time of his death. In 1872, at the instigation of Col. James Francis and Mr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., a meeting of prominent citizens was called to consider a plan for affording a place of innocent resort for those young persons who spent their evenings in walking the streets. A society was organized, rooms were hired, one for a reading-room, the other for an amusement and lecture-room, and the People's Club went into successful operation at once. At first men and women were admitted to the rooms, but the women soon ceased to come and it was decided to admit only men. When Mr. Wood became connected with the Club in 1874, its affairs were somewhat less flourishing than at first, chiefly because the young men who originated it, having their careers before them, were unable to afford the time its successful working required. But soon after Mr. Wood began to devote himself to its interests, the Club revived and the greater part of its management gradually fell into his hands. He procured the lecturers, the periodicals for the reading-room, the books for its library, and,

greatest labor of all, the money needed to carry it on. A portion of the money was given by annual subscriptions secured by Mr. Wood, but rather the larger part came from the liberality of the manufacturing corporations at his solicitation.*

In 1878 a woman's branch of the People's Club was opened in the Wyman's Exchange, on the corner of Merrimack and Central Streets. Two large rooms were rented and attractively furnished,— one for a reading-room, the other for an amusement and lecture-room. Entertaining and instructive lectures were secured by Mr. Wood at the expenditure of much time and labor. These were given every other Saturday evening; on the alternate evenings musical entertainments were provided, partly by him, but chiefly by an efficient committee of ladies. He discovered, somewhat unexpectedly, that it is more difficult, though it is perhaps even more desirable, to attract young women to the Club than young men. Of late years classes in various kinds of needle-work have been formed, which have done much to increase the attendance. Mr. Wood took great pleasure in the conduct of the Club. Every evening found him at the rooms, a happy observer when they were full.†

So far as Mr. Wood had to do with the expenditure of money for the several institutions with which he was

* Mr. Wood wrote in October, 1875: "The manufacturing corporations have just voted an appropriation for the People's Club. This act is in accordance with their considerate regard, from the first starting of the mills, for the spiritual, temporal, intellectual, and moral good of those in their employ, as evinced, formerly in grants to struggling churches, now to the Hospital, to the Ministry-at-Large, and to the Mechanics' Association. This has been wisdom and kindness, and has found its reward in the better lives and hearts of the operatives, with which Providence has closely connected material gain."

† Want of space will not permit me to give the names of many who have given much time to the interests of the People's Club, but I cannot refrain from mentioning Mr. James Watson, who has been its secretary from the beginning, who gave Mr. Wood valuable assistance, and who, for the last seven years, has taken his place in its management.

connected, it is noticeable how much he accomplished in proportion to the sums used. He seldom had much left over at the end of the year, for he was strongly of the opinion that charitable institutions which depend upon popular favor thrive, not by saving, but by efficient spending; that for them to save money, is to lose it. He kept the credit of his institutions good by always paying bills on the quarter-day. He was never asked for money due, but he often dunned tradesmen for their bills. In the disbursement of the Poor's Purse of the Ministry-at-Large, his expenditures several times exceeded the receipts, but only at times of unusual distress, and, even then, he never allowed the deficit to exceed what he knew he could himself obtain in a more prosperous time. Whenever the end of the year disclosed a deficiency, he was always, I am very sure, the only creditor unpaid.

His personal expenditure was always limited to his means. In his devotion to the interests of the Ministry-at-Large, his own affairs sometimes suffered, but never to others' loss. I have known him, when the payment of his salary lagged, to borrow on his own note the means of paying the very few personal bills he ever allowed to run. He once told me that early in life, when his secret desire to serve his fellow-men had probably already become strong, he had made up his mind that he should never have abundant means, and that the lack should never trouble him. This attitude he maintained in spite, I believe, of an inherited tendency to acquisitiveness.

He was very successful in obtaining the means for promoting his plans, whether he was asking for money or for personal service. I do not think he ever importuned and he was certainly very sensitive to any chilling rebuff. He really believed that he was doing a person

a favor in giving him an opportunity to do good, and the result usually confirmed his belief. Hardly any undertaking of his failed, and this almost uniform success was due chiefly to his quick perception of an opportunity, his energy in seizing it before it escaped him and to his intimate knowledge of human nature. He seemed to know intuitively what would attract and what would repel those whom he wished to bring under better influences. He did not underrate his fellow-men, but often said, toward the end of his life, that his acquaintance with the most vicious men and women had only convinced him of the fundamental excellence of human nature. He believed there was no person so bad that he could not be influenced for good, if one went the right way to work and found the tender spot in his character. His respect for human nature was further shown in his bearing. There was absolutely no difference in his treatment of high or low. He was always kindly, never lost command of himself, was never familiar, and uniformly exhibited a simple dignity which inspired respect.

In the spring of 1884 he suffered a stroke of paralysis which impaired his power of motion, and, in a greater degree, his ability to speak. At first he struggled against the disease with all his force of will, but, finding the contest vain, he reconciled himself to his state, and, until the day of his death, May 12, 1891, maintained, to the surprise of all who knew his active temperament, a calm and cheerful existence. It was characteristic of him that, during this time, his pecuniary affairs gave him no concern, but the growth of his garden, the progress of the seasons, news about old friends, any tidings of the Ministry-at-Large, or, more particularly, of the People's Club, his latest care, always interested him. In the last

winter of his life he insisted upon visiting the People's Club ten or eleven times, toiling up the long stairs to the men's or the women's branch. It was at these visits that his face, somewhat dulled by age and disease, wore its most animated expression.

His life was a very happy one; he often said that he would like to live it over again; but his happiness and his success were greatly owing to the wise, sympathetic and cheerful companionship he enjoyed for fifty-six years.

In my account of Mr. Wood's philanthropic work in this city, I have said, perhaps, too little of the generous assistance he received in all his undertakings from very many noble-hearted men and women,—assistance essential to the accomplishment of his plans, and fully appreciated by him. If I were to dedicate this sketch of my father's life, it should be inscribed in gratitude to those corporations and to those individuals who gave him encouragement, money, or self-denying service.

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LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. III. No. 1.

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I. *Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Pierce, by Joshua Merrill. Read February 7, 1883.*

BENJAMIN PIERCE was born in Chelmsford (now Lowell), December 25, 1757. His father, Benjamin Pierce, died when his son Benjamin was six years old. He was the seventh of a family of ten children. After his father's death he lived with his uncle, Robert Pierce, a farmer whose house stood on the road leading from Lowell to Chelmsford, where Orlando Blodgett's stable now stands. He remained with his uncle until April 19, 1775. He was then ploughing in a field on Powell Street, directly west of the stone stable erected by Aldis L. Waite. He heard the firing of guns, and soon messengers arrived notifying the inhabitants of the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Young Pierce, then in his eighteenth year, chained his steers, as he called them, to a stump, went to the house, took his uncle's gun and equipments, and started for Concord, on foot, as many others did on hearing the report.

As the British had retreated before he arrived at Concord, he went on that night towards Boston, and the next morning enlisted into Capt. John Ford's Company. Capt. Ford was the father of the late Capt. Elisha Ford, of this city.

Capt. Ford's Company for a time was stationed at Cambridge, and young Pierce, with his company, was in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

BURTON HIST. COLLECTION

He was one of the few, who, having entered the service at the commencement of the War, continued to the close. His regiment was commanded by Col. John Brooks, of Medford, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

Rev. Edmond Foster, of Littleton, Mass., who died in 1826, told me that he and Col. Brooks rode together from Medford to Concord, arriving just as the British were retreating. They followed them to Charlestown, firing upon them from behind buildings, fences and trees, killing a number.

During life Gov. Brooks and Pierce were strong personal friends. When Pierce became Brigadier-General in the militia of New Hampshire, Gov. Brooks gave him an entire outfit—uniform, cap, sword and pistols.

His regiment was in many of the hard fought battles, particularly on the 19th of September and 9th of October, 1777, which preceded the surrender of the army of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777. In one of the battles, when the bearer of the colors was shot, young Pierce seized the colors and bore them to the front during the conflict. For this brave act he was commissioned ensign.

After the close of the War his regiment was retained and went with Gen. Washington to take possession of New York City. He remained in the army until the last troops were disbanded at West Point, in February, 1784.

He passed through the various grades of a common soldier, corporal, sergeant, ensign and lieutenant, leaving the army in command of a company and with the reputation of a brave soldier. He returned to Chelmsford after an absence of almost nine years.

His uncle had given him all the means the town afforded for obtaining an education, which was very

limited. He was always much more sensitive to the want of an education than his friends had occasion to be for him. With a very slight change in the grammatical construction, his productions were always ready for the press.

The school house where he received what little education he had before entering the army, stood at the southwest corner of School and Westford Streets.

When he left the army, owing to the depreciation of the Continental paper money in which he had been paid for almost nine years' service, he had but about five hundred dollars. He said he was very free with his money when in company with his companions and it was soon half gone. He began to think what he should do when it was all gone. Now every one addressed him as Lieut. Pierce and considered him a good generous fellow. He said to himself "when my money is gone I'll be nothing but Ben Pierce. My friends will say there goes Ben Pierce to his day's work with his axe on his shoulder. I can't stand that; I must turn over a new leaf; and I did."

About this time he was in the habit of using liquor rather freely. That may have been the reason why his money was half gone. His sister, with whom he then lived, had frequently remonstrated with him, but it had no effect. One day he came home, and when his sister saw his condition the tears began to run down her cheeks. She wiped them off, but they would come. He looked at her a moment, and then said, "Becky, tears are more powerful than words. You shall never see me in this condition again." She never did, or anyone else.

In the fall of 1785 he was employed by Col. Stoddard to explore a tract of land now contained in the town of Stoddard, N. H. On his way home he called at

a hut in the woods, in the town of Hillsborough, and purchased of the owner fifty acres of land. He spent the next winter in Chelmsford.

In the spring of 1786 he returned to Hillsborough, and commenced clearing his fifty-acre lot. He lived alone in his log hut, cooked for himself, and slept on a blanket.

The first intimation he had of any acquaintance with public men in the state was the reception of a commission from the Governor of New Hampshire, as Brigade Major for the Brigade comprising Hillsborough County. He afterwards learned that he was indebted to Gen. Sullivan, who had informed the Governor that such a man had recently moved into the county. From this time he rose in the military to the rank of Brigadier-General. He served in the United States Army almost nine years, and in the militia of New Hampshire twenty-one years. For many years he commanded the regiment which furnished the country a Miller, a McNiel, and many other distinguished officers and soldiers who served their country in the War of 1812–'15.

As a military officer Gen. Pierce was very popular. The late Hon. Isaac Hill said, "I remember distinctly of seeing Gen. Pierce as the reviewing officer of the Fifth Regiment, on Amherst Plain. At no subsequent time has that or any other regiment in the state appeared to better advantage. Every person who has seen Gen. Pierce upon parade must give him credit of having been behind no man in those graces which become the military officer. He was the *beau ideal* of an officer of the Revolution."

In 1789 he was elected a Representative to the General Court of New Hampshire, from the classed towns of Hillsborough and Henniker, and continued to

represent these towns, or Hillsborough singly, for thirteen years in succession.

In 1803 he was elected to the Council. His political opponent was Col. Robert Means, of Amherst, father of the late Robert Means, of this city, who was Agent of the Suffolk Manufacturing Company. This was the first success of the Democratic Party in the county. He continued in the Council six years.

Five years he was the Councillor of Gov. Langdon, by whom he was appointed Sheriff of Hillsborough County, in 1809. He held the office until 1813, when, in consequence of high political excitement, he was addressed out of office by a majority of both branches of the Legislature, for adhering to the old Court instead of the new, which had been established by the same Legislature. The next year (1814) he was again elected to the Council, and was annually re-elected until 1818, when he was again appointed sheriff of the county, which office he held until 1827, when he was elected Governor of the state.

In 1828 he was defeated, by the election of John Bell, of Exeter.

In 1829 the Democrats came into power, and he was again elected Governor.

He was an Elector of President in 1832, which was the last public office he ever held. At the time of his death he was Vice-President of the Society of Cincinnati, in Massachusetts.

For more than fifty years Gen. Pierce was in some public office or employment. An obituary notice of him says, "No man, probably, in the state, has preceded him of equally extensive personal influence, from example and precept. No man ever lived in the state who was more respected. He was always helping others forward.

In every public enterprise, whether for charity or general utility, he was the first to move. He was always a friend to the poor and unfortunate."

When sheriff of the county a poor Revolutionary soldier was confined in Amherst gaol for debt. After remaining there eight or ten years, and being unable to pay the debt, and having no friends to assist him, Gen. Pierce paid the debt of several hundred dollars, opened the prison doors, and told the poor man, "Go out and breathe the free, pure air of heaven."

Another instance may be mentioned. A few days before his death, when he lay in a state of apparent insensibility, his attendants spoke of a poor neighbor whose only cow had died. He started up and inquired whose cow had died. When told, he said, "Go to my desk, and get three dollars; the neighbors will add enough more to buy another cow. I may not live until morning."

The General had a great regard for the soldiers of the Revolution, and on a certain occasion invited all who lived in the county to visit him, giving them a cordial greeting and a bountiful entertainment. He was always frank and generous and made his guests feel at home. His house was open not only to his friends, but to strangers who had occasion to travel that way, always entertaining them gratuitously.

Gen. Pierce frequently visited Chelmsford and Lowell, and in company with some of his old schoolmates he would visit the old school house or the spot where it once stood. It is said he took great pride in showing the stump to which he chained his steers when he left for Concord. The late Noah Spalding told me he had shown it to him. Benjamin Butterfield, father of Mrs. Jonathan Tyler, was a very particular friend

of his. Their meetings were always very cordial and pleasant.

When Governor, he visited Lowell, and called on several of his old friends, and among the rest Mrs. Parker, mother of Mrs. Noah Spalding. She met him at the door, and he said, "How do you do, Susie? I don't know as you know me." She replied, "Yes, I do. It's Ben Parse. I spose you're Governor, but I'll call you Ben Parse. Come in. I'm real glad to see you, Ben. How's your wife and children?" etc. The Governor was much pleased with his cordial reception, and frequently alluded to the very pleasant interview with his old school-mate.

Gen. Pierce's mother married for her second husband a Mr. Bowers. I never knew him, but when I was a small boy she was a widow, and lived in Milford, N. H., the nearest neighbor to my father. She was quite aged, and was usually called "Grandmarm Bowers." She died in 1809. Gen. Pierce wrote to my father to make arrangements for the funeral, which he did. Charles Atherton, son of our well-known and enterprising fellow citizen, Abel T. Atherton, is a descendant of the sixth generation, from Mrs. Bowers.

From this time (1809) to 1823 I saw Gen. Pierce frequently. My father owned property in his neighborhood, which made it necessary for us to go there several times in a year, and we frequently spent the night there. My father was a soldier in the Revolution, and like the General, a strong Democrat; and they took great satisfaction in "fighting their battles over again." The General was remarkably good at telling stories and anecdotes, to which I listened with much pleasure. I recollect spending an evening with him at his sister

Foster's, in Milford, in 1822. There was quite a company, mostly young people. He kept them very much interested, to a late hour, telling amusing stories.

The last time I ever saw the General at his house was in May, 1827, just after he was elected Governor. He invited me to come to Hillsborough, and open a school in their academy. He said he had one son he would like to send. The following June I went to Concord to see him inaugurated as Governor of the state.

Gen. Pierce was a strong supporter of the War of 1812–'15. In the fall of 1814 it was expected that the enemy would attack Portsmouth and its navy-yard, which contained several vessels of war, and other public property.

Gen. Pierce used to attend the meetings of the Executive Council with his sword and pistols, ready to start at any moment for the defence of his country. Two of his sons, Benjamin H. and John S., entered the army by the advice of their father.

About this time, Gen. Pierce had occasion to go to Court, at Exeter, on horseback, and on the way overtook Hon. Daniel Blaisdell, of Cannon, going to the same place. Blaisdell was an ex-member of Congress, an ardent Federalist, and of course opposed to the War. They rode along, chatting very pleasantly, until the subject of politics came up. Pierce denounced the Federalists as the enemies of the country and desiring to destroy the liberties of the people by consolidating all power in the hands of a few families. Blaisdell in turn denounced the Democratic Party as the enemies of the country, and like Satan, wishing to bring all down to a level with himself. This enraged Pierce, and he declared he would not ride any further with such a traitor, and, jumping off his horse, he dared Blaisdell to take his

chance of a good thrashing, on the spot. Blaisdell thought it wise to decline taking that chance, and said a few pleasant words to the General, who remounted his horse, and they jogged on to Exeter as though nothing had happened.

Gen. Pierce took a great interest in agricultural pursuits from the day he felled the first tree on his fifty-acre lot. To this lot he added from time to time, until he owned a large farm, on which he lived, and several smaller ones. He took the management of his farm himself, working with his help when at home, and (like Gov. Crittenden, of Vermont,) had them all sit at the table with him at their meals.

He despised everything that appeared aristocratic. It annoyed him exceedingly if any of his children or friends married into what he considered aristocratic families or the family of a Federalist.

He was one of the early members of the Hillsborough County Agricultural Society, and a constant contributor to its fairs of stock and agricultural products. One year he raised 501 bushels of potatoes on one acre, for which he received the first premium. In a communication to an agricultural paper, he wrote: "I have been a practical farmer ever since the Revolutionary War. Farming, of the various professions of life, is the most congenial to my feelings. Upon the farmer we depend whenever the enemies of our country dare to trespass on our soil." Six days before his death he subscribed for three copies of the Farmer's Monthly Visitor, published by Hon. Isaac Hill.

When it was expected that he could live but a few days, his son Franklin, who was then in the United States Senate, wrote to his father to know if he wished him to come home. His father answered that he

wished him "to stand at the post of public duty. New Hampshire expects her representative and senators to act on every question regarding the interest of the country. Their duty is a responsible and solemn one. My life is of little consequence. I wish you to remain."

May 24, 1787, he married Miss Elizabeth Andrews, daughter of Isaac Andrews, Esq., of Hillsborough. She died August 13, 1788, in her twenty-first year. She left one daughter, Elizabeth A., who married Gen. John McNeil, who was a distinguished officer at the Battle of Lundy's Lane where he received a severe wound.

I recollect hearing the General say that Mrs. Pierce was a very handsome lady, and soon after they were married a young man stopped with them over night, and becoming very much pleased with the personal appearance of Mrs. Pierce, he said to her in the morning when about to leave, that if agreeable to her, he should be pleased to become better acquainted with her at some future time. Mrs. Pierce replied, that as he appeared to be very much of a gentleman, she had no particular objection, but would like to speak to her husband, Mr. Pierce, and see what he thought of it. The gentleman never once thought that he was making love to Mrs. Pierce or a married lady. After making a very handsome apology to Mrs. Pierce, and congratulating Mr. Pierce on his good fortune in securing such a beautiful and lovely wife, he bid them good morning and left.

In 1789 he married Miss Anna Kendrick, daughter of Benjamin Kendrick, Esq., of Amherst, N. H. She was the mother of eight children:

Benjamin Kendrick, born August 29, 1790; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807; studied law; entered the army in 1812, as lieutenant. After the close of the

war, in 1815, he entered the United States Army, received a colonel's commission, and was in the Florida War. He died in New York about thirty years ago.

Nancy Merrill, married Gen. Solomon McNeil. She was the mother of Mrs. Wentworth, wife of our late distinguished fellow citizen, Hon. Tappan Wentworth, and Solomon and John McNeil. She died April 27, 1837, aged 44 years.

John Sullivan was in the War of 1812; afterwards colonel in the United States Army. He died in Michigan in 1825, leaving two daughters, who were taken by their grandfather Pierce, and educated.

Harriet B. married Hugh Jameson, of Antrim. She died November 24, 1837, aged 37 years. She was the mother of Mrs. Charlotte J. Bond, of this city.

Charles G. was educated at West Point. He died in Utica, N. Y., January 5, 1828.

Franklin, born November 23, 1804. He graduated at Bowdoin College, in 1824. He studied law with Levi Woodbury, of Portsmouth, and Edmund Parker, of Amherst. In 1827 he opened a law office in Hillsborough. He represented the town of Hillsborough in the Legislature four years, and was Speaker of the House, in 1831 and '32. From 1833 to '37 he was a Representative in Congress, and March 4, 1837, took his seat in the United States Senate. He was a general in the Mexican War, entering the City of Mexico with Gen. Scott. He was elected President of the United States in 1852. He died October 8, 1869, aged 65 years.

Charlotte, died in infancy.

Henry D., who was a farmer, died April 9, 1882, in his native town.

Mrs. Pierce (like the General's first wife) was distinguished for her beauty. She was a very intelligent

and amiable lady, and always presided with great dignity and propriety over the festivities of their numerous guests. She died in 1838, aged 70 years.

About two years previous to his death, Gov. Pierce was stricken with paralysis, and suffered greatly until his death; but his mental faculties remained unimpaired. He requested that his funeral be without any parade or show — that not even a funeral sermon should be preached.

He died April 1, 1839, aged 81 years, three months and six days. The funeral was on the third, when a large gathering of distinguished persons from all parts of the state met with friends and neighbors to pay the last tribute of respect to their departed friend.

II. Organized Charities of Lowell, by Charles Hovey. Read February 7, 1883.

THE population which gathered in this locality sixty years ago was probably made up of people as diverse in language and habits as had ever before assembled in this country. It consisted of representatives of many nations, mostly youthful, healthy and enterprising, and with an element common to all — the desire to accumulate money. There was work for all, and their condition respectively was such that all desired to work; consequently, for many years there was no need of an organization for helpful charity. The first organized body for this purpose of which the writer has any record was the

LOWELL DISPENSARY,

an incorporated institution whose charter was signed in 1836 by the Hon. Edward Everett, then Governor of Massachusetts. The names of James G. Carney, John Clark, Sidney Spalding, Thomas Hopkinson, John Aiken, Jesse Fox, and P. W. Warren, all long since deceased, among its managers, indicate the responsible character of the organization.

Some of its general features were as follows, viz: The payment of ten dollars entitled any person to become a life member, with the privilege of recommending ten patients to its benefits every year. The

payment of one dollar per annum would give the same privilege for five patients for one year. All life membership fees and donations have, according to the original rule, been set apart to constitute a permanent fund, which beginning with about $700 the first year, has now nearly reached $10,000 in sound securities.

In consequence of the establishment of numerous other charities, and especially the City Dispensary, the demand upon this charity for medical attendance and medicine has greatly subsided; but, nevertheless, it continues its quiet but useful work faithfully, maintaining its organism and husbanding its income.

It has introduced two new forms of charity — that of supplying ice to the sick poor by coupon tickets, and of loaning fracture bedsteads. This last feature was suggested by the late Dr. Samuel L. Dana, who in his last sickness, resulting from a fractured limb, verbally bequeathed the bedstead he was then using, to the Lowell Dispensary. Two others have since been purchased, which are almost in constant gratuitous use.

When other organizations shall have ceased, or when an epidemic shall prevail, the old Lowell Dispensary will, no doubt, come to the front again, stronger and abler, to do the work originally contemplated by the late James G. Carney, its founder, without soliciting annual subscriptions.

THE HOWARD BENEVOLENT SOCIETY,

With a similar class of men as those of the Dispensary, for its managers, supplied food, fuel and clothing, to the needy, from 1840 to 1854.

The organizations for charitable purposes now in active operation in the city are the Old Ladies' Home,

Young Women's Home, St. Peter's Orphanage for girls, St. Mary's Orphanage for boys, St. John's Hospital.

These institutions are all doing useful work, and each of them is of sufficient magnitude to furnish material for some one of our members who is familiar with their operations, to prepare a paper for your edification.

THE LOWELL MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Later known as the Ministry-at-Large, was organized in 1843, and for many years was under the successful charge of the Rev. Horatio Wood, whose ministrations were eminently satisfactory to its directors and patrons. His only successor, the present incumbent, is the Rev. H. C. Duganne, who is equally faithful, and with the aid of munificent legacies from the estates of the late Thomas Nesmith and Jonathan Tyler, respectively, has done much to ameliorate the physical wants of the poor of the city.

The bequests of these gentlemen, severally, are in the form of perpetual loans to the City of Lowell, upon which the City has obligated itself to pay semi-annual interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, forever, for the benefit of the poor of said city. The two sums, viz: $25,000 and $10,000, have been paid by the executors to the City, and its obligation to pay the interest according to the terms of the wills duly appears in the records of the City Council, as follows, viz:

[Resolution No. 53. Passed December 27, 1870.]

"*Resolved*, That the City of Lowell accept the bequest of $25,000, made by the late Thomas Nesmith in the first item of his last will and testament, a copy whereof is hereto annexed, for the purposes and upon the terms and conditions therein named; and that the City will forever pay to the Trustees named in said first item, and their successors in said trust, interest semi-annually upon the said sum, at the rate of six per cent. per annum."

[RESOLUTION NO. 74. PASSED NOVEMBER 12, 1878.]

"*Resolved*, That the City Treasurer be and he is hereby authorized to pay to the Minister-at-Large, the interest now due and what may become due on the bequest of the late Jonathan Tyler, for the benefit of poor persons of the City of Lowell, and that the said Minister-at-Large be requested to make an annual report to the City Council, of the manner of dispensing said money."

The two wills are alike in general detail, but differ in the amount of the legacy and in the mode of administration of the charity. Mr. Nesmith has described specifically the class of persons he desired to assist, while Mr. Tyler gives to "poor persons of the City of Lowell," without specification. The first named appointed five trustees and provided for their continuous succession for all time. Mr. Tyler also appointed three trustees, who for reasons satisfactory to themselves declined the trust, deeming it better that the semi-annual payments of interest should be made by the City Treasurer directly to the Minister-at-Large, without the intervention of trustees. The form of the resolution before quoted coincides with this arrangement.

All that appertains to both of these legacies has now become public property. That part of Mr. Nesmith's will which relates to his legacy to the poor describes the class of persons he desired to assist, and shows characteristic care that its benefits shall never cease. With the permission of his family it is here presented:

FIRST ITEM IN THOMAS NESMITH'S WILL.

"Having formed the purpose to devote in charity a portion of the property which a kind Providence has allowed me to accumulate, and being impressed with the struggles in life of many people who linger between competency and poverty, who from accidental misfortune, sickness, failure of employment or other imperious

causes, are temporarily in need of charitable assistance, but are not paupers, and who by kindly assistance, sympathy and advice may soon become self-sustaining and self-reliant, not intending hereby to countenance or give encouragement to improvidence and idleness, but only to aid those who will be thereby encouraged and better enabled to sustain themselves, and wishing to establish a *fund* for that purpose, and to place the fund as far as possible beyond the peradventure of loss, and exempt from the care and responsibilities of the Trustees having the charge of disbursing the income of the same—I do, with the intent aforesaid, and for the purpose aforesaid, give and bequeath to the City of Lowell, in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the city where I reside, and to the inhabitants thereof as a body corporate, twenty-five thousand dollars to be by my Executors paid over to the Treasurer thereof within six months from the probate of this will, upon the condition that before the time of said payment the proper and constituted authorities of said city in a legal manner shall truly and legally resolve and vote, and make due record thereof, to accept the said sum of money as a fund to be held for the said purpose, and shall promise and shall pledge the said city and the inhabitants, in due form of law, to ever thereafter pay to the Trustees hereinafter named, and to their successors, six per cent. interest upon the said sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, annually, in semi-annual payments of seven hundred and fifty dollars for each and every half year thereafter, commencing in six months after said Executors shall have paid the said sum of $25,000 to the Treasurer of said city.

"But in case said city shall not accept said sum upon conditions herein set out, then it is my will, and I do hereby give and bequeath said sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to my said Trustees hereinafter named, and to their successors, *in trust*, to be by them kept securely invested, and the income thereof shall be distributed for the purpose of charity and relief of the poor as herein expressed, and my said Executors are fully authorized and empowered to pay over the said sum, $25,000, to said Trustees instead of to the Treasurer of the city.

"And further, in furtherance of this, my proposed charity, and in relief of the persons and people hereinafter described for charitable assistance, for the perpetuation of said charity, I do appoint George F. Richardson, John A. Buttrick, Owen Street, Samuel W. Stickney and Charles Hovey,* all of said Lowell, Trustees of said

* Mr. Stickney and Mr. Buttrick have since died, and their places have been filled by F. F. Battles and Thomas Nesmith, the only son of the testator, respectively.

fund and of the income thereof, who and their successors in said trust shall receive the said semi-annual payment of $750, of said city, or the income thereof, and shall appropriate the same for the charity as is herein described, and to the persons described being residents of the City of Lowell without distinction of nationality, color or religious sect, in such manner and at such times as may to them seem most urgent and appropriate.

"But inasmuch as the missionary society in the city having a chapel and supporting a ministry-at-large, a portion of whose operations embraces the distribution of charitable supplies for like purposes and to like people as are by my Trustees to be cared for, and also to avoid, as far as may be done, imperfect or irregular distribution, it is my wish that my said Trustees shall unite with said Ministry-at-Large in the distribution of said supplies from said semi-annual income, or annually commit the said income wholly for the year to said Ministry-at-Large, for distribution, and especially so while the Rev. Horatio Wood, the present Minister-at-Large, shall occupy and fill the said office in said City of Lowell, having great confidence in the present operations of said Ministry-at-Large and in the distribution, and having in view further a distribution as effective as possible and with as little expense as possible.

"With this expressed wish and suggestion I do nevertheless commit the distribution, whether by the Ministry-at-Large or by other persons or organizations, to the careful judgment and determination of my said Trustees and their successors, who shall at all times and ever have and be at the responsibility of a general superintendence and control of said charity and its distribution by themselves or others; and the said Trustees and their successors shall require and obtain semi-annually from all distributors of said charity an exact account of the distribution of said income, and shall preserve the same, and shall themselves report annually to the Mayor of said City of Lowell, that they have received the said semi-annual payments of interest and have faithfully disbursed the same according to the will.

"In case of vacancy or inability from any cause, of any of said Trustees to act, the remaining, or one or more of them, shall report the same to the Supreme Judicial Court of this state, or any Justice thereof, in term time or vacation, and it is the intention of the testator that said Court or said Justice shall appoint a successor to fill such vacancy, upon such notice as shall by said Court or Justice be

deemed proper, that the said charity and the said trust may never fail to be wisely and effectually carried out forever.

"And as this fund is devoted to residents of the City of Lowell, I do respectfully request that said city accept said $25,000, and by all necessary votes and records to promise, engage and bind said city and its inhabitants to pay said six per cent. interest (semi-annually) forever, as herein set forth; and I do charge my Executors promptly and earnestly to cause the contemplated arrangements to be made with the constituted authorities of said city, and thereupon to pay over to the Treasurer thereof, said sum of $25,000, out of my moneys or property of my estate; and I desire to impress upon my Trustees and their successors and upon whoever shall act as dispensers of said *income*, that the trust be by them faithfully, tenderly and as privately as may be, performed through the years to come, *forever*, according to the design and for the purpose herein set forth, fearing and believing that there will always be found in the city the described object of this charity."

There are two purposes in calling the attention of this body (which might not inaptly be called "the guardian of the History of Lowell") to the beneficent gifts of Mr. Nesmith and of Mr. Tyler. One of these purposes is to edify its members by the reading of the will, and the other to preserve, by printing and the distribution of the documents, a history of these charities, and thus prevent any lapse of them through change of administration or multiplicity of civic "resolutions," and in the words of the will, "That the said charity and said trust may never fail to be wisely and effectually carried out forever."

III. Present Population of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D. Read August 8, 1883.

THE census affords us the only sure guide on all matters concerning the numbers of a people. The census of 1880 reports the following figures for Lowell: Whole number, 59,475; males, 26,853; females, 32,622; making 5769 more females than males.

The birthplace of this population is reported as follows: Born in Massachusetts, 24,091; in Maine, 4070; in New Hampshire, 3901; in Vermont, 2054; but only 421 in Connecticut and Rhode Island both; born in all states out of New England, 1891; born in Canada, 7758, and in other British Provinces, 1010; born in Ireland, 10,670; in England, 2550, and in Scotland 650; in all other foreign countries, 405. Of the above there were 177 colored people.

The whole number of foreign born the census reports is 23,054, and the number born in the United States of foreign descent was 15,717, which added to the former makes the foreign element 38,771, while the purely American was 20,704 — only about one-third.

But while the present population of Lowell cannot be given by count or in exact figures, an estimate of its numbers can be made approximating very near the truth. It is but a little over three years since the census, in 1880, was taken. It appears that from 1875 to 1880 the census showed an increase of 9787, averaging almost

two thousand each year. But as the times were much better in 1878, '79 and '80, than in 1875, '76 and '77, the annual increase was much larger in these years. From the fact that since 1880 the times in Lowell have continued still more prosperous, the inference is that a still larger increase of population would take place. The following facts will throw light on the subject: Since 1880 there have been 3818 births in Lowell. Supposing one-third of them have died in the meantime, this would leave over 2500 still living. Since 1880 there has been, by actual count, an increase of 1613 school children — that is from 5 to 15 years of age.

Again, it is estimated by good judges, that within three years there have been built over 300 houses or blocks for dwellings, and that these would furnish over 600 tenements, each sufficient to accommodate five or six persons. This would make over 3000 additional population, as these tenements are now generally occupied. While we have no means of counting the immigrants or new comers, we may form some opinion from these statements.

In 1880 the census reported 7758 Canadian French. It is well known that this class has greatly increased within a few years. Some good judges compute their present number as high as 12,000. Then, in 1880 the census reported only 107 born in Sweden, while their present number counts nearly 500, as many have come here with large families. In 1880 there were only 21 natives of Portugal reported, but the number of Portuguese is now much larger.

From the best estimates we can make, the population of Lowell at the present time cannot come much short of 70,000, and it may even exceed that number. And it is safe to say that it was never increasing more

rapidly. Should prosperous times continue the population at the next census will exceed 80,000, and the time is not far distant when it will reach 100,000 inhabitants.

While attempting to make some estimate of the present and prospective numbers of our city, a few remarks respecting their character may not be out of place. While it would be unbecoming to eulogize a people of which we are a part, at the same time it is proper and just that the truth, the whole truth, should be stated, even if it proved very complimentary to them.

The first settlers of Lowell were a superior class of men — superior in energy, in enterprise, in sagacity and general character. Such, too, was the case with a large majority of the men and women who, from time to time, removed here from other places and states. The female operatives, in physical development and energy of character, were composed of the best young women in New England. Such was the character of the operatives in these mills for years. Many of these females became gradually permanent residents of Lowell; some finding work in shops and stores; others engaging in various pursuits, in house-keeping, in teaching, etc., and not a few entering into the domestic relation at the head of families.

As there was only a single man to twenty or thirty females, overseers and others having an excellent chance for acquaintance and selection among this large body of single females, found here the best possible specimens for wives. By this means, and through other channels, Lowell has been highly favored by having a high order of females at the head of its households.

The present generation are reaping great benefits as the sons and daughters of such men and women. The city itself is also indebted very much to the same source

for its steady and unequalled prosperity. The history of Lowell is in some respects remarkable, and will compare favorably with any other city in the land. For the largest manufacturing city, made up mostly of working people, and largely of a foreign element, we never have had riots, or serious strikes, or any difficulties here between employer and employé. There has never been but one failure among the incorporated companies, and even then the operatives lost nothing. For fifty years there have been less failures here on the part of individuals and private companies than in most other large cities.

Lowell has been remarkable for its mechanical industry, for its inventions and patents. No city can boast of so many patent-rights and where so much value is attached to them. Lowell furnishes several remarkable instances of individual enterprise, and at no period in its history was private enterprise so conspicuous as at the present time. It is not confined to mechanical business or trade, but is displayed particularly in real estate movements and building operations. This enterprise is not confined at home; several kinds of business are carried on in other places by Lowell citizens.

There is another development of this enterprise which has recently attracted public attention. This has opened a new kind of business for our people; it is trafficking in stocks and the management of companies in various localities. The enterprise in this direction has been carried on with a boldness and measure of success that has taken the public by surprise. From whatever point of view, whether from manufacturing or mechanical pursuits, whether in land speculations or in building operations, or dealing in stocks, the enterprise of our citizens is particularly marked at the present time.

But there are other things besides material interests which are indispensable to maintain the good name and reputation of a place. As a manufacturing city, made up largely of what is called a "factory population," is Lowell to be distinguished hereafter as it has been in the past for its intelligence, its virtue and morality? Or is it to be characterized as having a "factory population" like that in some parts of England, notorious for its poverty, its intemperance, its vice and its crime? It is needless to say that serious evils threaten us in this direction. As a city grows older such danger increases. The Police Court, the City Marshal and police officers have altogether too much business to do.

In the manufacturing cities of the old world as well as in large places in our own country, what proves the worst curse to a people, what causes the greatest amount of poverty and disease, of vice and crime, is the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors. It is from this source, more than from any one and all others combined, that our danger lies, and never, perhaps, was it more threatening than at the present time. A great responsibility rests upon all persons who occupy positions of power and influence.

IV. Resolutions unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association, of Lowell, August 8, 1883, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D.

MR. CHARLES COWLEY reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D, one of the last of the Fathers of Lowell, has departed this life; therefore,

Resolved, That, while leaving to the church of which he was so long the rector, and to the convocation of which he was the dean, their own proper work and labor of love, to prepare the full record of Dr. Edson's ministry of sixty years, the Old Residents who survive him cannot withhold from the minutes of an association which he helped to establish, some expression, however inadequate, of the unfeigned emotion with which his death has filled all hearts, nor withhold from him this sincere attestation: That in all simplicity and godly sincerity, in the spirit of humility and charity, in the purest love and the divinest faith, he labored intelligently, zealously and successfully, for the highest good of the entire community, and was, in all relations, "faithful unto death."

> "Not the gray annals of an elder time,
> Of joyful service and of faith sublime,
> In rubricated name
> Tell worthier fame."

Resolved, That, although, with characteristic humility, he chose for himself a lowly grave, marked only by the symbol of his salvation, rough-hewn in granite, it is due to his memory that some enduring public monument should be erected, which, speaking ever to the

eye of the people, should perpetually remind them of the great example he has bequeathed to them in the daily beauty of his unselfish Christian life.

Resolved, That there is no worthier way in which to express a proper appreciation of his character—no worthier way whereby to do honor to his memory—than by ensuring the perpetuity of the beneficent institutions which his charity founded—and notably the St. Mary's Orphanage, which was ever dear to his heart, and which, if properly endowed, would form his best memorial to posterity.

Resolved, That for his enlightened labors for the improvement of the public schools and the advancement of popular education; for the liberal provision which he sought to secure for the promotion of learning among the parochial clergy, by providing them with ample libraries at the expense of their parishes; for his life-long interest in history and other departments of literature, and for his own occasional contributions thereto, our late venerable and revered associate deserves to be held in grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That these resolutions be entered upon the minutes of our Association and published in our Contributions, and that copies thereof be transmitted to the Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church and to the Eastern Convocation.

Mr. Cowley said that, although it had not been the custom of the Association to take any formal notice of the deaths of members, it had been thought desirable that some notice should be taken of this exceptional event.

The Rev. Dr. Edson had several separate titles to respect and remembrance. The first was that which he acquired by his pastoral work.

As the strenuous advocate of public schools, and of the best methods of instruction, in the early days of Lowell; as the champion of learning among the clergy; as the founder of the Rector's Library of St. Anne's Church; in these and many other ways he has well-grounded titles to our respect; but it is not necessary to dwell on these here and now.

As a historical association we cannot forget that our late venerable associate was a scholar, and a ripe

and good one. He was a warm lover and a critical student of history, and was endowed with a rich historical imagination, which made the past live again to him. Even in his religion he showed himself historically-minded. His church was especially dear to him because it represents historical Christianity, or Anglican Christianity. It was no small thing in his appreciation that the line of its bishops can be traced back in unbroken continuity from the primate who crowned Victoria in 1837 to the primate who baptized Ethelbert in 597. He no more doubted that St. Augustine met the British bishops under St. Augustine's oak and treated with them on the time of keeping Easter, than he doubted that William Penn met the Delaware Indians under the historic tree at Kensington.

Not the past only, but the present and the future also, shared his earnest attention. From the peaceful shades of his parsonage he looked out anxiously on the course of human events, not only in his own country, but in all lands on which the sun shines, and especially upon those events in which he saw the fulfillment of prophecy, or opportunities opened for the diffusion of Christianity.

The growth of so many English-speaking commonwealths on this continent, in Asia, in Africa, in New Zealand, and in Australia, which he witnessed during his four score years and ten, gave him great satisfaction, giving promise that our tongue may one day become the language of the whole earth, and that with the speech of England will spread the Church of England; which was ever dear to him—"the Church for which (as Southey says) Cranmer died at the stake and Laud on the scaffold."

No man watched the progress of the last Egyptian war with deeper interest than Dr. Edson, who thought

he saw in the Anglicanization of Egypt the approach of the time spoken of in the prophetic Psalms, when "the Morians' land shall stretch out her hands unto God."

Seeing the Khedive of Egypt becoming the lieutenant of the British crown; seeing the crown of the Ptolemies and Pharaohs, after lying in the dust for so many centuries, apparently about to be placed upon the brow of the British Queen, already decorated by the crown of the Mogul Emperors, the Rev. Dr. Edson saw boundless possibilities of growth for his cherished church; and, as he thought of the illustrious men who in other times graced the Patriarchate of Alexandria, his soul was filled with the hope that a branch of the Anglican Episcopate might be planted in that ancient city, who should be worthy successors of St. Clement and St.Cyril, and whose pulpits should resound with an eloquence which has been unheard there for ages.

Although Dr. Edson seldom wrote with a view to publication, "the art preservative of all arts" has given us the following:

EDSON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. "Christ, the True Light." A sermon before the convention of the Eastern Diocese, at Claremont, N. H., September 26, 1827.

2. Address before the Temperance Society in Lowell, Mass., April 4, 1830.

3. "Christ, the Children's Saviour." A sermon in St. Anne's Church, January 4, 1834.

4. Temperance sermon, No. 1 of the course, in City Hall, Lowell, February 21, 1841.

5. "The Rector's Library." A lecture in St. Anne's Church, Lowell, November 24, 1844.

6. "Christian Nurture and Admonition." Published for the author by Daniel Bixby, 1847.

7. Address at the opening of Colburn School in Lowell, December 13, 1848.

8. "Principles of Christian Union." A sermon in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N. B., September 2, 1853.

9. Sermon in St. Anne's Church, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of its consecration, March 18, 1855.

10. Memoir of Warren Colburn, written for the American Journal of Education, November, 1856.

11. A Sermon in St. Anne's Church, after the interment of George H. Carleton. "The Memory of the Just is Blessed." March 8, 1857.

12. "I am the Resurrection and the Life." A sermon in St. Anne's Church, in memory of Charles H. Metcalf, January 17, 1858.

13. A Commemorative Sermon in the Church of the Advent, Boston, on the late Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., April 27, 1858. [In describing the traits of the venerable Dr. Eaton, he unconsciously describes himself.]

14. "Independency and the Church." An essay at the Union Meeting of District Missionary Associations in St. Mathew's Church, South Boston, February 1, 1865.

15. A Commemorative Sermon on the 40th anniversary of the consecration of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, March 19, 1865.

16. A Historical Discourse on the 50th anniversary of the first introduction of stated public worship in the village of East Chelmsford, now the City of Lowell, March 8, 1874.

17. "That they all may be One." A sermon preached in the House of Prayer, Newark, N. J., May 27, 1875.

18. "A Sketch of the Life and Character of Paul Moody." Published in "Sketches of the Moody Family," by C. C. P. Moody.

Other productions of his have been published of which no copy can now be found; notably a sermon on the "Permanence of Christianity," an extract from which was much read in the schools, from the High School Reader, forty years ago.

REMARKS OF OTHER GENTLEMEN.

Mr. J. K. Fellows followed in a brief reminiscence of Dr. Edson, who was one of his earliest recollections in the city of Lowell. He knew him for fifty years, and was a near neighbor to him for ten or twelve years.

He bore testimony to his faithful and arduous service during the long period of acquaintanceship, and as a neighbor he could testify that the frequent calls made at the speaker's house, by parties in apparent distress inquiring for Dr. Edson, was sufficient evidence that his services were in constant demand. He never allowed inclement weather to interfere with a journey down town, if he thought his duty demanded it. He would come out as readily in the severest storms of winter as in the most favorable weather.

Dr. Nathan Allen bore testimony to the lively interest Dr. Edson had always taken in communications published in the local papers by the speaker, upon matters pertaining to public health. He also alluded to Dr. Edson's physical health, and considered him a rare example of a man physically and morally balanced to ensure a long life of labor in his chosen calling.

Additional remarks were made by Messrs. Ephraim Brown, T. B. Lawson and Alfred Gilman.

DR. JOHN O. GREEN'S REMARKS.

The notices of Rev. Dr. Edson, in our local associations, have been full and respectful. In the old residents he was always interested, and contributed four valuable papers to our first volume. In this, our first meeting since his death, some memorial of his life and labors seems peculiarly appropriate.

Having devoted all his life to one post of duty, he enjoyed better opportunities to mature plans of usefulness and to see blessed fruits ripen in fields of his own planting.

Called to his office in the freshness of his youth, his soul and heart and mind — almost his whole self — consecrated to his work, in spite of bent shoulders and

silvered head, the dew of his youth was never dried up. In the planning of his work and in its execution he laid out largely, as young men do, with years before them and conscious strength within them, to bring it to fulfillment. He began and ended with intense energy, with perfect fearlessness and fresh heart, with no thought of policy, or expediency, or the favor of man, with the endurance of strong faith and great hope. His deep sense of the responsibility of his office gave him a strong sense of its authority.

"The consistency which magnified his office was the complement of the humility that made little of the man."

His devotion to his parish no one can doubt; his contentment with his lot and its duties arose from an aversion to change from principle—from the conviction that a long-continued ministry under the same pastor better promotes the stability of the churches, the soundness of the faith, and the healthful growth of piety.

The consecration of the energies of a whole long life to a single church and people gave broad scope for the blessed affections that spring from so hallowed an intercourse. So that, in the first moments of our bereavement, we call to mind his sincere and deepest sympathy for all, even the poorest of his flock, in the various scenes of joy and grief, so buttressed by an unerring faith and holy confidence, so firm and yet so gentle.

Understood or misunderstood, hampered and hindered by want of faith and selfishness in others, he clung to his parish and loved it. And what a pastor he was for work! His labors are monumental.

The parish register during his pastorate will show:

Baptisms	4204
Confirmations	1951
Marriages	1397
Funerals	2192
Present number of Communicants	519

The power of his will, the strength of his body, the pressure of his work, the sense of his responsibility, urged him on to work which he could not bear to have others undertake. And what a pastorate! with scarce an interruption from illness or absence, so full of labor, so earnest, so faithful, so successful. Its field not of his own parish only, but of the now populous city, grown up under his watchful eye and anxious care.

We gratefully call to mind his wisdom and firmness. Unimpassioned in controversy, yet so firm in his principles coupled by calm and gentle words, of clear and sound judgment and eminently useful and practical in council.

Those who only saw the habitual smoothness and serenity of his spirit could have little idea what rich treasures of energy and living force were wrapped up in him. He had a high-toned self-respect, a sensitiveness to clerical propriety in the smallest things, yet softened by Christian urbanity, always gentle but never weak, faithful to his life's end.

His churchmanship was of the noblest pattern—a churchman of the Bible and Prayer Book. The services of the church, as they were the choice and glory of his manhood, so they were the refreshment of his old age and the solace of his death. He was filled full of the spirit of his Master, which won for him the strongest affection of those who knew him best, the respect of the distant and the love of the near, his crown of faith and prayer and piety, a true servent and soldier of the cross, through every change of labor and trial.

At the close of Dr. Green's address the resolutions were unanimously adopted and the meeting adjourned.

V. Sketch of the Life of Ezra Worthen, by W. R. Bagnall. Read November 14, 1883.

ALFRED GILMAN, ESQ.:

Dear Sir—In an article in No. 3, Vol. I., of the Contributions of the Old Residents' Association, there is a reference to Ezra Worthen, the first Superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and the expressed desire that more might be known concerning his ancestors and early life. In my researches, in preparing a work on "The Origin and Development of the Textile Manufactures of the United States," I have ascertained some facts in reference to Mr. Worthen which may be of interest to your Association, and I am happy to place them at your disposal.

Very truly yours,

WM. R. BAGNALL.

EZRA WORTHEN was descended from Ezekiel Worthen, who was one of the thirty-six freemen who, in 1666, were residents of that part of Salisbury, Mass., which was then incorporated as Amesbury. Of his parentage, and the place and date of his birth, little is known with certainty. It is believed that he was the son of the Widow Watten — that and Wathen being early modes of spelling the name—to whom reference is made in the Essex County Records of 1644, when her estate was settled and her son, Ezekiel, then a child of eight and a half years, was "put out as apprentice to Thos. Abie till twenty years old." The name of his father is not certainly known, but in the Essex County Court Records, in 1640, the name of George Wathen is

found in the case of "Wm. Peturs *vs.* George Wathen." The latter was a member of the church in Salem, in 1641. The name "George" is frequently found in different generations of the Worthen family, and it is very probable that George Wathen of Salem, in 1640, was the father of Ezekiel Worthen, and the ancestor of the Worthens of Salisbury and Amesbury.

The next fact known concerning Ezekiel Worthen was his marriage, in 1661, to Hannah Martin of Salisbury. He then fixed his residence in that part of the town then, and till the present time, known as Pleasant Valley. Several of his descendants have been prominent citizens of the town. Capt. George Worthen served with distinction in the French and Indian War of 1753–8, the company under his command being in the expedition against Crown Point. In 1776 Lieut. Ezra Worthen, father of the subject of this sketch, was one of the seven members of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, chosen in Amesbury, as in the other towns of Massachusetts, to take the general direction of the patriotic movements of the people to secure the independence of the colonies. These committees were, everywhere, composed of the most substantial and influential citizens.

Ezra Worthen, senior, was born in 1734, and died December 7, 1804. He was a shipbuilder of much skill in his business, having added to much native mechanical talent a thorough training for the trade, and was a skilled draughtsman and constructor. Though he never had practical experience as a seaman, he had thoroughly learned the theory and science of navigation, and taught them in his latter years. His soundness of judgment and personal integrity secured for him the respect and confidence of his fellow-townsmen, as was evinced by his frequent election to offices of importance in the town.

His son, Ezra Worthen, junior, was born in Amesbury, February 11, 1781. He enjoyed the ordinary opportunities of the period and region for education, and at a suitable age was apprenticed to the trade of his father. In this he was so proficient that, at the age of twenty years, he undertook, in partnership with a fellow-workman, Hezekiah Challis, the building of a small vessel on their own account, the success of which undertaking proved both the skill and enterprise of one who had not yet attained his majority. Some three years later he engaged in a business, wholly diverse from that for which he had been trained, but which was a valuable preparation, in part, for the vocation of a manufacturer of textile fabrics, to which the last eleven years of his life were devoted, and in connection with which his name has heretofore been chiefly known.

About 1804 two English machinists, their names being Gookin and Shores, came to Amesbury, it is believed, from the neighboring town of Newbury where, in the parish of Byfield, Arthur and John Schofield, under the patronage of William Bartlett and other wealthy merchants and residents of Newburyport, had established, in 1794, the first woolen manufactory in this country, in which carding-machines, operated by power, were used. These carding-machines, in the course of the next twenty years, were set up in many of the towns in New England, usually in connection with the fulling-mills which had been in operation, many of them, for more than a century. One of the earliest—it is believed to have been the earliest—carding-machines in use in Middlesex County was set up in 1801 by Moses Hale in his fulling-mill on River Meadow Brook, within the present limits of Lowell.

The building of carding-machines became an important and profitable business in the first decade of this

century. In this business the English machinists, just named, engaged in Amesbury. Mr. Worthen soon entered their employ, his skill in the use of tools on woodwork rendering his services valuable in that part of the construction of the machines. He afterwards, in partnership with Samuel Kendrick, engaged in the business of selling the machines in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine, buying them of Messrs. Gookin & Shores. They then, under the firm of Worthen & Kendrick, commenced building machines, and Paul Moody, afterwards so well known as the machinist of Waltham and Lowell, was employed for some time as their agent, in selling and setting up the machines.

The versatility of Mr. Worthen's mechanical genius was manifested by his construction, about 1809, of a four-wheeled wagon, the first ever used or seen in that region, two-wheeled carts, only, having been previously used by farmers and traders for carrying hay, produce, or other merchandise.

In 1810, on the 17th of November, Mr. Worthen bought an interest of one-twelfth in what was then known as the middle saw-mill privilege, on the Powow River in Amesbury. There were three of these saw-mill privileges on the river, in immediate proximity, giving the village at an early period, the name of "The Mills." At one of these privileges, one of the earliest saw-mills in the colony was established in 1641. Whether Mr. Worthen's purchase in 1810 had any connection with his business as a manufacturer of carding-machines, is not known; but a deed, dated January 21, 1811, conveyed land "between Worthen's shop," etc., indicating that he then had a shop, and it was probably used for his mechanical business. That this business was well managed and lucrative was indicated by the fact that, at the begin-

ning of 1812, when he decided to engage in the manufacture of woolen goods, he had accumulated five thousand dollars, which was then considered a large sum of money.

On the 7th of February, 1812, Mr. Worthen purchased from Thomas Boardman, Ephraim Morrill and Jonathan Morrill, ten-twelfths of the privilege, of which he was already owner of one-twelfth by his purchase in 1810. The remaining one-twelfth belonged to William Ordway of Amesbury. On the 17th of June, 1812, Mr. Worthen sold one-third of the property to Paul Moody, of Amesbury; one-sixth to Thomas Boardman, of Amesbury; and one-twelfth to Samuel Wigglesworth, of Salisbury. On the 23d of the same month Mr. Wigglesworth bought the one-twelfth belonging to William Ordway. The four gentlemen then entered into partnership, their interests being, respectively, that of Mr. Worthen one-third, that of Mr. Moody one-third, that of Mr. Boardman one-sixth, and that of Mr. Wigglesworth one-sixth, and erected a mill for the manufacture of woolen goods. The mill was of brick, fifty feet long and thirty-two feet wide, and two-stories high, with attic and basement, each of which was utilized for the business. The manufacture, in its earlier years at least, was not, as has been stated, of satinets, but of broadcloth, such as was quite generally made, at that period, in the woolen mills of New England, usually of a coarse grade, but sometimes of a quality which would compare quite favorably with the finer imported cloths. The authority for this statement concerning the goods at first made in the mill of Messrs. Worthen & Company is James Squires, a venerable member of the Society of Friends in Amesbury, still living at the age of nearly ninety-four years, and whose memory is very distinct concerning the

early history of the mill. He says that "the old factory should not be called a satinet factory, for all-wool cloth —broadcloth—was made there." He spun the first yarn made in the mill, and had a coat made from the cloth woven from that yarn. He says, also, that "the name of the man who taught the operatives to weave was Schofield." This was, doubtless, James Schofield, a brother of Arthur and John Schofield, who, when they left Byfield and went, in 1798, the former to Pittsfield, Mass., and the latter to Montville, Ct., remained in north-eastern Massachusetts, residing for three or four years in Haverhill, and in 1802 establishing a small woolen mill near the mouth of the Cochicawick River in North Andover, the germ of the present Sutton Mills, which he carried on till about 1812. In 1813 he became superintendent for Nathaniel Stevens, a son-in-law of Moses Hale, of East Chelmsford, who in that year established the flannel manufacture of which he was the pioneer in this country, nearly a mile above the site of Schofield's mill, just spoken of. As there is no record of the employment of James Schofield elsewhere, in the interval between giving up business on his own account and his engagement with Mr. Stevens, it is quite probable that he was employed by Messrs. Worthen & Company to start their weaving department.

On the 13th of Feburary, 1813, Messrs. Worthen, Moody, Boardman and Wigglesworth were incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts as a joint stock company, under the style of the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Factory, the partners holding the stock in the proportion of their previous interest. In 1814, Mr. Moody having decided to accept the invitation of the Boston Manufacturing Company that he should take charge of their machine shop at Waltham, sold his stock to James

Randlet, of Portsmouth, N. H., Jacob Kent, of Newbury, also becoming a stockholder about this time. In its early years and till the close of the war, the business of the factory was very profitable, as, in addition to demand for its regular product, with which there was but little if any competition of foreign goods, trade with Europe being almost wholly stopped, considerable and lucrative contracts were made and filled with the United States Government, for cloths to be made up into army clothing. On the declaration of peace and the consequent immediate and large importation of foreign cloths, the business of the company, in common with that of other woolen manufacturers, suffered greatly. Mr. Worthen, however, continued his connection with it as active manager till the spring of 1822. At that time the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, having been incorporated February 6, 1822, had commenced the erection of their first mill, and made the proposition to Mr. Worthen that he should remove to East Chelmsford and become their first superintendent. The selection was such as might have been expected. Mr. Moody, who knew well the ability and adaptation to the position of Mr. Worthen, and was his warm personal friend, would give his influence, then and always of the greatest weight with all concerned in the management of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, in his favor, and this alone would have been sufficient. Mr. Worthen had also been brought to the favorable notice of Patrick T. Jackson and Nathan Appleton, the originators of the company, by the fact that he had first suggested to them through Mr. Moody, the adaptation of the locality at East Chelmsford for the development of a great manufacturing interest. This fact, also, naturally inclined him to identify himself with the enterprise when

the opportunity for doing so was presented. The salary offered him, which was fifteen hundred dollars per year and house-rent free, was a liberal one in comparison with wages and salaries usually paid at that time. The company also proposed to give him, as a bonus, six shares of its stock, to be paid for out of its earnings or dividends. This, as the event proved, in the early development of a profitable business, was a valuable consideration.

Mr. Worthen accepted the offer and at once entered on his duties. These he discharged with much ability, and entirely to the satisfaction of the company, to the day—it may be said even to the moment—of his death, which occurred June 18, 1824. His state of health had for some time caused much anxiety to his friends. He had had for two or three years symptoms of the disease known as "angina pectoris." He often suffered paroxysms of pain, and his physician had repeatedly cautioned him to avoid excitement and overwork. This was hardly possible for a man of his temperament. At the time of his death he was superintending the labor of some men who were digging for the foundation of a building, when, seeing one of them working awkwardly and inefficiently, he seized the spade to show him how he should handle it, and as he raised the spadeful of earth, he was seized with a spasm, fell to the ground, and expired instantly.

He was a man of much skill and versatility in mechanical matters, of great energy, and even excitability of temperament, quick-witted, bright, intelligent, and remarkably observant. An illustration of the latter trait was his remark that he could tell, from the operation of a loom—the way it worked—the peculiarities of the person who was running it. He spoke of course of

hand looms. He was of a kindly, genial nature, and was much beloved by his operatives, especially at Amesbury, where, during his connection with the mill, the employes were almost wholly natives of the town and members of families whose social standing was much the same as that of his own family. His relation to them was less that of a master than of a personal friend. At the Merrimack Mill he was more the superintendent, looked up to and, it may be, feared, yet having the good will of all; and his death, at the early age of forty-three years, was greatly lamented.

The following inscription on his tombstone, at Amesbury, gives the estimate of his character by those who knew him well:

"He was the first Superintendent of the great manufacturing establishment at Chelmsford, and in that capacity made full use of those great and rare talents with which his Maker endowed him. Distinguished by the power of his mind, and by uniform application to beneficial purposes, he was yet more eminent by the virtues of his heart. Prompt to conceive, and vigorous to execute plans of benevolence and usefullness, he was greatly beloved in life and lamented in death."

VI. The First Burns Celebration in Lowell, by H. M. Ordway. Read November 8, 1883.

An interesting gathering of Robert Burns' countrymen occurred in our city on the evening of January 25, 1832. Some time previous to this meeting the Scotch residents employed on the Carpet Corporation, who were splendid specimens of the honest, steady yeomanry of the "old country," and in fact, the most intelligent portion of our foreign population, met together for the purpose of forming a Burns club.

After its organization they decided to observe the anniversary of their national poet's birthday, by giving a grand supper at the Mansion House, a hotel located where the Massachusetts boarding-houses have since been erected. Tickets were issued at one dollar each, and the banquet was attended by nearly all of the prominent gentlemen of the town. The genial and able agent of the Carpet Corporation, Alexander Wright, Esq., officiated as president, Dr. Elisha Bartlett being seated on his right, and Eliphalet Case, a prominent Universalist clergyman, occupied the chair on his left. Peter Lawson, an energetic, impulsive gentleman, who was well adapted to fill the position, was selected as toastmaster. David Polson and his son, with Charles Goldie, James Robinson and Thomas Holden improvised an orchestra of stringed instruments. The haggis, a favorite Scottish dish, was

prepared by Mrs. John Waugh and Mrs. Glaude Wilson. It is made of either a sheep's or calf's liver and lights, finely minced, to which is added scorched oat meal, beef suet, and salt and pepper. After mixing the ingredients, this meat pudding is enclosed in a sheep's stomach, tied at both ends, and boiled for three or four hours, when it is ready for the table. This savory dish is not recommended to dyspeptics, although immortalized by Burns in his poem "To a Haggis," as follows:

Fair fa' your honest, sonsie face,
Great chieftain o' the pudding-race;
Aboon them a' ye tak your place
  Painch, tripe or thairm;
Weel are ye wordy o' a grace
  As lang's my arm.

His knife see rustic labour dight
An' cut you up wi' ready slight,
Trenching your gushing entrails bright
  Like onie ditch;
And then, O what a glorious sight,
  Warm-reeking, rich!

After the introductory address to the haggis, by John Wright, brother of the President of the Association, the repast was partaken of, and after the table was cleared it was immediately refurnished with all the different wines the market afforded.

Among the many other gentlemen present on that occasion we recall the names of William Spencer, Samuel Mann, William Taylor, John P. Robinson, Perez Fuller, Royal Southwick, Josiah Gates, George W. Low, and Alanson Crane.

The first regular toast, "To the memory of Robert Burns," was responded to by the entire company rising and drinking to the memory of the departed poet. The president then introduced as the first speaker, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, who always was as ready to address a social gathering as he was to speak at a political caucus or

at a church meeting. He referred to the poet's home, his early life and literary labors, and recited Burns' poem of Highland Mary, which, he asserted, was alone of sufficient merit to immortalize his name. In closing he stated that although very familiar with the song, he had never heard it sung, and at the suggestion of the president, it was rendered quite effectively by Mr. Holden.

The next regular toast, "Scotland," was followed by some of the guests singing the song of Bannockburn, better known as Bruce's Address to his Army, commencing with "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," after which the president called up Rev. Eliphalet Case, a clergyman possessing all the necessary qualifications to make a good speaker—editor, postmaster, and Democratic politician, all of which positions he afterwards attained. Mr. Case pleasantly alluded to Wallace and Bruce, Sir Walter Scott, John Knox, Mary Queen of Scots, Dr. Chalmers, and other eminent personages, eulogized the Scotch for their energy and integrity, and inquired whether Burns' poem of "The Cotter's Saturday Night" faithfully depicted Scottish life? which was answered by a strong "aye," by his countrymen present.

After all the regular toasts had been responded to, the party were entertained by the singing of the following songs, namely: "Honest Poverty," "Banks o' Doon," "Blue Bonnets over the Border," "Duncan Gray," and others.

The president then called for volunteer sentiments, which were readily furnished; for, by this time, my informant asserts, the entire company were getting to feel "unco merry" and happy.

John P. Robinson, a prominent lawyer at that time, presented pleasing remarks concerning Tam O'Shanter

and his gray mare, Meg. Perez Fuller, comic singer and humorist of considerable local repute, gave an impromptu medley containing laughable allusions to the different invited guests. Luke Eastman, another lawyer, somewhat renowned for his musical talents, sang "Ben Lary" and "Royal Charley," the company and orchestra uniting in the chorus. "Rule Britannia," rendered by a select quartette from the Merrimack Corporation, closed the musical exercises.

By this time the "wee" morning hours had arrived and an adjournment was suggested, much to the relief of the sleepless occupants overhead. While the president was making the closing remarks an interruption occurred, by one of the company attempting to sing "O, Willie brew'd a peck o' maut," in which effort he was encouraged and assisted by a number of others, much to the evident amusement of the president and audience. This song, so well adapted for convivial occasions, I present entire:

O, Willie brew'd a peck o' maut,
And Rob and Allan cam to see;
Three blither hearts, that lee-lang night,
Ye wad na find in Christendie.
We are na fou, we 're na that fou,
But just a drappie in our e'e;
The cock may craw, the day may daw
And aye we 'll taste the barley bree.

Here are we met, three merry boys,
Three merry boys, I trow, are we;
And mony a night we 've merry been,
And mony mae we hope to be.

It is the moon, I ken her horn,
That 's blinkin in the lift sae hie;
She shines sae bright to wyle us hame,
But, by my sooth, she 'll wait a wee.

Wha first shall rise to gang awa',
A cuckhold, coward loon is he;
Wha last beside his chair shall fa',
He is the king amang us three.
We are na fou, we 're na that fou;
But just a drappie in our e'e;
The cock may craw, the day may daw
And aye we 'll taste the barley bree.

After singing this song the entire assembly, which by this time had become exceedingly democratic, arose and joining hands made the old Mansion House resound with the well-known air of "Auld Lang Syne," and thus closed the first observance of Robert Burns' birthday, in Lowell.

The gentleman to whom I am indebted for this information, further states that the scene he witnessed on that festive occasion, although of frequent occurrence in those primitive days, recalled what occasioned the misfortunes and early death of his beloved poet; and so, while returning to his quiet home, he resolved never again to indulge in the "flowing bowl," and that resolution he has ever since faithfully adhered to; and now, at the advanced age of nearly fourscore years, this vigorous, respected old gentleman, residing in a neighboring country village, attributes his well-preserved condition to his early-formed total abstinence principles, which he asserts always conduce to health, wealth, longevity and happiness.

VII. The Dedication and First Ringing of the Chime of Bells in the Tower of St. Anne's Church. Read by Benjamin Walker.

THIS event, so long and anxiously looked forward to, took place October 17, 1857, at St. Anne's Church. Long before the appointed hour for commencing services the house was filled with those who had gathered to participate in this interesting occasion.

At a quarter before ten the bells began ringing the changes, being played in the most artistic manner by Mr. James Harrison, who came with them from Troy. The Mayor and Aldermen came in in procession, preceded by the City Marshal and led by the Wardens to their appointed seats before the chancel. The Vestry followed in order with the Committee on the Chime, Mr. Hitchcock, of Troy, and others, being specially invited. Morning Prayer was then said by Rev. Dr. Edson, the rector. The Venite and Te Deum were performed by a full choir and the organ. The 150th Psalm of the Psalter was also chanted by the choir, with the Gloria in Excelsis.

The following address and resolutions were then read by Dr. J. O. Green, the junior warden:

FELLOW CITIZENS—In compliance with a request from the Vestry of St. Anne's, acting in behalf of the Parish, we are assembled in the presence of his Honor the Mayor and the members of the City Council, to commemorate the consummation of a work which has been the hope and desire of many hearts. Among the

earliest acts of the founders of this city, with characteristic forethought and sound judgment, was the selection of this spot for a church lot, the erection of these walls of stone within which we are now assembled, and their solemn consecration to the worship of Almighty God.

Here they worshipped; around this altar they shared the holy mysteries of our religion; through these aisles were they borne in solemn procession on their last journeys to their graves.

The lapse of more than thirty years still leaves the chaste and simple architecture of the church unchanged. Many of the original members of the parish still remain and tread with almost filial reverence these holy courts. Our first and only rector is still spared to us in full vigor and usefulness, the object of veneration and regard to his large parish and to this whole city.

With these associations and memories crowding around us, our assembling is no formal act of ostentation on our part, but prompted by a sincere desire to testify our sense of obligation for the honor conferred upon us.

About eighteen months since, some public-spirited gentlemen conceived the enterprise of purchasing by subscription a chime of eleven bells, the fullest and most perfect which American skill and science could produce, to add to the attractions of our beloved city. It was a novel and bold undertaking, demanding the exercise of extraordinary determination and judgment and perseverence, all which have been met and more than met in the person of one gentleman to whom now and always must be awarded the chief honor of its accomplishment. It was for him to concentrate public attention upon the object, to answer in the spirit of candor and kindness the objections of the cautious, to stimulate the hesitating and to reconcile the disaffected.

The sum of $4,262.90 had been subscribed for this purpose. Among the donors are represented all classes, ages, professions and employments in this community. Rich and poor, high and low, ladies and gentlemen, the children of the public schools, every shade of religious opinion and political party, have united to contribute this large sum of money, while single bells have been given to perpetuate the memory of the departed, to honor the office of the chief pastor of our church, the name of our respected rector, and as tokens of special liberality.

So soon as the success of the undertaking was made sure, after suitable deliberations, the execution of the work was committed to

an ambitious and enterprising firm in the neighboring State of New York, and by them has reached a triumphant and happy completion.

The names, weight and inscriptions of the several bells are as follows:

E*b*, 2271 lbs. Hedrick Bell.

"From the tower of St. Anne's, we praise thee! O God, and celebrate thy blessing on the generous endeavors of George Hedrick, Esq., and other citizens and friends whereby we were placed here to ring thy praise. *Gloria Patri et Filis Spirituique.* A. D. 1857."

F, 1448 lbs. Citizens' Bell.

"Art is the handmaid of human good. We were purchased through the generosity of the citizens of Lowell. A. D. 1857."

G, 1134 lbs. Parish Bell.

"First public worship in the village (now Lowell), by Rev. Theodore Edson, March 7, 1822. St. Anne's Church consecrated March 16, A. D. 1825. Allan Pollock and Warren Colburn first Church Wardens."

A*b*, 956 lbs. Historical Bell.

"Merrimack Company began work A. D. 1822. Town of Lowell incorporated A. D. 1826. City Charter granted A. D. 1836. A. D. 1857."

B*b*, 783 lbs. Ole Bull Bell.

"This bell was the gift of Ole Bull, the great violinist of Bergen, Norway, A. D. 1857. Honor to whom honor is due."

B, 683 lbs. Musicians' Bell.

"To the memory of Handel. Born A. D. 1684, died A. D. 1758. Presented by the principal musical professors and amateurs of Lowell, A. D. 1857.

"To music! Noble art divine,
Ring forth, ye bells, a merry chime."

C, 608 lbs. Hovey Bell.

"A memorial to George H. Carlton, late Junior Warden of St. Anne's Church. Presented to the church by Charles Hovey as an expression of affection for his early master and late partner. A. D. 1857."

D*b*, 565 lbs. Bishop's Bell.

"Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., Bishop of Massachusetts. Consecrated December 26, 1842. *Tanquam Dei dispensatorem. Epistola ad Titum.*"

D, 530 lbs. Rector's Bell.

"Presented by the Ladies of St. Anne's Church, to perpetuate the memory of their beloved and devoted pastor, Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D., Rector of the Parish since the consecration, A. D. 1825. Blest is the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love."

E*b*, 481 lbs. Founders' Bell.

"Jones & Hitchcock, Troy, Rens. Co., N. Y. August, A. D. 1857."

F, 460 lbs. Ayer's Bell.

"Presented by James C. and Frederick Ayer, Chemists, Lowell, A. D. 1857. *Omnibus que prosunt sequimur.*" [Our aim is health for all.]

Total weight of the chimes, 9899 lbs.

The tower of this church—the object of our sacred regard, the oldest and most central church edifice in the city—the election of the donors has decided to make the depository of this most appropriate ornament to its hallowed character.

Situated in the very centre of our hives of industry, in near proximity to our halls of city legislation and official authority, in one of our busiest thoroughfares, allow us to indulge the hope that their peaceful sounds may serve to soothe the angry passions of party warfare and jarring interest. Flanked on either side by the consecrated temples of religion, may their harmonies tend to remove or blunt the asperities of sectarian zeal, and when time in the long lapse of years has clustered around these bells the associations of home and kindred, long lost and well-nigh forgotten, may their welcome notes cheer the heart of the returning wanderer and draw forth the tear of grateful recognition and affectionate regard.

"Toll at the hour of prime,
Matin and vesper chime,
Loveth old bells from the steeple high—
Rolling like holy waves
Over the lowly graves,
Floating up, prayer-fraught, into the sky.
Solemn the lesson your lightest notes teach,
Stern is the preaching your iron tongues preach,
Ringing in life from the bud to the bloom,
Ringing the dead to their rest in the tomb."

At a meeting of the rector, wardens and vestry of St. Anne's Church, holden October 16, 1857, it was

Resolved, That the grateful acknowledgments of this parish are due and are hereby respectfully tendered to all the subscribers and donors of the chime of bells, but especially to Mr. George Hedrick, of this city, to whose unwearied attention, zeal and perseverance we are mainly indebted for this most appropriate and useful ornament to our venerated church.

Resolved, That we accept the trust of its care and maintenance in the spirit of generous confidence and Christian liberality with which it has been tendered, and in the earnest hope that all its associations and influences may tend to the advancement of God's glory, the good of his church, and the safety, honor and welfare of this people.

Resolved, That these resolutions be publicly read on the day of the opening, and entered on the records of this vestry.

A true copy of the record.

Attest, O. E. CUSHING, Clerk.

Next followed an address by Rev. J. L. Jenkins, pastor of the First Congregational Church in this city, of which the following is a copy:

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS — We have in this day's event occasion for mutual congratulation. No royal honor has been conferred upon us. No parchment with kingly signature and seal has given us new dignities and privileges. We have raised no triumphal arch, no monumental column; we have erected no statue; we have completed no great enterprise, promising in return a good per cent., with increased comfort or enlarged business facilities; a work less conspicuous than these, I dare not say less important or bearing less directly and efficiently upon the wellfare of our city, is consummated, and in this we find cause for mutual congratulation.

It is the vaunting boast of our age that it is practical; that it spends energy, time and money only upon what produces immediate and material results—results which can be seen, taken hold of and valued. This sentiment, as opposing what is visionary, we should approve and indulge; as a restraining force we need it; out of its

proper limits it becomes hurtful and debasing. From its unrestrained indulgence I believe we, as a nation and a community, are suffering. Surely everything cannot be brought to this test.

The money expended upon schools and upon religious organizations and enterprises does not directly enrich the public treasury; and yet it is not misapplied. We all say it is a wise and judicious expenditure; it gives ample return; it makes our citizens more intelligent and better men. This is the aim of both the church and state.

Among us, I fear, it is made a secondary, inferior end; for I have noticed here, as elsewhere, that when a retrenchment in public expenses is made, our educational institutions are the first to suffer. French, drawing, music, graceful needlework—these as unpractical are thrown by. The leaf is as essential to the beauty and life of the tree as the branch, and so these are indispensable to a thorough education. We educate the coarser qualities of the mind; its finer sensibilities and tastes we let alone. The large, hard muscles are not so necessary to life as the smaller arteries and nerves.

It is more important to regulate the passions, to elevate and refine the affections, to quicken and warm the emotions, than it is to store the mind with facts and formulæ. In our zeal for what is *practical*, we have lost sight of this truth. Philosophy, experience, and Scripture we have set aside. We have insisted that a man's life consists in the abundance of the things which he possesses. We make the *quantity* rather than *quality* our standard, even in matters of education. We keep with great diligence body and mind, forgetting how explicit the scriptural precept is, "Keep thy heart with all diligence"—as if all efforts were to be directed to this; but as efforts here produce no tangible results, we think them impolitic and useless. We are seeing the falsity of this; we are beginning to learn that unseen influences are, like the air, pervasive and life-giving. Our City Library is an expense to us, yet we cheerfully and gladly sustain it, for it educates and improves our citizens.

In many cities it is thought a proper expenditure of money to secure, during summer evenings, music upon public grounds. I see not how one can question the propriety of such a course. The money laid out upon public squares and cemeteries is an illustration bearing upon this point. It is a concession to the demands of man's higher and better nature. The force of these tastes is found in the fact that our material, money-loving people have been compelled to regard and provide for them. I rank them among the strongest

elements of human nature, and which by all means should be brought over to the side of virtue and religion. They are avenues of approach to the soul—that central fortress—and we should pre-occupy them.

Through the senses evil *may* enter; so *may* good. It is wise to make them the highways of purity and piety. The lust of the eye, can it not be subdued so that sight may help devotion? The sense of hearing, need it always be given to the service of evil, for does not *faith* come by hearing? It is then an obvious duty to train these tastes, these susceptibilities, to be helps to sound morality and religion.

Whatever aids this deserves our countenance and cheerful support. I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, that to-day we receive among us a *new influence* for good—a new ally upon the side of temperance, purity and holiness. With fitting services do we welcome to their helpful work these unheeding bells.

The power of an influence, either for good or evil, we cannot estimate. Like the great forces of nature—heat and light—it is impalpable. Climate—you know its effects upon the physical and mental constitution. You know, too, how peculiarity of country gives character to its inhabitants. You know how insensibly a child is moulded by the spirit that pervades his home. You can tell at once whether he has been brought up under the genial warmth of a cheerful and refined piety or amid coarseness and irreligion.

A whole community is often impressed by one ruling mind. Whole periods in history bear the stamp of their mightiest spirits. A single work of art has influenced generations. The quicker, more forceful elements in our nature respond to these subtle influences, and hence their power. Bell-metal is sonorous; but were it not for sentiments and emotions hidden in man's spirit and to which sound appeals, it would have no effect upon us. As it is, sound is the spark which dropped into these quick, living sensibilities, kindles them into a flame. At the storming of Quebec, while the British troops were retreating in great disorder, the general complained to a field-officer of the bad behavior of his corps. "Sir," said he, "you did wrong in forbidding the pipers to play this morning; nothing encourages the Highlanders so much in the day of action. Even now they would be of use." "Let them blow, then," replied the general, "if it will bring back the men." The pipers played a favorite air, and the Highlanders, the moment they heard the music returned and formed with alacrity in the van.

Men do not question the power of speech. We almost revere the orator who sways and bends the will of his fellows. There is an influence more potent than this. Oil will find its way into crevices where water cannot penetrate. So song, music will find its way where speech can no longer enter.

Napoleon had a strict regard to the tunes which were played by the soldiery on particular occasions. It is said that when crossing the Alps if the soldiers hesitated in their march, he ordered the bugles to sound their liveliest notes; and if some obstacle forced them to halt, the whole band were ordered to peal forth the charge to battle, which never failed to bear them triumphantly over the most formidable difficulties. It is idle to deny real power to such an influence.

We have done something more than place so many pounds of bell-metal in this tower. We have brought in a *new* influence, a *new* force. Do you ask how it will make itself felt? Just as the flower diffuses fragrance and as the sun gives forth heat and light. It is one of those influences under which the purer and gentler elements of our nature expand and grow. Light, air, music and flowers—there is no concord between them and vice. Wherever this chime is heard it will appeal to man's nobler and better impulses. Nor shall it appeal in vain.

> "Heaven wills these simple things should give
> Lessons to teach us how to live."

Whatever attaches man to the soil makes him a better citizen. Hence we say he should be a landholder. Hence civil power lays out parks and gardens; founds and fills libraries and galleries of art. Natural objects do the same. How the Swiss loves his home and its mountains! The echo of his horn among the Alps makes him a better citizen. We talk much of patriotism. We have not analyzed it; we have not followed up to its sources, and should we, very many might be overlooked. We should think them too trifling for our notice, when they might prove in fact the most important.

A monk, after years of banishment in a foreign country, was returning home; the long voyage was well-nigh over. As the sun dropped behind the waters and its glimmer died upon them, the vessel turned into a frith upon the northern coast of Ireland. In the dim twilight the monk looked upon the familiar shore, and on the still air came down from the distant hills the soft chiming of evening bells. Their well-remembered and loving tones smote upon his swelling heart and broke open the fountains of feeling and life.

I have read of a New Englander whose adventurous spirit led him into the heart of an African desert. Exhausted by heat and thirst he sank down under the burning sun to die. A dreamy stupor came over him; it brought a vision of his far-distant home. It was the Sabbath, and with strange distinctness the old church-bell gave forth its familiar tones! Sweetly and soothingly they fell on the ear of his excited fancy. He took in nourishment from the imagined sound; he awoke refreshed, and lived to hear with tears the old church-bell of his native town, which he resolved never again to leave. The sources of such attachment are not to be scoffed at and deemed fanciful.

It is a pleasant feature of this occasion that we meet as fellow-citizens, having a common joy at the successful completion of a work which has met and overcome not a little indifference, if not positive opposition. It is to the credit of our city that while we are a hard-working people and without great wealth, we have had the discernment and liberality to put money to so good a use. Here the pleasing mingles with the useful.

It was a wise thought with the projectors of this enterprise, who gave to it its general, unsectarian character, which presented its claim to men of all persuasions, and asked them to aid in a work for the common good Wise, because men love and value that which they pay for wholly or in part. A local attachment is thus formed —a public spirit encouraged. Let, then, this chime of bells—a substantial proof of the taste and liberality of our citizens—be devoted to no party, to no sect. Let it be given to no object less general than the welfare of our whole city.

As fellow-citizens we have united in this work. Let it be the pledge that in the future, of whatever sect or party we are, we will cordially unite in all efforts which seek wisely to promote the good of our citizens. One good work done should be the seed of others.

My words of congratulation must close. Our work is done. Fairly secured, we leave the chime to its appointed task, only delaying to repeat Schiller's words:

> "Its name be *Concord*. Let its sound
> To all who hear its summons, a signal be
> For brotherly good will and harmony—
> Of solemn and eternal things
> Let it discourse from mouth of brass,
> And as its peal upon the ear
> Falls heavily and dies away,
> 'T will teach how nought abideth here,
> How all things earthly must decay."

The verse "Praise God, all creatures here below," was then sung to the tune of "Old Hundred," accompanied by the bells, without the organ, by the choir and the congregation, after which followed the benediction.

After the services in the church, Mr. Harrison, of Troy, continued playing the chimes in a great variety of tunes. The novelty attracted crowds of our fellow-citizens; and there seems to be but one opinion, that these bells will prove one of the most attractive ornaments to the city.

The occasion has been one of great interest, and the manner in which all was managed reflects great credit on all concerned.

BISHOP EASTBURN'S LETTER.

BOSTON, October 16, 1857.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I have this morning received your obliging note; and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for the honor done myself in inscribing my name on one of the bells. I wish the name had been one more worthy of such a distinction; at all events, however, the bell could not have been marked with the name of one who could rejoice more than I do in the addition of such a feature to the attractions of your town as a chime of bells on the tower of St. Anne's. In all my future visitations to your parish may it assist, with God's blessing, in raising many a heart to the contemplation of that world of harmony and love which has been opened for us by our dear Lord and Saviour, and of which the music of Sabbath bells is so touching a remembrance.

I beg that you will apologize for my absence on the occasion of to-morrow's celebration. It would have been most pleasant for me to be present, but my engagements forbid that enjoyment. I will do what I can to procure the attendance of some of the subscribers.

With my congratulations to you on this pleasing event in the history of St. Anne's, I am faithfully and truly yours,

MANTON EASTBURN.

REV. DR. EDSON.

VIII. Paul Moody, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall.

THE natural result of the remarkable development of textile industries in the United States was the establishment of shops especially for the manufacture of the great variety of machines called for by those industries, a demand which the inventive genius and practical skill of New England mechanics have supplied, both by the invention of many new machines and by great improvements on the models furnished them from abroad. At first these shops, not only for repair but for construction, were regarded as an essential part of the factory, and it was usual in the early history of the cotton and woolen industries of New England to build and equip either a separate building or the basement of the manufactory, for a machine shop, and in the latter case, not only its location but the necessity of the business made its construction and equipment the first thing to be done.

In process of time, with the rapid increase of factories, it was found desirable and even necessary to be able to anticipate the erection of the mills by the preparation of the machinery, orders for which could be given to men competent to superintend the construction of the machines.

Such men did not then exist in sufficient numbers that one should go to each new factory in New England.

This is evident from the fact, which is a matter of record, that within the two or three years preceding the war with Great Britain, in 1812, besides numerous enterprises controlled by individuals, charters were granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts alone for some ninety corporations for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, with authorized capitals of from $50,000 to $450,000.

The consequence was that the first independent machine shop to make cotton and woolen machinery was established at Pawtucket, R. I., about 1810, by David Wilkinson, one of the most ingenious and skillful mechanics of his time, and the second at Pawtucket in 1813, by Sylvanus Brown, who, a mill-wright by trade, had been employed by Samuel Slater in the erection and equipment of his first mill; he was the father of James S. Brown who inherited the business of his father and continued it till his death in 1880, at the age of 80 years.

The third establishment, and that which has obtained the highest reputation as well as developed the most extensive works in this especial industry in the United States, was the Lowell Machine Shop, originally established in the same relation to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company at Lowell as that sustained by the earlier machine shops of which we have spoken as generally attached to the cotton mills of New England in the first quarter of this century, but becoming an independent shop in 1825, when it became the property of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, on the reorganization of that company, and transferred to a new corporation in 1845. Its first manager was Paul Moody, the worthy compeer of David Wilkinson.

Paul Moody was born in Byfield Parish, in the town of Newbury, Mass., May 23, 1779. He was descended in the sixth generation from William Moody, a saddler by trade, who came with his wife and four sons from Ipswich, England, to Ipswich in New England, in 1634, and early in the next year, with others from Ipswich, commenced the settlement of Newbury. His oldest son, Joshua, graduated at Harvard College in 1653, and was the first minister of the First Church in Portsmouth, N. H., and in 1684 removed to Boston, and was settled as minister of the First Church in that town. In 1684 he was elected President of Harvard College, but declined the office. He was among the most popular and useful ministers in the first century of the colonial history, but about the close of his pastorate in Boston found his influence much abridged by his manly resistance to the witchcraft delusion, which so strangely effected other leading ministers, among whom was Cotton Mather. He returned to the charge of his former church at Portsmouth in 1692, and died in 1697.

His son Samuel and his nephew, also named Samuel, graduated at Harvard College, the former in 1689 and the latter in 1697. Both of them became ministers, one of New Castle, Me., the other of York, Me.

Of William Moody's descendants in the next century fifteen graduated, nine of them from Harvard and six of them from Dartmouth College. Of these perhaps the most widely known was Rev. Samuel Moody, who was born in York, Me., in April, 1726. He graduated at Harvard College in 1746, and after studying theology and preaching acceptably in several places, but without accepting any invitation to become a settled pastor, engaged as a teacher in his native town. Here he had so much success that in 1763 he was invited to

take charge of the Dummer Academy, in Newbury, Mass.

This institution was the first of a class of institutions which afterwards became numerous in different parts of New England, occupying a place intermediate between the common school and college. It was founded in 1762 under the provisions of the will of Gov. William Dummer. It was opened for pupils February 27, 1763, and for nearly a century maintained a high reputation. Samuel Moody was its principal until 1790. Among his pupils at different times were those who were afterwards eminent in various professions and positions of life. A distinguished governor of the state, Hon. Caleb Strong, LL.D.; Presidents Joseph Willard, D. D., and Samuel Webber, D. D., of Harvard University; Hon. Theophilus Parsons and Hon. Samuel Sewell, Chief Justices of Massachusetts Supreme Court; Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, President of United States Congress, 1785–'86; Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in Harvard College and Andover Theological Seminary; Rev. David Tappan, D. D., Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College; Rev. John Smith, D. D., Professor of Languages in Dartmouth College, and Hon. William Prescott, LL.D., who was early in this century a leading lawyer in Boston and the father of the historian, were of the number.

The father of Paul Moody was a man of much influence in the parish and town, his name frequently appearing as "Captain Paul Moody." He was the father of seven sons, of whom two, Samuel and Nathan, graduated at Dartmouth College, and afterwards resided in Hallowell, Me., the former being a teacher and the latter a merchant. Enoch was a farmer of Newburyport. Sewall and William were farmers, and remained

in their native parish, Byfield. David, the youngest, was for many years the superintendent of the iron works on the Boston mill-dam. Paul, the subject of this sketch, was the sixth son. He alone of the boys did not attend the Dummer Academy, but he knew how to educate himself. At the age of twelve years he decided that farming was not the occupation for him, and deliberately resolved to be no longer dependent on the family.

In June, 1794, a small woolen factory was established at the falls of the river Parker, in Newbury, by Arthur and John Schofield, English weavers, who had recently come to this country, the capital being furnished for the undertaking by William Bartlett and others, of Newburyport. This was the first incorporated woolen factory in Massachusetts. The weaving was done on hand-looms, and young Moody repeatedly applied to one of the weavers to teach him the art of weaving, but he refused. One day, returning to his labor, the weaver found that his loom would not work, and after a very careful examination he discovered a small obstruction so applied as to affect the movement of the loom. He immediately said, "Paul Moody is the only one who could have done it." Paul soon after found another workman who was willing to teach him, and at the age of sixteen had become a practical weaver.

A few years later Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, then probably the most ingenious and versatile mechanic and inventor in the country, having invented an effective machine for cutting nails, put up in a part of the woolen factory in Byfield some of these machines, and employed Paul Moody to work for him. Mr. Perkins soon removed the business to Amesbury, Mass., Moody accompanying him.

In September, 1798, in his twentieth year, Paul Moody was married to Miss Susan Morrill, of Amesbury. How he was employed for the next fourteen years we have no definite information. It is hardly probable that with his skill and enterprise he would have remained as an employé during this whole period.

The nail factory had indeed become a considerable mill before 1805, as when it was burned in that year, on the 24th of December, the loss was said to have been $80,000. The property was purchased in 1805 by William Gray, Jr., of Boston, and other gentlemen, and a corporation formed under the style of the Amesbury Nail Factory Company, with an authorized capital of $450,000. Whether Paul Moody was employed by this concern, as the successor of Jacob Perkins, is not known.

At some time before 1812 he was employed by Kendrick & Worthen, who were building carding-machines at Amesbury, in setting up these machines at different places in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He had become familiar with both woolen and cotton machinery, developed as it then had been at the factory at Byfield, as before he removed thence to Amesbury, John Lee, who succeeded the Schofields in the charge of the Byfield mill, had introduced the manufacture of cotton goods, and as he had recently come from England, he had doubtless brought with him such improvements as had then been made.

In 1812 Mr. Moody decided to engage in manufacturing, and with Samuel Wigglesworth, of Salisbury, purchased on the 12th of March, 1812, one of the three saw-mill privileges which were in the same immediate vicinity, on the Powow River, at what was then and is still known as "The Mills," a name given to the village

in the last century, on account of the establishment of these mills. Messrs. Moody and Wigglesworth did not change the business of the mill, but a year later sold the mill to Jonathan Morrill, of Amesbury. In June, 1812, Mr. Moody entered into partnership with Ezra Worthen and others.

Ezra Worthen had purchased on the 7th of November, 1810, from Samuel Ordway, one-twelfth of the middle of the three saw-mill privileges just referred to, but the business was continued as before till the spring of 1812.

On the 7th of February, 1812, Mr. Worthen purchased from Thomas Boardman three-twelfths, from Ephraim Morrill four-twelfths, and from Jonathan Morrill three-twelfths, of the same saw-mill privilege, thus becoming owner of eleven-twelfths of the property, William Ordway being owner of the other one-twelfth.

On the 17th of June, 1812, Mr. Worthen sold four-twelfths of the property to Paul Moody, two-twelfths to Thomas Boardman of Amesbury, and one-twelfth to Samuel Wigglesworth of Salisbury. The latter gentleman on the 23d of June purchased the one-twelfth belonging to William Ordway, so that the owners of the property then were: Ezra Worthen, one-third; Paul Moody, one-third; Thomas Boardman, one-sixth, and Samuel Wigglesworth, one-sixth. The four gentlemen formed a copartnership, and at once erected a factory of brick, two-stories high, and commenced the manufacture of satinets, a fabric then in common use for the ordinary clothing of men and boys, having a cotton warp and wool filling. They also obtained contracts from the government for cloth for the army.

The business having been fairly established, the partners petitioned for a charter as a corporation, which

was granted February 16, 1813, the style of the company being the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company, with an authorized capital of $46,000, the stockholders being, besides the four gentlemen named above, Jacob Kent and James Randlett.

About this time the attention of some merchants of Boston had been directed to the manufacture of cotton goods, and on the 23d of February—one week from the date of the charter of the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company—Messrs. Francis Lowell, Patrick T. Jackson and others, were incorporated as the Boston Manufacturing Company. Their works were in process of erection and they were looking for a suitable person to superintend the setting up of the machinery and to start the mill. They first applied to Jacob Perkins, whose reputation as a mechanic indicated superior fitness for the position. He had decided to remove from this part of the country, and went first to Philadelphia, and in 1818 to London, where he resided until his death in 1849, being engaged in perfecting machinery and engines operated by steam-power. He suggested Paul Moody as the most competent person within his knowledge for the situation. Mr. Moody was at once invited to go to Waltham. Accepting the invitation he removed thither with his family in 1814. His position from that time was not only one of great responsibility but afforded ample scope for his energy and mechanical skill and ingenuity. Associated with gentlemen of broad views, great enterprise and abundant capital, and for the first three years — the critical and decisive ones — with Mr. Lowell, who added to the above characteristics very exact knowledge of the mathematical principles involved in the construction of machinery and an insight into mechanical devices, which fitted him

admirably to appreciate the work of such a man as Paul Moody, the latter was supported and encouraged to the utmost endeavors. His success during the nearly ten years of his engagement at Waltham was such as to more than meet the expectations of his employers. Soon after removing from Amesbury he sold his interest in the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company to James Randlett, of Portsmouth, N. H., one of the stockholders.

In the machine shop at Waltham he not only repaired and manufactured the machinery for the mills there but developed a large business in building machinery for other cotton mills. His attention was soon directed to the improvement of special adjustments and to the invention of new machines for particular processes. In some of these he made a new departure, and together with the invention of the power-loom by Mr. Lowell, thereby developed what was known as the Waltham system, as distinguished from the Rhode Island system, of the cotton manufacture.

Mr. Moody's earliest patent was granted May 10, 1816, and was for a winding-frame. A more important machine for which he received a patent January 17, 1818, was one by which the warp was dressed, preparatory to weaving in the power-loom. This process had not been requsite in the hand-loom with its slow movement and the careful handling of the shuttle by the weaver; but on the introduction of the power-loom some preparation of the warp-yarns, whereby they might have greater rigidity and be less liable to break in the passage of the shuttle, became a necessity. An early English machine for the purpose was that of Thomas Johnson, a weaver, of Bredbury in Cheshire, England, patented February 28, 1803, and June 2, 1804. This was

improved by William Horrocks, a manufacturer of Stockport, in Lancashire. Mr. Lowell, when in England, had obtained drawings of Horrocks' machine, and from them a dressing machine was constructed by Mr. Moody. This machine he improved by adding a stop-motion to the beams or rollers. The rollers, also, he made of soapstone, which proved to be very effective, obviating wholly the objections which had been found to exist against wood or iron for the purpose. The suggestion of this use of soapstone was accidental. Mr. Moody was conversing with his brother concerning the difficulty of making the iron castings for the rollers sufficiently perfect, and remarked that he had thought of making the mould of soapstone. His brother, misapprehending his meaning, replied, "Well, I should think soapstone would make a very good roller." Mr. Moody made no reply, but took the hint and made his rollers of soapstone, which perfectly answered the purpose. These improvements were covered by the patent of January 17, 1818.

Mr. Moody also devised the method of spinning the yarn for filling directly on the bobbin for the shuttle. The yarn for filling had previously been spun on a spinning-frame and then wound on a different bobbin to fit it for the shuttle. A winding-machine, invented by Ebenezer Stowell, then of Middlebury, Vt., but previously of Worcester, Mass., and patented February 28, 1815, had been in use at Waltham for this purpose. Silas Shepard, of Taunton, Mass., had patented a machine for the same purpose which Mr. Moody thought might be preferable, and in company with Mr. Lowell he went to Taunton to examine it. They wished to secure the right to use the machine on a large scale, and on that account to obtain a reduction from the price named. Mr. Shepard refused to make any abatement, saying,

"You know you must have them, Mr. Moody." The latter replied, "I was just thinking that I could spin the cops direct upon the bobbin." "You be hanged!" said Mr. Shepard. "Well, Mr. Lowell, I accept your offer." "No," said Mr. Lowell, "it is too late." The two gentlemen at once started on their return to Waltham, and while on the journey, Mr. Lowell said to Mr. Moody that as he had suggested the idea of spinning the filling on the bobbin, he must carry it out. Mr. Moody had made the remark only by way of chaffering for a bargain, without any serious thoughts on the matter, but now turned his attention to the subject, the result being the filling-frame, which, with some improvements, was patented some years later, on the 19th of February, 1821.

The most important improvement was that of the double-speeder. The original fly-frame introduced from England had no fixed principle for regulating the changing movements necessary in filling a spool. As stated in our sketch of Mr. Lowell, these were the subjects of a complicated mathematical calculation by that gentleman, which Mr. Moody carried into effect in this machine, patents for which were granted April 3, 1819, December 30, 1820, and February 19, 1821. Other patents were granted May 6, 1819, and February 19, 1821, for a spinning-frame, and on January 19, 1821, and February 19, 1821, for a roping-machine.

Another illustration of the mechanical genius of Mr. Moody was his construction of a "governor," on the suggestion of Mr. Lowell, who on the occasion of a visit of Mr. Moody at his house in Boston, said that "they must have a governor, to regulate the speed of the wheels." Mr. Moody had never heard of such an apparatus, and all the information which Mr. Lowell could give him was that, having seen one in England, he remembered there were two iron balls suspended on two

rods, connected at one end like a pair of tongs. When the wheel was in too rapid motion these balls would be driven apart and produce a partial closing of the gate; when, on the other hand, the motion was too slow, the balls would approach each other and the gate would be opened more widely, letting in a larger volume of water and increasing the speed of the wheel. It was understood, when Mr. Moody left the house of Mr. Lowell, that a "governor" should be ordered from England. On his ride from Boston to Waltham, Mr. Moody could think of nothing but the "governor," and the next morning on going to the machine shop, he chalked out a sketch of his idea as a model for his workmen. Not long afterwards, Mr. Lowell being at Waltham, the inquiry was made whether the "governor" had been ordered from England. Being informed that it had not been ordered, Mr. Moody produced the "governor," which had been made under his direction. It was at once set up in the mill where it did service till 1832. It was the model of those afterwards used in Lowell.

Mr. Moody introduced at Waltham what was known as the dead-spindle, so called from its slow revolutions as compared with those of the live-spindle, introduced from England by Samuel Slater. Both of these spindles continued in use for many years, the dead-spindle at Waltham, Lowell and in mills modelled after the establishments in those places; the live-spindle in Rhode Island. The process of spinning in which they were used, known as the throstle-spinning — the sound of the spindle resembling the note of the bird of that name—was finally superseded by the ring-traveller, invented by John Thorp, of Providence, and patented by him November 20, 1828. It was at first made so inaccurately as to be inoperative, but was improved and perfected by William Mason, of Taunton, and soon came into general use.

Mr. Moody was actively interested with Messrs. Appleton, Jackson and Boott, in the inauguration of the enterprise at East Chelmsford, afterwards Lowell, Mass. The machinery for the first two mills was built at the shop of the Boston Manufacturing Company under his direction, and was set up in the summer and early fall of 1823, the first double-speeder being started October 9, 1823. It was at once manifest that the immense water-power at East Chelmsford would soon be applied to running other mills, and that the machinery could be built there to better advatage. It was therefore decided to establish a machine shop there on a large scale, and to secure the services of Mr. Moody in planning, building, and superintending it. In August, 1823, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company having decided to build another mill, a contract was made with the Boston Manufacturing Company to release Mr. Moody from his engagement with it, and to allow the use of its patterns and patent rights by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. The sum of $75,000 was paid as the consideration. Mr. Moody at once removed to East Chelmsford and started the machine shop there in 1824. From that time till his death most of the machinery for all the mills in Lowell was built and set up under his supervision.

On the 18th of June, 1824, Ezra Worthen, Mr. Moody's early partner and friend, who had been from the beginning the superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, died, and Mr. Moody, in addition to the charge of the machine shop, served as superintendent of the mills until August, 1824, when he resigned that department of his work, being succeeded by Warren Colburn, and devoted himself exclusively to the business of the machine shop until his death, which occurred, after an illness of three days, July 7, 1831.

The part which he sustained in the origin and early development of Lowell greatly enlisted his interests in the welfare and prosperity of the community, and he gave the strength of his judgment and the weight of his influence to whatever might contribute to its beauty by the best use of its physical advantages, or might conduce to its healthfulness, or might secure an elevated moral tone of sentiment and conduct. He was especially efficient in promoting the cause of temperance. At that period most mechanics were addicted to the daily use of ardent spirits, many of them to excess. He early introduced into his shop the reform, which then had secured the co-operation of comparatively few persons of prominence either in professional, mercantile, or mechanical pursuits. His measures were quietly but effectively taken, and sustained by his own example were successful. In reference to his influence, both at Waltham and at Lowell, no one would demur to the statement of Edward Everett, that "to the efforts of his self-taught mind the early prosperity of the great manufacturing establishments in Waltham and Lowell was in no small degree owing."

Belonging, as was stated at the beginning of this sketch, to a family a large number of whose members had received a liberal culture, he was a warm friend of education and favored the most liberal public expenditures for this purpose. An Episcopalian in sentiment and church membership, he gave to the cause of religion the influence of his personal example, his careful observance of the Sabbath, his regular attendance at church, and his liberal contributions for its current and occasional expenses. Habitually cheerful, strong in his attachments, faithful in friendship, tender in his conjugal and paternal relations, he was greatly respected and beloved by all. His age, at the date of his death, was

fifty-two years. Like his early co-worker, Lowell, and his later, Boott, he was removed from his work on earth in the very meridian of his years and of his usefulness.

In the funeral sermon, delivered July 10, 1831, by Rev. Theodore Edson, Rector of St. Anne's Church, it was said that "his death produced a greater sensation than any other single event that has transpired in this town. He died in his full strength of body, in the very vigor of age and constitution. But the last Sunday he was here in his accustomed place, and perhaps not a person in the whole congregation could have been selected with a fairer prospect of long life and vigorous health than he. He died in the midst of prosperity. The sun of life sweetly smiled around him. He seemed blessed with all the means of enjoyment this life can afford: successful in all his pursuits, gratified in all his benevolent wishes, and sensible to all the advantages of his condition. He died in the full strength of mind. He was a man of extraordinary intellect. He was one of those who identified himself with the rise, growth, and prosperity of this flourishing village. He was one of the two who first set foot upon the soil with the slightest idea of what it might become. From the earliest active measures, he has sustained a conspicuous part of this enterprise; and it should be remembered, the place which he has held in this concern he has sustained by the uncommon strength and acuteness of his practical talents. He was kind to the poor. He was not wont to turn away from actual suffering without an effort to relieve it. No person more fully appreciated the superiority of that charity which provides for the destitute by encouraging their own laudable exertions and industry. What he was as a friend, a brother, a father, a husband, has been involuntarily attested to by the deep, unaffected and irrepressible emotion which this truly mournful event has

occasioned. The habitual cheerfulness of his disposition, the stability of his friendship, the fidelity and constancy of his attachment, the affectionate tenderness of his paternal character are known—are written on the heart."

At a meeting of the directors of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, held July 22, 1831, it was voted that the following notice of the death of Mr. Moody be entered upon the records:

"The directors, deeply impressed with a sense of the severe loss the Corporation have sustained in the death of their agent, Mr. Moody, who expired, in the midst of his labors, on the 7th inst., after an illness of short duration, feel desirous to enter upon their records, as a feeble tribute to his worth, this expression of their high admiration of his skill as a mechanic as well as their unbounded regard for his character as a man. To extreme fidelity and uprightness Mr. Moody added an untiring zeal in the execution of his trust. Diligent and unsparing of his own labor, he exacted and secured the same assiduity from others. Prompt to acknowledge every instance of merit in those whom he employed, he never had the weakness to indulge a favorite. Quick to discern their failings, he possessed too much command over himself to be violent or hasty in reproof, so that in the scene of his activity his memory is cherished with affection and respect, and furnishes to those who survive him an invaluable model for imitation. To mechanical talents of the very first order he united prudence and foresight in so eminent a degree that his judgment in machinery was almost unerring; hence the use of few of his inventions has been superseded by more modern discoveries, and they were so numerous and important that to no one are we more indebted for the advanced and successful state of the cotton manufacture among us."

IX. The President's Addresses.

[By a vote of the Association passed May 9, 1883, the several Addresses of the President were ordered to be printed in the "Contributions" of the Association. To avoid repetition the Secretary, with the approval of the President, has selected such portions of the Addresses as have a general interest to the public, and is now enabled to put them in the possession of the members in a form suitable for preservation.]

May 8, 1873.

Gentlemen — With this meeting we complete the fourth year since the organization of the Association, and I invite your attention for a few moments to a short review of the facts and incidents connected with the past year.

In these four years we have accumulated a very considerable amount of valuable local historical information which rests securely in the keeping of the Secretary. Allow me here to say that some of these papers are of very general interest, and I can conceive of no more likely way to awaken attention to our aims and efforts than the publication, in some respectable form, of a judicious selection from these papers and a generous gratuitous distribution of these publications at home and abroad.

Our quarterly meetings of the year have been well attended by its members, on one occasion more than seventy being present; but the public, although always welcome and repeatedly invited, have evinced but little interest, while the press has always lent their encouragement to our efforts to collect and detain the fleeting facts of the early history of our city.

I have been gratified to notice that some other cities and towns have already or are about to organize similar associations.

MAY 9, 1874.

GENTLEMEN—We enter this day on the fifth year of our Association. The people of Lowell, as those of all other places, are in possession of a certain body of memories and traditions not current elsewhere, exceedingly fleeting and transitory as they always are. Like the beautiful autumn leaves, unless seized and gathered and preserved by the hand of taste and feeling, how soon do they crumble and sink into the soil from which they came, and leave no trace behind! But they may by skilful art be woven into forms of beauty and long give pleasure and profit to the beholder. So must we gather and embalm all that seems valuable in this heritage of memories and traditions, and thus arrest the oblivion which otherwise threatens so soon to overshadow them. This is the humble function of this local association; and whatever has been, or may be our success, we are but joining in a good work which is going on all around us with like objects, in state and county, and city and town organizations.

The most noticeable event of the last year with us has been the publication of the first number of our "Contributions"—a pamphlet of over seventy pages.

It is interesting to know how this was received by those at a distance from us. The president of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, writes:

"I thank you for the pleasant historical contributions of Lowell. Your address sets them on the right track, and I hope you will keep them active, so that the fragments may be gathered and saved while they are fresh. For myself I think I have been able to accomplish more in calling out the activity of others than in attempting a great share of the work myself."

The secretary of the same institution says:

"I read it with great interest, and shall place it in the library."

An ex-mayor of Cambridge says:

"I thank you for your interesting pamphlet. I have felt the more interest in it as the beginning of a series of publications which may be hereafter of the greatest value in elucidating the origin and progress of the manufacturing industry of the country, which in connection with our railroads and inexhaustible mineral resources is doing so much to make us the greatest nation on the face of the earth."

Another writes that:

"I have read all with great interest. Everything of that kind has an ever-increasing value, and the Association have provided a fund of satisfaction for all coming time."

Perhaps the Association could in no other way be more benefited than by a wider distribution of this pamphlet — both pecuniarily and otherwise.

May 15, 1875.

Gentlemen — We close to-night the sixth year of our Association.

In the progress of the year now closing, your increasing interest and attention have been manifested in full numbers at your quarterly meetings, in one instance with ladies, in a large and enthusiastic gathering at the

hospitable home of one of its respected officers, and of more than one hundred members at the funeral of another.

Nor has the other object of the Society — the gathering and preserving the ever fleeting facts of our local history as a town and city — been overlooked. Several valuable papers have been read and placed in our files.

In these few facts we have gratifying evidence of the healthful condition of our Association and of the continued interest of the public in our work.

The efforts of various historical and statistical societies around us have awakened general attention to similar researches, particularly in this time of centennials. And yet how few keep any note of passing events, any record of themselves, their ancestors and the incidents of the times in which they live! We rejoice in what our Society has done and is still doing, but more and still greater work is to be performed, and we have constant admonitions that our time is short.

Our gathering here to-night, at the commencement of another year is to greet each other with the accustomed friendly recognition, and thankful for the mercies vouchsafed to us, and grateful for what of success has crowned our labors of the past year, to renew our endeavors in the discharge of the duties and trusts of the Association.

May 3, 1876.

Gentlemen — The position which by your favor I hold, and the practice of similar associations rather than any positive requirement of yours, would seem to warrant the expectation that at our annual meetings some

short review of the events of the past year should be laid before you. We close to-day our seventh year.

The quarterly meetings have been regularly held and largely attended. The public have always been welcomed and the invitation to ladies has been accepted by them, their presence adding much to the interest of the occasion.

But the crowning event of the year has been the semi-centennial celebration. At our meeting last November, the approach of the event was announced and a resolution introduced, passed and sent to the City Council, expressing our earnest wish for a suitable observance of the day. It met with a gratifying reception, and a joint committee of the Council and the Association addressed themselves with extraordinary zeal, judgment and perseverance to perfecting arrangements in great detail for the day. Few persons are aware of the importance and labor of such undertakings. While all classes of the community seemed aroused, the "Old Residents" evidently regarded it as their last opportunity. The sight of hundreds of their gray heads, as viewed from the galleries of the hall, is described as singularly impressive. Our large and beautiful hall was densely packed, and hundreds were unable to gain admission.

We were singularly fortunate in our graceful and dignified president of the day, in the appropriate and exhilarating character of our choral music, in the almost world-wide fame of the semi-centennial orator, in our distinguished guests from abroad, and cheered with the happy greetings of former friends who came long journeys to grace our jubilee. The day realized the era of good feelings and left behind it no causes of regret for omissions or mistakes; and the forthcoming history of it

to be published by the city will commemorate to distant ages one of the most successful and happy ceremonies it has ever undertaken. In this connection I may add that eleven different odes and poems were sent to your committee, from which the selection was made.

During the year, by your direction, the second number of our Contributions has been published, making a pamphlet of nearly two hundred pages, and numbers have been judiciously distributed by our efficient secretary, and I have received several acknowledgments from abroad testifying to its worth and the praiseworthy objects of our Society.

A most acceptable donation has been made to the Association by Miss Elizabeth B. Livermore, of files of the Chelmsford Phœnix, Merrimack Journal, and Lowell Journal, for the years 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828, substantially bound; also, a large octavo volume relating to the Boott family, given by Mr. George M. Elliott.

May 11, 1877.

After enumerating a list of the papers read at the meetings of the Association he said:

We have thus done something in gathering fragments of interest and arresting their loss, which otherwise would be speedy and unavoidable. Our humble aim is promoted when almost any fact under a certain and precise date is recorded for the first time. The completion last year of the half century of our city was witnessed by a small number of survivors of that period, who were painfully reminded of neglected opportunities; for, notwithstanding the gratifying success of the celebration several errors of fact and date were recorded, and thus to a certain degree perpetuated. I may be excused, therefore, if on every occasion I urge

upon each member greater diligence in preserving these fleeting materials, to be incorporated into history. All we can accomplish must be by individual effort. The tendency of the times is to organizations and societies in which there is danger too much reliance may be placed; and individual character, and influence and labor in a degree neutralized and undervalued.

May 8, 1878.

Our Association was organized December 21, 1868, and the first annual meeting took place May 3, 1869. Thus, while we have claimed for it the age of ten years the present year we are compelled to acknowledge that its age is nine. The record of these nine years proves that we have not been unmindful of the objects of the Association. So successful indeed have been our efforts that its reputation is now recognized from Maine to Georgia by societies similar in character; and its example is being followed by the neighboring cities of Haverhill and Lawrence.

There is one department of the Association that is dependent on the good-will of the individual members; and the secretary trusts that each member will feel it a duty to manifest that good-will by furnishing him with a photograph. He has already ninety-eight pictures in the Association's album. He wants one hundred and fifty-two more. It is one of the pleasant features of the Association thus to preserve the likenesses of its members, and it is very desirable that all should be represented.

May 8, 1879.

We are passing, this evening, the eleventh anniversary of this Association, a somewhat novel enterprise

for collecting and preserving the fleeting facts of the early history of our city, one of whose distinctions it is that it has reached the second position in our Commonwealth in population, within the lives of some of us who have been residents from its beginning in 1822.

Although we are most gladly welcoming to our ranks those younger men, of whom this cannot be truly said, yet there is a *peculiar* sympathy between those who began here their life work in poverty and obscurity in Lowell village, as it was called. Nor is it strange that they look back with feelings of almost reverence upon its founders and leaders. I have been deeply impressed with the fact that so many of them died early in life.

Francis C. Lowell died September 2, 1817, aged 43 years.
Ezra Worthen died June 18, 1824, aged 48 years.
Paul Moody died July 5, 1831, aged 54 years.
Warren Colburn died September 13, 1833, aged 40 years.
Joel Lewis died November 10, 1834, aged 34 years.
Kirk Boott died April 11, 1837, aged 47 years.

It is very easy now, and a favorite occupation with our younger men to criticise their plans and point to their mistakes, but a more correct judgment will find surprisingly few instances which do not challenge our admiration and respect.

It seems natural then, that this sympathy should be strongest and most effective among those who have been longest associated together in duty and trial.

It is true, no doubt, that toward the last we live more with the past than the present. We all do so as the shadows lengthen for us in the evening of our life. It is true for all of us who are old the faces most loved are those of our unforgotten dead friends. But he who

has lived worthily has lived not for his own age only, but for all coming generations, for his thoughts live after him, and his example and his influence.

May 5, 1880.

A recent writer says it must be gratifying to every lover of his country to witness the growing interest which is taken in the knowledge of its early history and of the manners and customs, the habits and objects, and in a word the character of those who first planted these colonies. The publication of our local or town histories is well calculated to bring to light and perpetuate a knowledge of these facts. In these little municipalities the seeds of our present growth and prosperity were sown; and here those principles of equal rights and self government which have made us a free people were exhibited in practice. It became so obvious that the seeds of our national growth and prosperity were sown in our town meetings that the British Parliament passed a law forbidding our town meetings, except for the choice of town officers and the appropriations for the ordinary town purposes.

This growing interest in all the local histories of our towns has during the past year, culminated in the completion of the history of every town in Middlesex County, in two large and beautiful volumes, one of which has been already delivered; and it is with no little pleasure we see that our own city was undertaken, after much solicitation, by our painstaking Secretary, and has been completed by him with an amount of accurate detail and excellent judgment which can be fully appreciated only by those who have ever entered upon such a labor. The history of Lowell will appear in the second volume, which may be soon expected.

Early in the year, soon after the publication of No. 4 of our Contributions, it was decided to issue our first volume. It makes a book of over four hundred pages. The typography and mechanical work are very creditable to the firm who did it, the senior member of which has been one of our most valued collaborators.

While we rejoice in what has been accomplished by the efforts of industrious and useful members, we are constantly reminded of those who have ceased from their labors and have gone to their reward.

It is a constant gratification to us to look back upon the founders and early settlers of our city. They came to us by *emigration* from other communities and with unexampled rapidity, and this is the reason that the oldest members have been *most* interested in the objects of our Association. Many of our towns, independent of their individual character, acquired more extended fame from their share in the perils and sufferings of Indian warfare and the Revolution, which gave energy and stability to heroic virtues. We can make small claim to the stalwart characters, the high-toned morality, the unflinching integrity, based upon the religious element of the early settlers of our country, except as coming to us from the best country towns around us.

These transmitted characteristics may have been modified, but not lost. They still constitute the guiding and controlling element in the characters of our early men. They had no faith in managing their high trusts without the *school* and the *church*. To untold generations their influence is certain to be felt. *Our* fame must rest upon our enormous manufacturing corporations, but above all upon the skill and unexceptional honesty and trustworthiness of their management, which has already been their stability for fifty years.

May 6, 1881.

We call to mind the varied emotion of sadness, chastened by the memories of broken friendships, of mutual labors, cares and responsibilities now ended and soon to be forgotten, the departure of respected members.

The quarterly meetings have been held with a gratifying attendance, somewhat remarkable when we know that such is the activity, enterprise and ability of the daily press that full reports of all our doings in the evening are spread before us in print before breakfast the next morning. The temptation to avoid the discomfort and exposure of a stormy night and depend upon the morning paper is not small, and greatly increases as years increase.

May 3, 1882.

The aims of our Association are so simple, its operations so unostentatious, and its sympathies naturally so much closer to the older, or even the oldest of our associates that the return of our anniversary calls for simple facts.

On January 1, 1882, was published No. 2, Vol. II., of our Contributions. No previous number has evoked more grateful appreciation and acknowledgments from abroad; the remarkable rise and rapid growth of our city perhaps attract to us unusual curiosity and render our annals more interesting to our neighbors. Nor need we wonder at the indifference of the younger part of our community, with the exception, perhaps, of a few who have a taste for antiquarian pursuits, and even to these the history of our sixty years as a city is but a fraction of the two hundred and fifty years of our

country, and a very small fraction of the centuries long past.

Contrasted with the older cities of our Commonwealth, who fails to see in our straight and wide streets and broad sidewalks the wise liberality and sagacity of the founders of our city? While every year adds to the marvellous extension of our limits, the value of the steady and wise policy of the administration of our great corporations, and the desirableness of a conservative and order-loving tenure of our city government.

The printer's art is after all the great conservator and transmitter of history. The Endicott stone of granite and its deep-cut inscription, at the end of 260 years was in great danger of total decay and obliteration, but in the printer's page in the New Hampshire annals, in multiplied and wide-scattered volumes, its memory was safe. By this art we have with some success preserved the memory of some of our leading men. There yet remain many equally worthy whom we have hitherto failed to notice, notably among them the names of Moody and Worthen. Nor should we overlook or under-estimate the social element in our organization, engendered by sympathy of individual labors, privations and self-sacrifices when we were few and all on one level, with similar aims and ambitions.

As year by year in increasing numbers one and another is called from earthly labors, we are forcibly reminded that the destiny of the Association must soon pass into other, we doubt not abler hands.

May 9, 1883.

To the Old Residents' Association the revolution of even a single year comes fraught with especial signifi-

cance. Its events, to our survivors, of themselves compel willing attention and require few words to recall their memories. This report, to others rather than to its own members, may serve to keep before them the aims and objects of our efforts and we would hope to secure their co-operation and regard. We would cordially welcome to its membership all interested in similar pursuits in our own community, where we have done something but have merely gleaned where much remains to be reaped. Around us, in other places, abundant evidence is to be seen of such interest, not only in the increasing number of our local histories but in their improved character. The beautiful volumes, just published, of our neighboring town of Billerica, whose territory originally included a part of our own, with its numerous and beautiful illustrations and copious facts and dates, is an honor to the public spirit of the town and to its faithful, painstaking and eminent historian, Rev. Henry A. Hazen, A. M.

In November last the executive committee, acting under the authority of the recent change in our constitution, elected as corresponding members several gentlemen who had all been former residents, for a longer or shorter time, but long absent in distant fields of usefulness and honor. Their responses were prompt and full of grateful appreciation of our humble labors, showing how acceptable to them was the consciousness that their memories and services are still objects of regard, even after the elapse, in some cases, of forty years. Responses were received from Rev. Henry A. Miles, D. D., Hingham; Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D., Providence; Rev. Lewis Green, Ashfield; Rev. Elias Nason, Billerica; Rev. D. C. Eddy, D. D., Boston; Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Boston; Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, D. D., Salem; Rev. Nicholas

Hoppin, D. D., Cambridge; Rev. Geo. Leeds, D. D., Baltimore; Rev. E. L. Magoon, D. D., Philadelphia; James Payne, Esq., Lawrence; A. B. Wright, Esq., Boston.

In January last was published and distributed No. 3, Vol. II., of our Contributions. In the variety of its articles, in the interesting biographical sketches of two of our earliest and best known citizens, brief indeed from the scantiness of the materials, so long neglected but now happily preserved and expressed; the History of the Drama in Lowell, so long ago as to almost have passed from memory, but above all the exhaustive article on the newspaper press in Lowell by our indefatigable Secretary, so carefully and thoughtfully filled with its numerous facts and dates, involving an amount of time and labor very few can appreciate. This last may be truly said to be our best.

My attention, and doubtless that of other old residents, has been attracted to a series of papers in the Lowell Courier, entitled "Reminiscences of Early Physicians of Lowell and Vicinity." They are written by a young physician, a native and resident here, who has a taste for such work, and with great pains and good judgment has collected and published in one of our leading secular papers the materials scattered through our medical and other journals, and from the memories of surviving friends, thus reviving agreeable and long-cherished associations.

The Newburyport Herald, in inviting some one to undertake a similar work for its own city, uses the following language:

"There is no class more highly honored than the physician. People stand up for the family doctor as they do for their own clergyman, and there is much more personal preference.

"But there is one great drawback to the profession. As soon as the doctor is dead he is forgotten by all except those who have

known him personally. His benevolent deeds are exceedingly comforting at the time, but they are not such as to make a display. He works in secret but the reward does not come openly in this world. The profession has had as able and as good men, and those who in their own day were as highly honored as other professions, but a doctor's fame dies with him, unless he has written some work which passes beyond the value of a text-book, and is an authority with the people as with the profession. It would be an honor to the medical fraternity in Newburyport if they would publish a memorial of their members from the first to the present time."

If this series is carried out as it is begun we shall have set an example to the other professions, of which the legal is especially deficient, worthy of imitation; and what a welcome would await an appreciative notice of the legal talent of the early age of our city as embodied in the lives of John R. Adams, Francis Brinley, S. B. Walcott, Thomas Hopkinson, Elisha Fuller, Luther Lawrence, John P. Robinson, William T. Heydock, Joseph Locke, Seth Ames, Elisha Glidden, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel F. Haven, Edward St. Loe Livermore, Tappan Wentworth, John L. Sheafe, Samuel Mann, etc.

In closing I may be permitted to record the satisfaction we have in knowing that scholarly men are interesting themselves in both our City Library and the Mechanics' Library, in aiding in improving their local materials, and learning, like ourselves, to honor the founders of our city.

May 9, 1884.

To those who are accustomed to read each annual report of this and similar associations there is little to be said in reference to our routine work, except to remind them that the benefits derived from the Association are, first its social features, and next the advantage of having

an organization ready and equipped at all times for work.

In November last the second volume of our Contributions was completed, and makes a book of 461 pages, every way creditable to the accuracy and care of our watchful Secretary. The preparation for No. 1, Vol. III., is already well advanced.

Besides the smaller gifts sent in exchange, we have received and gratefully acknowledge:

Records of Massachusetts Volunteers. 2 vols. Mrs. T. Wentworth.

Memorial of Zachariah Allen, 1795–1882. Rhode Island Historical Society.

Ross Memorial. Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes Barre, Pa.

$540 in Confederate Bills. Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tenn.

Memoir of Hon. John M. Clayton. Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Del.

Sketch of Enoch Long, vol. 2. Collections of Chicago (Ill.) Historical Society. 134 pages.

The Edwards Papers, vol. 3. Collections of Chicago (Ill.) Historical Society. 633 pages.

In Memoriam, Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D. Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church.

Report of the Medical Staff of St. John's Hospital.

Manual of Kirk Street Church. S. L. Ward.

Charter and Ordinances of the City of Lowell. J. F. Page.

The Puritan Conspiracy against the Pilgrim Fathers and the Congregational Church, 1624. Hon. John A. Goodwin.

The increase in number and the improvement in character of our town histories, is very great. "We think we can see," says President Wilder, "that there has been an influence reflected from these shores on the Old World."

A late Scottish newspaper, the North British Mail of Glasgow, refers to the development of local history in Great Britain, as follows: "We have had occasion of late to call attention to the fact, both in Scotland and England, that the people are beginning to realize that national history is made up of local history." The same paper remarks: "In the department of family history the Yankees excel us, especially in the external splendor with which many of their books are got up."

Here ends our annual review, and we enter upon the new year, less cheered by our past success than stimulated to future exertions by the conviction of the importance and value of similar researches, to be duly weighed in some distant future, when we shall be no longer cognizant of criticism or neglect.

X. *Rev. John Eliot (Apostle to the Indians), Passaconaway, Wannalancet and Captain Samuel Mosely, by Alfred Gilman.*

JOHN ELIOT.

REV. JOHN ELIOT was born at Nasing, Essex County, England, in 1604. Little is known of his ancestry; his parents gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety. He writes, "I do see that it was a great favor of God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer." He was educated at the University of Cambridge, England, and afterward became usher to Hooker, in his grammar school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, Essex County. He thus became acquainted in his early years with Thomas Hooker, known as the Minister of Hartford, and father of the Connecticut churches, who was instrumental in leading him to a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. He arrived at Boston in 1631, and must have been held in high esteem, as Governor Winthrop says: "Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boston Congregation, whom the company intend presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury; and though Boston labored all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alleging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he would not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury; so he was dismissed."

He came over in the ship Lyon, and arrived in November, 1631, in company with the Governor's lady and sixty other persons.* These latter settled in Roxbury and had made an engagement with Mr. Eliot to settle with them. He united with the church at Roxbury as their teacher. Mr. Welde was called next year to be their pastor. One attended to *exhortation* and the other to *doctrine;* or, in the language of the time, one administered the word of wisdom, and the other the word of knowledge.

He was followed very soon after he came, by the young lady to whom he had been betrothed in England, and on her arrival they were married. Six children were the fruit of this marriage, five sons and one daughter. The daughter and one of the sons survived the parents. Three of the sons died young. One of the sons was the first minister of Newton, and became so much interested in his father's work that he acquired a knowledge of the Indian language.

In 1640 Eliot, in company with Welde and Richard Mather, was intrusted with the preparation of the "Old Bay Psalm Book." This was the *first book* printed in North America.

In 1646 he engaged in the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. Sometime in 1647, or perhaps in the preceding year, Mr. Eliot in company with Captain Willard, of Concord, and others, traveled so far as the Merrimack. Eliot was accompanied by some Christian Indians from his own neighborhood. These were of much service on the present occasion, by praying in the wigwams and conversing with the Indians. Passaconaway, the chief, would not see them, and fled with his sons, although many of his men remained.

*Convers Francis says the Roxbury people came the next year.

In the spring of 1648 Mr. Eliot again visited Pawtucket. At that season of the year there was annually a great collection of Indians at this spot, a famous fishing place, and they furnished him with large audiences—Indians that came from various quarters. On this occasion Passaconaway did not, as before, flee on the apostle's approach. He was willing to stay and listen. Eliot preached from Malachi i. 2, giving it the following version: "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, Thy name shall be great among the Indians, and in every place prayer shall be made to Thy name, pure prayer, for Thy name shall be great among the Indians." At this time Passaconaway expressed his determination to pray to God for the future and to persuade his sons to follow his example. Two of them were present, who assented to their father's purpose. In evidence of the lasting nature of this determination he expressed afterward a wish that the apostle would fix his abode in that neighborhood.

In 1651 Eliot founded the Indian town of Natick. He framed laws for the inhabitants which were an exact copy of those of the Pentateuch.

In 1653 he presented a petition to the Legislature, asking for a grant of land lying about Pawtucket and Wamesit falls, to be appropriated to the sole and exclusive use of the tribe inhabiting thereabout, where they had erected wigwams and broken up the land for planting.

The first English settlement made on the Indian plantation was on the borders of Concord River, a plot of ground much resembling a heater, which gave rise to the name of Concord River Neck. This was in 1655.

Gookin says: "Wamesit is the fifth praying town, and is situated upon Merrimack River, being a neck of

land where Concord River falleth into the Merrimack River. It is about twenty miles from Boston, N. N. W., and within five miles of Billerica and as much from Chelmsford, so that it hath Concord River upon the W. N. W. and the Merrimack upon the N. N. E. It hath about fifteen families, and consequently seventy-five souls. The quantity of land belonging to it is about 2500 acres. The land is fertile and yieldeth plenty of corn.

"At this place once a year,* at the beginning of May, the English magistrate keeps his court, accompanied with Mr. Eliot, the minister, who at this time takes the opportunity to preach, not only to the inhabitants, but to as many of the strange Indians that can be persuaded to hear him, of which sort, usually in times of peace, there are considerable numbers at that season. And this place being an ancient and capital seat of Indians, they come to fish; and this good man takes this opportunity to spread the net of the gospel to fish for their souls."

In 1674 Major Gookin writes, "We meet at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtucket Falls, and bordering upon the Merrimack River. This person, Wannalancet, is the eldest (?) son of Passaconaway, the chiefest Sachem of Pawtucket.

"He was a sober, grave person, between fifty and sixty years of age" when Mr. Eliot and Mr. G. visited him in 1674. "He was always loving and friendly to the English, but was unwilling to receive Christianity." "Many endeavors were made for several years to gain this sachem to embrace Christianity. The fear of desertion by his kindred restrained him." After the sermon

* This would seem to determine the question — "Did Eliot establish a church here?"

on the occasion of the visit in 1674 Mr. Eliot "proposed to him to give his answer concerning praying to God." He stood up, and after some deliberation and a serious pause, spoke as follows:

"Sirs, you have been pleased for years past in your abundant love to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge I have all my days been used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change, and leave my old canoe and embark in a new one, to which I have been hitherto unwilling; but I now yield up myself unto your advice and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Mr. Gookin continues: "Since that time I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a diligent and constant hearer of God's word, and sanctifieth the Sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every Sabbath, which is about four miles, and though sundry of his people have deserted him."

The "Great Neck" included the whole Indian plantation lying northeast of Chelmsford, and between Concord and Merrimack Rivers.

The northwest bounds of the "Wamesit purchase" began near the head of the Middlesex Canal and south to the glass manufactory, and thence running to a point on Concord River at the mouth of River Meadow Brook (now called Hale's Brook), comprising all the land between the brook and Concord River. This was purchased by Jonathan Tyng, Esq., and Maj. Thomas Henchman, of the Indians, in 1686. Jonathan Tyng sold his right in these lands to Major Henchman for £50, reserving one right. Henchman sold to 46 persons, including himself and Tyng, who were called the proprietors. In addition to this they purchased 500 acres of land, bounded

on the east by Beaver Brook and on the south by Merrimack River near Pawtucket Falls. This same land was sold by the Indians to Wheelwright, in 1629, but the Indians retained possession.

Having conceived the idea of converting the Indians, Mr. Eliot commenced the study of the language, a work that would have discouraged any one having less determination and enthusiasm. A modern linguist would have hesitated some time before he would have tried to master a language in which the words "our lusts" are expressed by a word of thirty-two letters — "Nummatchekodtantamoonganunnonash." This is entirely left in the shade by "our question" — "Kummogkodonattootttummoosstiteaongannunonash," a word of forty-three letters. Notwithstanding this almost insuperable difficulty, what can we say of the man who actually translated the English version of the Old and New Testaments into the Indian language? All that can be said has been well said by the Hon. Edward Everett:

"Since the death of the Apostle Paul, a nobler, truer and warmer spirit than John Eliot never lived, and taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the history of the Christian church does not contain an example of resolute, untiring, successful labor superior to that of translating the entire Scriptures into the language of the native tribes of Massachusetts, a labor performed not in the flush of youth, nor within the luxurious abodes of academic ease, but under the constant burden of his duties as a minister and a preacher, and at a time of life when the spirits begin to flag."

Mr. Eliot was remarkable for mildness, meekness and generosity. His wife was noted for her busy usefulness, carefulness and prudence, and possessed in a remarkable

degree those very qualities that made her a helpmeet to him. She once amused herself by pointing to several of his cows that stood before the door, and asking him whose they were. She found that the good man knew nothing about them.

Another peculiarity was his unselfishness. When the parish treasurer was once about to pay him his salary or a portion of it, knowing his habitual propensity, he put it into a handkerchief which he tied into several hard knots in order to prevent Mr. Eliot from giving it away before he reached home. After leaving the treasurer, the benevolent man called at the house of a family who were poor and sick. He blessed them and told them God had sent relief by him. His kind words brought tears of gratitude to their eyes. He immediately tried to untie his handkerchief, but the knots had been so effectually made that he could not get at his money. After several fruitless efforts to loose the handkerchief, he gave the whole to the mother of the family, saying: "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you." This anecdote is related almost word for word of the Rev. Samuel Moody.

His wife died three years before her husband, on the 24th of March, 1687, in the 84th year of her age. Standing beside her coffin he said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me."

He died May 20, 1690, aged 86 years. Cotton Mather tells us that the anagram of Eliot's name is *Toile*. This expressed concisely his life.

The general character of the Pawtuckets was not warlike. When the Mohawks made war an the Massachusetts and Pawtuckets it carried terror to their hearts, and forced them from their fishing-places, corn-fields

and habitations. The slightest occurrence was enough to kindle the passions of the English into outrage. A barn in Chelmsford, full of hay and grain, was burnt to the ground in 1675. This was afterwards discovered to have been done by some skulking Indians of the enemy's party.* But the inhabitants of the place at once imputed the crime to the Christian Indians of Wamesit, and in the heat of resentment, without further inquiry, determined on revenge. Fourteen men from Chelmsford went with arms to their wigwams and called to them to come out. When they — suspecting no harm — appeared, two of the men fired upon them. One lad was killed, and five women† and children were wounded. The murderers, Lorgin and Robbins, were soon arrested and brought to trial, but were acquitted by a jury acting under the influence of the popular exasperation. The Wamesit Indians were so frightened by this brutal assault that most of them fled from the settlement far into the forest, and remained there a long time, exposed to cold and hunger. Although attempts were made to induce them to return, they refused; but they sent a letter addressed to Lieut. Henchman, of Chelmsford, in which they said, "We are not sorry for what we leave behind, but we are sorry that the English have driven us from our praying to God, and from our teacher. We did begin to understand a little of praying to God." At length winter and hunger drove them back to their wigwams. When their return was made known at Boston,

*The Maquas, and strange Indians from the southward were the fomentors and perpetrators of most of the mischief that was done at this time. They burnt several houses in Dracut, Chelmsford, Shawshine and Andover; killed a son of George Abbott, of Andover, and carried away another captive. Roger Marks was wounded and his horse killed. Two sons of Samuel Varnum were shot as they were rowing a boat across Merrimack River.

†One was a widow; her name was Sarah, a woman of good report in religion. She was a daughter to a Sagamore, named Sagamore John, who was a great friend to the English.

a committee consisting of Mr. Eliot and Maj. Willard was appointed to visit them with a message of friendship and encouragement, and to persuade the people of Chelmsford into a better temper toward them. The committee discharged their duty promptly, doing their utmost to restore quiet and amity.

It is said that the "Indians at Wamesit were never very hearty in the cause of Christianity." This remark is partially confirmed by the fact that a church was never established here.

The Indian history connected with Lowell is replete with interest. The philanthropist sees in the civilization of the Indians at that early day when the colonies were weak, with enemies on every hand, the evidence of divine protection. He looks upon Eliot as something more than a religious enthusiast, and believes that he possessed the forecast of true statesmanship, in his efforts to turn what otherwise might have proved a scourge into a source of strength and protection. There are others who can see no good result in all Eliot's efforts, from the fact that when King Philip's war came, civilization and Christianity, as far as the Indians were concerned, disappeared from the land. Judged by the results—the neutrality of the local tribes, their refusal to join with other tribes in their wars against the English, and their readiness to give intelligence to the settlers of impending danger — we cannot but feel proud, and at the same time thankful, that there was such a patriot, enthusiast, or whatever he may be called, as the Rev. John Eliot.

PASSACONAWAY.

Passaconaway lived at Pennacook, now Concord, N. H. His dominions extended from the Merrimack

to the Piscataqua. He was the most noted powow and sorcerer of all the country, and his fame was widespread. It was thought he could cause a green leaf to grow in winter, trees to dance and water to burn. He is mentioned by Hutchinson as early as 1632. In 1642 great alarm spread throughout the English settlements, and the government sent men to take Passaconaway and his guns, bows, etc., which was done. He came willingly. After a night's imprisonment he was dismissed, as they could find against him no ground of suspicion. In the same year, says another account of this transaction, a warrant was sent to Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury, to disarm Passaconaway, who lived by the Merrimack; forty armed men went forth Sunday. These were hindered from visiting the wigwam of Passaconaway by rainy weather, "but they came to his son's and took him." This son, it is probable, was Wannalancet. This they had orders to do, but for taking a squaw and her child, they had none, and were ordered to send them back immediately. Wannalancet escaped, although they fired at him. In this statement I follow the history of the period. My own supposition is that the son of Passaconaway who was captured was Nanamocomuck, the elder son of that chief. It was the ill treatment he received at that time and at a subsequent period when deprived of his liberty by Major Waldron, at Dover, that instilled the hatred toward the English in the breast of Kankamagus which culminated in the destruction of the settlement at Dover. Wannalancet never manifested any bitterness toward the English, but on the other hand uniformly treated them when in his power with kindness. Kankamagus, according to Drake, in a communication to the English, calls Passaconaway his great grandfather, but I think the word *great* is used to characterize his

distinction. Mr. Allen, in his account of the Wamesit Indians, has the name of John Hodgkins or John Hawkins signed to the letter of Kankamagus. It would appear that these names belonged to one and the same person.

Fearing Passaconaway would resent this outrage they sent Catshamekin* to him to let him know that what was done to his son and squaw was done without order, and to invite him to a parley in Boston. Passaconaway said when he should have his son and squaw returned safe he would go and speak with them. They were soon liberated. In 1644, it is said, he came in with his son and submitted, together with all his lands and people, to the government. In 1662 we find the General Court acting upon a petition sent in by him. The Court say: "In answer to the petition of Papisseconeway, judgeth meete to graunt to the said Papisseconeway and his men or associates about Naticot (a brook in Litchfield) above Mr. Brenton's lands, where it is free, a mile and a half on either side Merremack River, in breadth, three miles on either side in length; provided neither he nor they do not alienate any part of this grant without leave and license from this court first obtained."

Gookin says, in his history of the praying Indians, supposed to have been written in 1674, "I saw him alive at Pawtucket when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." This must have been as early as 1662. His son Wannalancet was 55 years of age in 1674. Supposing his father to have been thirty years old at his birth (1619) that would give the age of Passaconaway in 1674, when Gookin wrote, as 85. Drake says "he is supposed to have died about the same time with Massasoit," which occurred in 1661–'62, twelve years before Gookin wrote.

* A sachem of the praying Indians belonging to Dorchester.

Before his death he delivered this speech to his children and friends:* "I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever meet together any more. I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed and rooted off the earth if you do; for I was as much an enemy to the English at their first coming into these parts as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them settling down here, but I could no way effect it; heretofore I advise you never to contend with the English nor make war with them."

WANNALANCET.

Wannalancet was born probably in 1619. We learn of him as early as 1647, when Passaconaway "fled with his sons." In 1648 he assented to his father's purpose "to pray to God." Drake says, "in 1659 he was thrown into prison for a debt of £45." His people, who owned an island in the Merrimack River, three miles above Pawtucket Falls, containing sixty acres, half of which was under cultivation, relinquished it to obtain his release. The General Court made a grant of this island to him October 11, 1665; it was afterward given to Jonathan Tyng in 1683. It would appear by Wannalancet's petition in 1665, that he was not the one who was imprisoned.

* There are three versions of this speech extant, differing somewhat in language, but expressing a common sentiment. I think we must give credit to the writer (Gookin) for the language of these Indian speeches, as they evince a thorough knowledge of the English language.

"To the Worshipful Richard Bellingham, Esq., Gov'r, and to the rest of the Honorable Generall Coart:

"The petition of us poore neibor Indians, whose names are hereunto subscribed, humbly sheweth that whereas Indians several years since we yr petit's out of pity and compassion to our pore brother and countryman to redeem him out of prison and bondage, whose name is Nanamocomuck, the elder son of Passaconewa, who was cast into prison for a debt of another Indian unto John Tinker, for which he gave his word; the redemption of whome did cost us our desirable posetions where we and oure had and did hope to enjoy our livelihood for ourselves and posterity; namely, an island on Merrimac River, called by the name of Wicosurke, which was purchased by Mr. John Web, who hath curtiously given us leave to plant vpon ever since he hath possessed the same, we doe not know wheather to goe nor where to place ourselves for our Livelyhood in procuring vs bread; having beine very solicitous wh Mr. Web to let vs enjoy our posetions againe, he did condescend to our motion provided we would repay him his charges, but we are poore and cannot so doe. Our request is Mr. Web may have a grant of about 5C acres of land in two places adjoyning his own land in the wilderness, which is our owne proper land, as the aforesaid island ever was.

"10; 8; 65. Nobhow in behalf of my wife and children.

"VNANUNQUOSETT
"Wanalancett
"Nonatomenut.

"If the court please to grant this then yr petitioner Wannalancett is willing to surrender up ye hundred acres of land yt was granted him by the court."

This one hundred acres of land here mentioned is supposed to be a part of the grant to Madam Winthrop, located in what is now called Belvidere.

This island has been called Wickosurke, Wickasuck and Wickasee. Soon after the close of King Philip's war (1676), sixty of the Wamesits or praying Indians were removed to this island and placed under the care of Jonathan Tyng, where they remained about ten years.

In 1669, fearing an attack from the Mohawks, Wannalancet came down the Merrimack River with a party of the Pennacooks, and erected a fortification on what is now called Fort Hill. In 1675, Capt. Mosely with about one hundred men was ordered to march up into the country of the Merrimack and ascertain the state of affairs under Wannalancet. They scouted as far as Pennacook (Concord, N. H.). They could not find the Indians but came upon their wigwams and burned them and destroyed a quantity of dried fish and other articles. No retaliation took place on the part of the Indians; but Wannalancet having had notice of the approach of Mosely, lay concealed while Mosely was destroying his effects, and might have cut off his company, as the young warriors advised, but Wannalancet would not permit a gun to be fired. He respected the advice of his father. On the 3d of May, 1676, Thomas Kimball, of Bradford, was killed and his wife and five children carried into the wilderness. Wannalancet caused them to be sent home to their friends again. It is supposed they were taken by some of the enemy within his sachemdom, or by some over whom he had control. Although twice condemned by these Indians, and the fires made ready to burn them, they were saved by the intercession of the Sachem of Pennacook, and set at liberty without ransom.

This same year (1676) Wannalancet is supposed to have been among the number of four hundred Indians who were enticed by Major Waldron to Dover and were surrounded and captured, somewhat more than half of whom, says Drake, were sold into foreign slavery or executed at Boston. Wannalancet with his men were set at liberty. Efforts were made to get him to return to his former residence at Naumkeke (Litchfield), but

he never felt reconciled there afterwards. Lawless whites had seized upon his lands and looked upon him as having no rights there. In 1677, being visited by a party of Indians from Canada, he was urged, Eliot says, "partly by persuasion, partly by force, to accompany them to their country." He finally consented, and with all his people except two — in number about fifty, of whom not above eight were men — departed for Canada; he was not heard of after. Before going he went to the Rev. Mr. Fiske, of Chelmsford, and inquired of him concerning the welfare of his former acquaintances, and whether the place had suffered much during the war. Mr. Fiske answered that they had been highly favored in that respect and for which he thanked God. "Me next," said the chief, thereby intimating that he was conscious of having prevented mischief from falling upon them.

As late as 1682–'83 there must have been Indians remaining in this neighborhood, as Eliot in a letter to Boyle says "the Mauqueay Indians declare the Eastern Indians to be their enemies, and the way unto them is through us and our Wamesit Indians."

Wannalancet was succeeded by Kankamagus (known to the English as John Hodgkins) son of Nanamocomuck, the eldest son of Passaconaway. He was elected Sagamore by the remnant of the tribe that remained at Pennacook after the departure of Wannalancet, and was afterwards joined by many "strange Indians" from other tribes who had become disaffected with the English. Kankamagus was a leader in the massacre of the people of Dover, among whom was Major Waldron. This fact leads me to believe that his father, Nanamocomuck, was the one who was imprisoned by Waldron. If my supposition is correct the following record of events in

his life would tend to corroborate the belief: He was imprisoned for debt as has heretofore been stated, and was taken prisoner by the forty men from Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury; was among the four hundred Indians surrounded and captured by Waldron at Dover, N. H., and although set at liberty, these things were remembered and cherished by his son Kankamagus, who led the party of Indians that committed the massacre at Dover when Waldron was killed.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New England held a low place in the scale of humanity. They had no civil government, no letters, no history, no music, no poetry. They were simple, ignorant and indolent. The Indian women performed all the drudgery of the household and were also the tillers of the soil, the lazy, indolent lords deeming it debasing to engage in aught except hunting, fishing and war. Their principal article of food was Indian corn, prepared in various ways, either boiled alone into hominy, or mixed with beans and called succotash, or parched, or broken up into meal and moistened with water, in which case it was named nookik, since corrupted into "Johnny-cake."

A hoe made of a clam shell or a moose's shoulder-blade, was their only tool of husbandry. Their manure was fish, covered over in the hill with the seed. Fish were taken with lines or nets, the cordage of which was made of the fibres of the dogbane or the sinews of the deer. Hooks were made of sharpened bones of fishes and birds.

Their houses or wigwams were of a circular or oval shape, made of bark or mats laid over a framework of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top where was an aperture for the escape of the smoke. The better sort had also a lining

of mats. There were two doors, one opposite the other, and mats were used to close the one through which the wind came.

Their manner of expression was vehement and emphatic; their ideas being few, their language was far from copious. They have been called eloquent. Never was a reputation more cheaply earned. Take away their common-places, mountain and thunder, sunset and waterfall, eagle and buffalo, burying the hatchet, smoking the calumet, and lighting the council fire, and the material for their pomp of words is reduced within contemptible dimensions.

Previous to the settlement of New England, war and pestilence had been exceedingly fatal and resulted in the destruction of thousands of Indians. Thus had the country been prepared for the arrival of the emigrants. Gookin puts down the number of the Wamesit Indians previous to the pestilence as "about three thousand," which was reduced to two hundred and fifty in 1674.

It was at Mr. Eliot's motion that care was taken by the government to appoint some of the most prudent and pious Indians in every Indian village that had received the gospel, to be rulers and magistrates among them, to order their affairs, both civil and criminal. These rulers were chosen by themselves, but approved by a higher authority, vested in an English magistrate, who was to join with the chief of their rulers in holding a higher court among them. The English magistrate appointed the time and place of holding court, and consented to judgment. Each village had one or more constables, chosen yearly.

CAPT. SAMUEL MOSELY.

I am indebted to a very interesting article in the April number of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, by the Rev. George M. Bodge of Dorchester, for the following account of Capt. Samuel Mosely:

In the fall of 1635, Henry Maudesly came from England to Massachusetts in the ship Hopewell, Capt. Babb master. Samuel, his son, was born at Braintree, June 14, 1641. The name was abbreviated to Mosely. Samuel married Ann Addington, born March 10, 1647, sister of the Hon. Isaac. They were married previous to May 30, 1665. He was a cooper by trade. In 1668 he is styled captain, having previously been engaged in privateering at Jamaica, in command of a ship. For several years previous to 1675 Boston merchants had been greatly troubled by Dutch pirates, as they were called. In December, 1674, several small English vessels were captured near Mt. Desert. One of these vessels belonged to John Freake of Boston, the others to Waldron of Dover, and Shapley of Kittery. February 15, 1674–5, an expedition was fitted out under command of Capt. Samuel Mosely, who, sailing out, fell in with a French vessel which he impressed into his service, and soon met the Dutchmen. They had three vessels, including the one captured from Mr. Freake, which was in charge of Peter Grant and its former skipper, George Manning, who had been wounded in its capture, and was about to be turned adrift in his boat by the pirates, when in consideration of his promise of good behavior, he was allowed to sail his own craft in convoy of the others, under Dutch colors. When Capt. Mosely attacked the pirates, Manning turned upon his captors and assisted in

their capture. It appears from a note in the Register that these Dutch pirates came into the port of Boston in 1674 and obtained permission of the Governor to make repairs on their vessel. When they departed a part of the crew was left behind; these hired Thomas Mitchell, of Malden, and a vessel of which he was part owner, for a trading voyage to the eastward. Mitchell was taken with the others but testified that he opposed their acts of piracy. He was discharged at the trial, under bonds for his appearance.

Capt. Mosely, the hero of this successful enterprise, became the most popular man in the colony, and was looked upon as the proper man for a leader in the war against the Indians, which had broken out in the meantime. The rule of official succession in the colonial militia being very strict, Mosely never having held a military office, the only course left for him to pursue, and which perhaps suited him best, was to organize an independent company of volunteers. It is said that within three hours 110 enlisted, among them many of his old associates in privateering and several of the released pirates. The "Old Indian Chronicle" relates that ten or twelve privateers had several dogs with them, which rendered valuable service in "finding out the enemy in their swamps." It is supposed Capt. Mosely marched out of Boston early in the morning of June 27, 1675, and joined his volunteers with the troops of Henchman and Prentice in the afternoon, and then marched to Swansea. Gen. Cudworth, of the Plymouth forces, was commander-in-chief.

The account of the pursuit of King Philip I shall omit, and hasten to that which relates to the doings along the Merrimack River. The following letter from him to the Governor will explain his course and actions, premis-

ing that in making the transcript the spelling has been corrected:

"FROM NASHUA, ALIAS LANCASTER,
August 16, 1675.

"HONORED SIR—Yesterday I spared Capt. Beers and twenty-six of our men to march with him to Springfield, and it was with Major Willard's order; and I have also, according to my orders from Major General Dennison, sent to Dunstable fort to enlarge the guard eighteen men, to Groton twelve men, and to Chelmsford twelve men, out of those that were under Capt. Henchman and of those that came with me. Also last night about seven o'clock we marched into Nashua (Lancaster), where we are at present, but shall as soon as the constable hath pressed us a dozen horses, proceed for Groton and so to Chelmsford, according to the order Major Willard gave me yesterday at Quoahbaugh (Brookfield). The day before I came to Quoahbaugh I marched in company with Capt. Beers and Capt. Lathrop to the swamp, where they left me and took their march to Springfield; and as soon as they were gone I took my march into the woods, about eight miles beyond the swamp where Capt. Hutchinson and the rest were that were wounded and killed, and so returned to follow the enemy as above said; also we did find a parcel of wigwams beyond the swamp, about twenty of which we burned, etc. Our Major having a certain intelligence of a considerable party of Indians that have gathered together a little above Chelmsford, which I hope we shall be up with this night or to-morrow at farthest, and if it please God I come up with them, God assisting me, I will closely engage with them, and God sparing my life, I shall as opportunity gives leave, acquaint your honor of my actions. I have with me but sixty men at present, so desiring your prosperity and that it may please God to preserve your honor in good health, and humbly beseech your prayers to God for any good success in this my undertaking, with my humble services, etc., in all duty fullness I subscribe myself your respected kinsman and humble servant,

"SAMUEL MOSLEY.

"My cousin Leverett presents his duty to your honor and my aunt."

"Between August 9th and 16th he had marched from Mendon to Brookfield, where he distributed his men

as above. On the 17th he probably marched towards Chelmsford as proposed, but on the 22d some of the Nipmuck Indians fell upon Lancaster and killed seven or nine inhabitants, and the next day the people sent for Capt. Mosely and told him of their suspicions of the Hassanemissit (friendly or praying Indians) then living under supervision in a sort of fort at Marlborough. Capt. Mosely hastily marched to the fort and seized eleven (or according to Major Gookin's account, fifteen) of the Indians, 'pinioned' them and bound them neck to neck and sent them down to Boston for trial. Of the fifteen only eleven were accused; all were finally found innocent and acquitted, and Capt. Mosely's proceeding severely criticised by the court and his superior officers. Major Gookin believed that the people instigated suspicions 'in order to secure the land of the Indians.' After sending these prisoners down, August 30th, Capt. Mosely marched up the Merrimack as far as Pennacook (Concord, N. H.), to the home of the peaceful Wannalancet, where he was prepared to repeat the late transaction; but the Pennacooks had quietly withdrawn and eluded him. He burnt their village and stores of food, and marched back. Capt. Mosely's course was not approved, and the Court immediately sent messengers to win back the friendship of Wannalancet."

The town of Dunstable, per constable Jona. Tyng, presented a bill of about £100 for billeting Mosely's men, ammunition, etc. An auditing committee questioned the bill, but he was paid £20 on account, October 11, 1676. (Archives, Vol. 68.) The items were

Billeting 18 men from 13th Aug. to 10 Sept., 1675,	£16	16	0
Billeting 29 men from 11th Sept. to 17 Jan., 1675,	47	18	0
Billeting 6 men from 17 Jan. to 25 May, 1676,	25	3	0
Billeting 3 men from 3rd May to 14 July, 1676,	8	8	0
25 lbs. powder and 250 bullets, etc.,	1	15	0
2 horses, 3 days to Pennacook,		1	6

The first item may have been for Mosely's men, but at the dates of the other items Mosely was in a different section of the country fighting the Indians. It may have been in consideration of the balance of Tyng's account, and the charge and care of the Indians who were quartered at Wickasee Island, that he was granted the possession of Wickasee Island in 1683. In a letter dated October 16, 1675, Mosely and his men captured a squaw and thus describes her fate: "This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be torn to pieces by dogs, and she was so delt with." Humanity shudders at this avowal.

Taking into consideration the school in which these warriors were educated, and the times in which they lived, we ought to make allowances for their fears, prejudices and actions. Even Mosely felt it necessary to apologize to the Governor for his course, as he says in a letter dated October 5, 1675: "I desire to be excused if my tongue or pen has outrun my wit, being in a passion and seeing what mischief had been done by the Indians, which I have been eye-witness to, would make a wiser person than I am willing to have revenge of any of them."

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CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. II. No. 3.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell.

ARTICLE II. — OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The objects of this Association shall be to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time publish any facts relating to the history of the City of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the City.

ARTICLE III. — OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected annually.

SECT. 2. There shall also be an Executive Committee, consisting of two from each Ward, whose duty it shall be to attend to the collection, arrangement and transmission to a Recording Secretary (who may be selected by the Committee), of all matters pertaining to the objects of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary to aid them in their duties. In this Committee is vested the power to fill all vacancies that may occur during the year, and to direct the Secretary to call special meetings. They shall also fix the compensation of the Recording Secretary.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Any person shall be eligible to membership who was a resident of Lowell at the time of the organization of the City Government (May 2, 1836), or prior to that date, or has resided in Lowell twenty-five years, and attained the age of forty-five years.

SECT. 2. It shall be necessary for the applicant for membership to sign the Constitution and pay to the Treasurer the sum of one dollar ($1.00) annually.

ARTICLE V. — MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the Association for the election of officers shall be held in the first week in May, at such time and place as the President shall appoint, printed notices of which shall be given to members by the Secretary.*

ARTICLE VI. — HONORARY MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Non-residents of Lowell, or persons who formerly resided in the City, may be made Honorary Members by vote of the Executive Committee.

SECT. 2. Any person interested in the objects of the Association may be made a Corresponding Member by a vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII. — AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended at any meeting, previous notice of the same having been given by the Secretary in the call for such meeting.

* At the annual meeting, May 4, 1871, it was *voted* that the Association hold quarterly meetings each year, commencing in May.

OFFICERS.

JOHN O. GREEN, President.

JEFFERSON BANCROFT, Vice-President.

ALFRED GILMAN, Sec'y and Treas.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WARD ONE.

J. W. Smith, Charles Hovey.

WARD TWO.

Joshua Merrill, Amos B. French.

WARD THREE.

Hapgood Wright, Alfred Gilman.

WARD FOUR.

Edward F. Watson, Benjamin Walker.

WARD FIVE.

J. G. Peabody, Chairman, Charles Morrill.

WARD SIX.

William Kittredge, Edward B. Howe, Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The figures in the first column indicate date of birth; those in the second column, date of arrival in Lowell.

Abbott, Hermon	1811	1827
Adams, Smith	1809	1833
Ames, Jacob	1806	1833
Atkinson, J. V. (died 1874)	1787	1824
Allen, Otis	1808	1828
Abbott, Ziba (died 1878)	1800	1830
Ayer, James C. (died 1878)	1819	1836
Adams, John (died 1881)	1805	1821
Adams, Jonathan	1802	1823
Abbott, Josiah G. (honorary)		
Bancroft, Jefferson	1803	1824
Bancroft, Selwin (died 1871)	1805	1826
Battles, Charles F. (died 1870)	1818	1832
Bedlow, Joseph	1795	1826
Bellows, S. M	1810	1830
Bennett, W. S	1814	1830
Bennett, Wilder	1813	1832
Brooks, A. L. (died 1878)	1803	1832
Brabrook, J. A	1806	1832
Brown, William (died 1882)	1799	1826
Brownell, George (died 1872)	1793	1824
Bullens, J. M. (died 1878)	1804	1829
Bowers, James (died 1873)	1787	1787
Bailey, Manasseh (died 1872)	1792	1827
Barnes, Henry H	1815	1829
Batchelder, Samuel, Cambridge (hon.), (died 1879)	1785	1825
Bragdon, George	1800	1825
Butcher, John (died 1881)	1803	1828
Buttrick, John A. (died 1879)	1813	1839
Bradt, Garritt J. (died 1876)	1810	1827
Brown, D. C	1814	1836
Brown, Leonard	1821	1842
Brown, Willard (died 1878)	1794	1834
Brown, Willard A	1828	1834
Bullard, Otis	1809	1831

Barnard, B. F. (died 1881)	1824	1843
Brown, Ephraim	1819	1845
Beck, Samuel	1821	1838
Brigham, Danforth P. (died 1875)	1803	1829
Brown, William (died 1875)	1802	1840
Butterfield, Ralph	1818	1818
Baron, George	1825	1826
Bartlett, D. B	1822	1846
Boyden, Erastus	1821	1846
Batchelder, Ashael G. (died 1878)	1820	1845
Berry, Charles R	1819	1838
Billings, John	1808	1825
Battles, Frank F	1820	1832
Batchelder, John M. (honorary)	1811	1825
Coburn, Franklin	1817	1817
Collins, David M	1816	1829
Cushing, Stephen (died 1861)	1797	1823
Clark, Jeremiah	1819	1834
Chesley, John T. (died 1872)	1817	1835
Currier, John (died 1881)	1810	1830
Cushing, Daniel	1806	1835
Chase, John K. (died 1879)	1813	1834
Clark, Dustin	1810	1827
Cook, James	1794	1830
Conant, Abel E	1829	1834
Clifford, Weare (died 1872)	1816	1834
Clough, Nathan	1812	1832
Chambers, Cyrus (died 1875)	1796	1796
Converse, Samuel (died 1882)	1808	1826
Cooper, Isaac	1806	1835
Conant, Abel (died 1875)	1784	1820
Crane, J. E. (died 1876)	1821	1841
Currier, Jacob B	1829	1848
Crosby, Sylvester (died 1877)	1804	1832
Chase, Warren E. (died 1882)	1830	1830
Coburn, Charles B	1813	1813
Cowley, Charles	1832	1842
Caverly, Robert B	1806	1843
Crosby, Nathan	1798	1843
Carney, George J	1835	1835
Chase, Charles C	1818	1845
Chandler, George H	1825	1832
Cheney, C. J	1823	1843
Cook, David (honorary) (deceased)		
Cressey, Samuel G	1813	1835
Cumnock, A. G	1834	1848
Cushing, G. S	1825	1845
Dillingham, Artemas	1805	1829
Davis, Sidney	1815	1815

Davis, Elisha	1799	1799
Deming, Isaac	1805	1827
Davis, Elisha L. (died 1876)	1810	1832
Deming, C. W. (died 1876)	1839	1839
Edson, Theodore	1793	1824
Edwards, Jabez	1815	1834
Emery, Henry	1814	1845
Elliott, G. M	1839	1839
Eaton, Forrest	1802	1830
Fifield, Edward	1809	1832
Fellows, J. K	1809	1827
Farrington, Daniel (died 1879)	1801	1822
Fay, Samuel (died 1880)	1817	1833
Fiske, William	1806	1828
French, J. B. (died 1876)	1799	1824
Freeman, S. J	1814	1833
Fiske, George W	1812	1833
Fitts, Isaac N	1808	1828
French, Thomas T	1814	1827
Fox, Jesse (died 1870)	1786	1823
Fox, Gustavus V	1821	1823
Favor, Nathaniel B	1806	1829
Fernald, Mark (died 1873)	1803	1840
Fletcher, Horatio	1796	1841
Francis, James B	1815	1834
Frye, Frederick	1824	1838
French, Amos B	1812	1824
French, Abram (died 1879)	1803	1835
Fisher, Samuel S	1801	1824
Fielding, H. A	1828	1832
Fletcher, Warren (died 1881)	1821	1837
Fletcher, William (died 1881)	1791	1791
Fletcher, Edmund D	1824	1838
Furlong, John C	1837	1842
Gates, Josiah (died 1882)	1805	1823
Green, John O	1799	1822
Graves, John W. (died 1873)	1810	1826
Gray, William C	1808	1829
Greenleaf, D. G	1808	1829
Gove, David (died 1882)	1802	1826
Gilman, Alfred	1812	1829
Green, Amos (died 1881)	1799	1825
Goodale, William	1813	1840
Gage, James U	1824	1830
Goodspeed, Calvin	1806	1829
Gibby, Samuel J	1821	1831
Griffith, John	1814	1845
Gookin, Benjamin L	1820	1842

Howe, E. B	1816	1826
Hovey, Charles	1817	1832
Horn, Samuel	1806	1828
Hopkins, James	1806	1832
Hildreth, C. L	1824	1845
Hadley, Samuel P	1831	1831
Hatch, G. S	1819	1834
Hunt, E. S. (died 1880)	1815	1833
Hulme, James (died 1871)	1813	1833
Hodge, J. A	1815	1835
Hovey, William	1802	1834
Howe, Jeroboam	1800	1821
Hale, B. S	1808	1808
Hadley, John (died 1876)	1804	1825
Hill, Benjamin C	1820	1834
Hapgood, Ephraim (died 1874)	1812	1833
Holton, Frederick	1815	1840
Howes, Samuel P. (died 1881)	1809	1838
Hobson, George (died 1878)	1826	1833
Hedrick, George	1809	1831
Howe, James M	1811	1831
Howe, Lorenzo G. (died 1881)	1810	1832
Hazeltine, G. W. (died 1879)	1810	1841
Hancock, Levi (died 1879)	1814	1837
Hovey, Cyrus	1813	1844
Howe, Augustus J	1836	1836
Holt, Joseph S	1811	1827
Hutchinson, Reuben M	1807	1825
Huse, Jesse	1802	1845
Hosmer, Stephen	1808	1832
Holden, Frederick A	1812	1812
Healey, Henry	1817	1828
Jewett, J. P. (died 1870)	1808	1832
Jaques, John S	1812	1833
Kittredge, William	1810	1822
Knowles, J. A	1800	1827
Knapp, Daniel (died 1876)	1808	1829
Kimball, John F	1824	1824
Kent, James (died 1876)	1800	1835
Kimball, Gilman	1805	1830
Kittredge, Jeduthan (died 1875)	1800	1840
Kimball, Durrell	1810	1831
Kittredge, Daniel (died 1880)	1806	1833
Kidder, Samuel	1821	1843
Kittredge, Abner	1807	1831
Kidder, John (died 1878)	1805	1823
Knapp, Chauncy L	1809	1843

Kimball, Charles W	1816	1852
Kershaw, Abraham	1804	1848
Lawson, Peter (died 1881)	1813	1827
Lesure, A. P	1812	1831
Lawson, Thomas B	1807	1842
Lawrence, Samuel	1823	1841
Lawrence, Samuel, Stockbridge (honorary) deceased	——	——
Libbey, Isaac M	1808	1835
Lord, Henry A	1822	1845
Latham, Cyrus	1824	1838
Lawton, George F	1845	1845
Merrill, Joshua	1802	1827
Mathews, Abraham, (died 1881)	1804	1829
Morrill, Charles	1818	1823
McAlvin, J. B. (died 1880)	1800	1834
McEvoy, Hugh	1808	1828
McArthur, William	1825	1829
Moar, Stephen (died 1876)	1810	1831
Manahan, Samuel T	1805	1845
Morrison, J. G	1822	1840
Munroe, Charles	1800	1845
Mack, Sewall G	1813	1840
Moore, J. N	1820	1842
Morrill, N. W	1821	1839
Marshall, Bradley	1817	1836
Mitchell, Daniel F. (died 1877)	1823	1845
Morse, W. W	1819	1834
Motley, George	1808	1827
McFarlin, Luke	1810	1810
Manahan, Mark	1809	1832
McKissock, Robert	1818	1852
Mallard, Albert	1807	1833
McEvoy, John F	1834	1841
Manahan, John F	1821	1837
Nichols, C. C	1809	1829
Nichols, William	1818	1828
Nesmith, Thomas (died 1870)	1788	1833
Nowell, Foster	1814	1833
Nichols, Alanson (died 1874)	1815	1836
Nash, James W	1823	1848
Nute, Andrew T	1805	1832
Nichols, Jacob	1814	1832
Nichols, Gilman N	1803	1829
Norris, G. W	1819	1837
Noyes Benjamin A	1814	1833
Orange, H. S	1815	1834
Ordway, H. M	1825	1825

Pillsbury, Harlin (died 1877)	1797	1827
Pearl, F. F	1812	1833
Place, Isaac (died 1872)	1810	1834
Patch, E. B	1806	1831
Peabody, J. G	1808	1824
Parkhurst, Matthias (died 1877)	1795	1823
Parmenter, Horace	1808	1832
Perkins, M. G	1819	1836
Page, Jonathan	1809	1823
Pratt, Thomas	1805	1832
Peabody, James M. (died 1873)	1818	1832
Philbrick, Caleb	1825	1825
Patten, Joseph A	1818	1840
Puffer, J. F	1828	1828
Prince, Robert	1810	1827
Prince, Edward	1818	1827
Paul, Thomas (died 1876)	1821	1827
Parks, George (died 1878)	1813	1834
Powers, Joel (died 1879)	1803	1842
Pearson, George W	1825	1825
Piper, Isaac B	1814	1832
Patterson, George W	1815	1834
Read, E. M. (died 1878)	1800	1828
Richardson, E. G	1809	1830
Russell, J. S	1807	1835
Roby, A. B. (died 1879)	1809	1830
Roper, George W. (died 1877)	1813	1830
Richardson, Daniel L. (died 1875)	1809	1828
Richardson, O. A	1809	1832
Richardson, Luther	1811	1835
Rand, James H	1813	1830
Raynes, Joseph (died 1879)	1814	1831
Rand, Enoch S	1818	1835
Read, Henry (died 1878)	1804	1834
Rugg, S. S. (died 1880)	1807	1832
Rice, Jonathan (died 1876)	1818	1839
Richards, John	1808	1835
Russell, C. K	1815	1829
Simonds, S. B	1806	1831
Sherman, E. F. (died 1872)	1821	1824
Spalding, Joel	1820	1820
Sawtell, J. A	1823	1830
Smith, J. W	1816	1835
Stevens, Levi B	1815	1833
Stearns, Erastus (died 1881)	1807	1830
Spalding, Weld	1798	1822
Sprague, Levi	1810	1827

Staples, Nathaniel T	1815	1835
Stevens, Solon (died 1878)	1801	1825
Sanborn, Page	1798	1836
Snell, Orlando	1825	1847
Stone, Zina E	1824	1842
Short, Josiah E	1809	1827
Streeter, Holland	1811	1832
Smith, William M. (died 1881)	1803	1836
Sargent, E. M	1820	1833
Stanley, George W. (died 1878)	1811	1832
Shattuck, Horace B	1825	1826
Swan, Albert G	1826	1826
Stacy, Lucien P	1821	1844
Sheldon, Abiel W	1820	1838
Spofford, Frederic A	1818	1845
Savory, C. A	1813	1849
Shattuck, George W	1822	1825
Scadding, Aaron	1804	1829
Stott, Charles (died 1881)	1799	1835
Southwick, John R	1818	1839
Sanborn, E. A	1820	1846
Scott, James	1817	1841
Smith, John (died 1877)	1805	1831
Smiley, John	1811	1833
Swett, John	1801	1820
Tower, James	1796	1826
Tufts, Edward (died 1875)	1806	1828
Tuck, Edward	1806	1828
Tyler, Silas (died 1875)	1793	1793
Tyler, Jonathan (died 1877)	1790	1790
Tyler, Artemas S	1824	1824
Tripp, John	1807	1825
Trueworthy, James B	1828	1848
Thompson, J. P	1830	1848
Trask, James T	1823	1843
Tyler, Rinaldo H	1830	1836
Tapley, J. W	1824	1828
Varnum, Atkinson C	1828	1828
Vinal, G. A. W	1833	1843
Wilkins, George	1818	1839
Winslow, George	1804	1829
Wright, Hapgood	1811	1828
Webster, William P. (died 1877)	1818	1823
Waugh, John (died 1872)	1795	1822
Watson, E. F	1807	1832
Whittier, Moses	1795	1829

Whithed, Darius (died 1877)	1809	1831
Welch, W. C	1824	1830
Webber, J. P. (died 1875)	1801	1828
Walker, Benjamin	1822	1826
Wheeler, Albert (died 1876)	1813	1823
Wood, Samuel (died 1874)	1786	1823
Williams, S. M	1794	1824
Watson, James	1818	1835
Wood, Samuel N	1821	1822
Wood, William	1819	1819
Whipple, Oliver M. (died 1872)	1794	1818
Washburn, J. M. (died 1875)	1812	1829
Winn, Parker (died 1877)	1800	1824
Wright, A. C. (died 1879)	1819	1833
Welch, Charles A. (died 1880)	1824	1834
Worthen, George W	1815	1833
Worcester, Leonard	1813	1846
Wood, Robert	1820	1842
Wiggin, Andrew J	1815	1836
Wood, Charles	1817	1836
Wright, Nathan M	1815	1831
Wilder, Charles H. (died 1879)	1805	1832
Ward, S. L	1826	1843
Webster, George	1810	1825
Wright, John F	1818	1831
Wilson, Edwin T	1812	1826
Watson, Shepard	1815	1831
Willoughby, B. L. (died 1881)	1807	1841
Wing, True (died 1878)	1816	1841
Wallace, D. R	1823	1847
Wood, Horatio	1807	1844

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XVI. John Clark, by John W. Smith. Read February 9, 1882.

ASSOCIATED with the early history of Lowell were men of eminence and distinction, but there were none who took more interest in its welfare and prosperity than John Clark, Esq.

Mr. Clark was born at Waltham, Mass., March 14, 1796. He graduated with honors at Harvard College in the year 1816. Afterwards he taught school at Salem, Mass., for several years. While there he married an accomplished and amiable young lady, Priscilla S., youngest daughter of Mr. Jonathan Hodges. During their residence of fourteen years in Lowell, Mrs. Clark won a large circle of acquaintances and friends, some of whom are still living and will be glad to know that their old friend is enjoying a fair degree of health in her native city — Salem. Her memory is cherished, and she still lives in the high esteem of those whose wants in times of bereavement and distress were relieved by her affectionate ministrations and liberality.

Subsequently Mr. Clark engaged in mercantile business in Boston, and for several years was an active member of the firm of Kimball & Clark.

Having been engaged by Kirk Boott, Esq., he came to Lowell in the Fall of 1833, to accept the Superintendency of the Merrimack Company's mills, a place made vacant by the death of Mr. Warren Colburn

a very superior mechanic, mathematician, and scientist. Mr. Clark at once entered upon his new duties with zeal and earnestness, and soon became a very successful Superintendent. He not only looked after the interests of his Company with care and fidelity, but constantly manifested much interest in the welfare of the people under his charge. He was a gentleman of high-toned, moral character, superior judgment, and was well qualified to become an efficient and safe leader in the society of a young and rapidly growing town.

The first City Government of 1836 was composed of gentlemen of culture and marked practical ability, with Dr. Elisha Bartlett for Mayor, to preside over a Board of six Aldermen, and Mr. Clark as President of the Common Council. Our aged and respected citizens, Hon. James Cook and Mr. Weld Spalding, are the only persons of that government of thirty-one members now living.

In 1839 Mr. Clark was elected to the Board of Aldermen, and there served the city with his usual fidelity and ability. Again in 1844 he was elected a member of the government, as Councilman, for the specific purpose of aiding in founding a City School Library, now known as our City Library. In this scheme he was successful. The library now has about 27,000 volumes, and is in a flourishing condition. It is highly prized by the thousands who avail themselves of its privileges. The Board of Aldermen and Common Council could confer no more worthy tribute to his memory than to place in the library a handsome oil painting of Mr. Clark, appropriately inscribed.

The Ministry-at-Large was started in Lowell in 1844, its object being to provide free religious and secular instruction, and a medium through which the charities of the benevolent could be worthily bestowed among

the unfortunate and poor. This institution had the sympathy and aid of Mr. Clark from the beginning. He presented the subject of its permanent support at a meeting of the Agents of the Manufacturing Companies here, and in due time obtained an annual appropriation of $800, which sum has since been increased. In addition to this, he offered the officiating minister and teacher twenty dollars per month, as a personal assessment, if needed. Our much respected citizen, Rev. Horatio Wood, who acted as secular and spiritual teacher in the Free Chapel for twenty-four years, refers in glowing terms of gratitude to Mr. Clark, James G. Carney, Dr. John C. Dalton, and others who rendered him much valuable aid in his work. May the benevolent of the present and future generations imitate their noble examples and perpetuate this valuable institution.

It was to persevering industry, to moral, religious, and educational influences that he looked for the future welfare of his newly adopted home. When a new register of the help in his mills was made, and one room of seventy girls gave thirteen of that number as having been teachers in public schools, with pride and gratification he communicated the fact to Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the State Board of Education. He was much interested in the progress and prosperity of our schools. Middlesex Mechanics' Association shared his aid and influence. He served that institution as Treasurer for several years; was much interested in efforts to enlarge its number of members, thus to extend the privileges of the Association; to improve its library and reading-room; to establish and fulfil the objects of the organization, by public lectures in its hall and classes for scientific instruction for its members in the schoolroom.

A valuable library at the Unitarian Church, of which Mr. Clark was an active and esteemed member was largely increased and improved in the years 1836 and '37 by his untiring personal effort in soliciting aid from others and by liberal personal donations.

Great and good men live in their works. Mr. Clark not only advocated morals, virtuous examples, and religious obligations, but he practiced the right. Previous to his coming to Lowell, when engaged in mercantile business during the perilous times of President Andrew Jackson's war upon the United States Bank, there was great depression of trade and there were many failures throughout the country. Mr. Clark and his partner suffered, and were much embarrassed, but greatly to his credit, during his residence in Lowell he paid every dollar due on his part, and even much more than was legally expected of him by his creditors.

Few men have ever been more highly esteemed in Lowell by all classes. When he retired from the Superintendence of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, in the year 1847, to accept the Treasurership of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company, the overseers under his charge unitedly presented him a very beautiful silver pitcher which cost $185, having the following inscription: "Presented to John Clark, Esq., late Superintendent of the Merrimack Mills, as a token of respect and esteem, by the overseers." Signed by Stephen Cushing, Robert Wragg, Jabez Edwards, J. S. Gordon, William French, Walter Wright, David E. Chase, George Savory, E. M. Titcomb, John L. Cheney, John W. Holland, Stephen Moar, William Conihe, B. O. Page, James Hanaford, David M. Collins, George Wellman, John W. Smith, James C. Crombie, E. H. Hadley, Arnold Welch, James Townsend, John Richards, D. P. Brigham, James

Watson, Stephen T. Stanley, Alfred S. Saunders, William B. Brown, J. B. Wheeler, William Williams, Willard C. Welch, George Nickless, Marcus A. Thomas, Aaron B. Young, and John L. Ordway. The pitcher was got up by Messrs. Jones, Ball & Poor, of Boston. On one side of it was engraven a view of the Merrimack Mills, and on the other a picker and a loom. A long letter accompanied the present, and an equally long one was received from Mr. Clark, of which a closing sentence is as follows: "In taking leave of those with whom I have been so long and so pleasantly associated, it is, I assure you, a source of unmingled gratification to me to find that I leave behind me none but friends."

Mr. Clark's magnanimity was too large for him to be content not to reciprocate with something more tangible than words, and in due time he presented each overseer with a valuable set of the late Dr. William E. Channing's works, in six volumes.

At the time he left Lowell he was about completing the extension of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company's works, having built a large mill with 25,000 spindles and other buildings in the mill yard, for the purpose of increasing the production of the works, besides building one of the finest boarding-house blocks, with eighteen tenements, then known in the country. The total spindles of the mills had been increased in the fourteen years of his administration from about 31,000 to 41,600, and in the year 1848, when the new mill was started, there were 66,600. The total number of spindles in the works to-day is 153,552.

In the midst of his usefulness in business circles and in his devotion to the interests of humanity in its various wants about him, with the strong ties of a pleasant home, made happy by his presence, and surrounded

by circles of friends rich in mental culture and business sagacity, he was suddenly cut off from all of earth's endearments, January 28, 1851, aged 54 years. On the Sunday following his interment, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, his pastor, preached an eloquent discourse on the exemplary and estimable Christian character of his brother and friend. He appropriately said: "Our friend was benevolent in the Christian sense, actively useful from a principle of benevolence; but, that something was to be subjoined to complete the description of him, and that which is to be adduced—I beg you to remark—is the essential thing. Without it, though he had been all I have yet said of him, I could not speak with so much confidence as you have heard me, in respect to the condition into which he has passed. The essential thing—you scarcely need be told what that is—yet in naming it I utter a word which every Christian loves to repeat even as he loves to cherish the thing itself—Religion. That was the central principle in him. All his other excellent qualities were held in their places and balanced by it as the planets are by the sun. That gave energy, scope, direction, effect, to his benevolence, made his usefulness voluntary instead of necessary, as men's often is, but put a divine stamp instead of this world's upon his labors. Yes, I say again, that it may be remembered by you, religion was central in him. It was that which made sunshine around him wherever he was. As the rays of the sun falling upon the jets of a fountain give to them the brilliant and variegated coloring we often observe, so religion threw its beams over the gushing waters of his affections, over all his friendly and social sentiments, over all the motives of his conduct, and caused the luminous beauty which we saw in them. It was the governing

principle in him. It was so in early life—it was so to the very last, and when his end was coming with such fearful suddenness, and he knew it, when he was speechless and suffering all signs showed that it was making him calm, resigned, peaceful as one reclining on the bosom of a friend. It is when I think of him on a Sunday like this—sitting down with us meekly and devoutly at the Table of Great Sacrifice, commemorating with humble thankfulness the death of him who died that we might live!—then he becomes associated in my mind with all that is truly great and good, with things that are 'unseen' and 'eternal,' with God who is over all, and with those whom God accepts as jewels for the crown of his Son. In this sublime association we are privileged by our faith to have him, while he leaves to us a manifold blessing in the example and memory of his life."

Long will his name be revered by those who have felt the inspiring influences of his aid and advice in the business and moral relations of life. He lives in the hearts and memory of those who knew him best, to be beloved and respected as one who ever sought the best good of humanity and practiced those divine and ennobling principles which have commanded the respect, admiration and esteem of the good in all ages.

APPENDIX.

Since the above was written the writer has received a valuable genealogy of the Clark family in this country from Mrs. Lydia Hobart, of Waltham, sister of Mr. John Clark, who was son of John Clark, of Waltham, and was the sixth to bear the name of John, being the second born of nine children of the seventh generation, descendents of Hugh Clark, of whom little is known except

that he was born, according to his testimony, about the year 1613. There is no record of his place of nativity or the time of his emigrating to this country. The first mention of him occurs in the town records of Watertown, at the time of the birth of his oldest son, John, in 1641. His wife's name was Elizabeth. He lived in Watertown about twenty years. In legal documents he was called a "husbandman." There is no evidence that he held important offices, although his admission as a freeman, May 30, 1660, and to the artillery company, 1666, prove him to have held reputable position. He removed to Roxbury, and remained in that town or vicinity until his death, which occurred July 20, 1693. His wife died December 11, 1692. The descendents of Hugh Clark, of which we find records as compiled by Mr. John Clark, A. B., of Boston, and printed in 1866, were quite numerous. Births from the year 1641 to July 30, 1810, were five hundred and sixty-nine. Among the members of these large families living in important and historic periods of our country, we find records of several bright and shining lights in literary circles. Conspicuous among the clergymen of New England we find the Rev. Peter Clark, of the fourth generation—a very eminent divine. He settled in Salem village, over the First Church of that place, in 1717. He died there much lamented, June 10, 1768. He became widely celebrated, and was regarded as one of the most learned theologians of New England. The Boston Chronicle of June 20, 1768, says of him: "To draw a complete portrait of so eminent a divine, so accomplished a Christian, as Mr. Clark was, is not easy. The strength of whose intellectual capacities, the extent of whose knowledge and his attainments in the divine life are better conceived of by those who have had the

happiness of an intimate acquaintance with him, than easily expressed."

Of the sixth generation we find another very able divine and patriot, Rev. Jonas Clark, who was ordained and installed at Lexington, Mass., November 5, 1755. He was distinguished for his zeal and fidelity as a preacher; he carried on a farm of considerable size, and was unceasing in his devotion to his flock as a pastor. Living at a time of the dangers and difficulties of the Revolution, his tongue and pen were ever ready in support of his country's cause. At his house John Hancock, Samuel Adams and their friends found a safe retreat to form plans for the salvation of their country. This divine and patriot was beloved for his many virtues, was venerated as a wise counsellor and trusted friend. He died in Lexington, November 15, 1805.

In reviewing sketches of the many descendents of Hugh Clark, we find many men of marked ability and integrity; the family is largely represented in Princeton and Hubbardstown, Mass., in Maine and New Hampshire. John Clark, of whose life and character we have given a brief sketch, was the son of John and Lydia Sanderson Clark, of Waltham, Mass. Mr. Clark was a farmer. He was distinguished for his integrity and devotion to the interests of his town, was one of its selectmen for thirteen years, filled other offices of honor and trust, for a long time was employed in the settlement of estates, etc. He was for many years a devout worshipper at the First Church; the last fifteen years of his life he was connected with the Society of the New Jerusalem. He died May 10, 1850. The New Jerusalem Magazine has an obituary of Mrs. Lydia Clark, his wife, who died April 2, 1862, at Waltham, where she was born January 8, 1769. The sketch of her life presents a kind mother of marked

devotion as a Christian, and a representative of those noble traits of character, which imparted elevating influences in life, and to their posterity those noble traits of character which it has been my pleasure to record of her son John, who was the second born of her nine children, and of whom the Salem Gazette said at the time of his death: "Salem will long mourn the loss of a most enlightened, upright, disinterested, and public-spirited citizen, whose hand and heart were ready for every good work; and whose sound judgment, lofty integrity, and warm benevolence, made him a wise counsellor and efficient guide in all useful, and charitable undertakings."

With the flight of time, since the above manuscript was written, Mrs. Clark has been borne on wings of faith and hope, to meet the central object of her love and devotion when living.

She was born November 4, 1799, in Salem, Mass.; died October 12, 1882, in Salem.

XVII. A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Ordway, by James K. Fellows. Read May 3, 1882.

AMONG the early residents of Lowell, who have gone to their rest, no name can be held in more pleasant remembrance than that of Thomas Ordway.

Born in Amesbury, in 1787 — his father being the principal village physician for a generation or more — he there passed his youthful days attending the village schools and the academy that should fit him for the future pursuits of life. While making rapid progress in his studies, the academy building was destroyed by fire. He then for some time recited to a gentleman of liberal education, under whose tuition the avenues of learning were thoroughly opened up to him.

He commenced business in Newburyport in 1809. In 1810 occurred the great fire which destroyed Mr. Ordway's store, with the whole stock, and created such a stagnation that business could not be profitably carried on. This, together with the prospect of war, caused a check on all enterprises, and it was hazardous to embark upon any undertaking. Without means, he still further pursued his studies that he might thoroughly qualify himself for a teacher.

He married, January 1, 1811, Jerusha, daughter of Jacob B. Currier, of Amesbury. Mr. Currier was in the Revolutionary War, participating in the Bunker

Hill conflict, and was present with Mr. Ordway at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument, in 1825. Mrs. Ordway was a native of Amesbury, Mass., and came to Lowell with her husband, in 1826. She was therefore one of the oldest matrons of our city. She was the mother of ten children, seven of whom still survive. She possessed, among other sterling qualities, a cheerful, charitable disposition, which assisted her to sucessfully encounter the adversities of life and to endear herself to her family and a large circle of relatives and friends who sincerely mourned her departure. She was 68 years of age on the day of her death, surviving her husband just two years and a-half to a day.

In the spring he sailed from Newburyport for Alexandria, Va., hoping to find employment of some kind; but while passing Mt. Vernon there came on board a gentleman who told those on the vessel that an embargo had been laid, preparatory to a declaration of war. He was consequently obliged to relinquish the hope of mercantile employment, but was fortunate enough to obtain a school near Georgetown, where he continued nearly a year. In 1842 the writer visited Washington, and at the suggestion of Mr. Ordway, went over to Georgetown to learn of the family that he boarded with while teaching there. An old lady was found, who pointed at the house, but said the family had been away for many years, and that none of them were alive, so far as she knew. Mr. Ordway had been so kindly entertained at this house that a sadness seemed to come over him, on hearing my report.

Mr. Ordway from Georgetown went to Philadelphia, seeking employment, but for several days was unsuccessful. Here occurred a striking instance of his unyielding integrity of character.

He writes: "Inquiring at an intelligence office, the person in charge hinted to me a plan of business which he said would be made profitable if I had a mind to be concerned with him. He wished me to call in the morning, and he would give me further information. Not conceiving it to be strictly honest, I shall not accept the offer. I find it easy to get rich if we part with good principles; but I prefer a clear conscience to all the luxury that wealth can afford."

From Philadelphia he proceeded to New York, where he taught school a short time; but not receiving sufficient encouragement to continue, he turned his steps homeward; and after endeavoring in vain to obtain a school at Raynham, he took the stage, and reached Amesbury with the fruit of his year's toil reduced to the sum of three dollars.

In 1815 he sold goods in Boston for the Dedham Cotton Factory. In 1821 he opened a store in Concord, N. H., where for three or four years business was good; but at the end of the fourth year, the prospect was so decidedly bad that he removed to Dorchester and thence to Lowell, where he commenced business at the Falls, in the building now used in part as the Horse Railroad station. Afterwards he removed to the brick block at the corner of Merrimack and Worthen Streets. Here he kept dry goods, crockery ware, groceries, and the general assortment usually found in a country store, including liquors. For a short time business was very prosperous, but he became convinced that the sale of liquor was wrong, and he could not conscientiously make it an article of traffic. He therefore discontinued the sale, whereby he lost a large number of his customers, who were in the habit of buying intoxicating drinks with their groceries.

His business soon becoming unprofitable he — the first martyr here in the cause of temperance — closed up his affairs and started for the West, hoping in some of the growing towns to find an opening. But after remaining a few months in Rochester and Lansingburgh, N. Y., without success, he decided to return to Lowell. Here he remained, with the exception of a year spent in Portsmouth, until 1837, when he discontinued business. In 1838 he was chosen City Clerk, and held that office nearly twenty years, as City Clerk and Registrar, being the second City Clerk, Samuel A. Coburn having been City Clerk two years, and Town Clerk from the organization of the town in 1826.

In conversation with a gentleman early engaged in banking in our city, he made the remark that Mr. Ordway was too conscientious to be successful in trade. He said that soon after Mr. Ordway commenced business here he had a certain brand of flour from his store, which suited him; and he concluded to take two barrels more. The price, I think, was $6.50. After a month or two a bill was rendered, with other groceries, and the flour was put in at $6 — $12 for the two barrels. The gentleman, perhaps equally as conscientious, called Mr. Ordway's attention to the change, it being a dollar less than the price agreed upon. "Yes, yes," said Mr. Ordway, "that was what I was selling the flour for, but on going to Boston a few days after the sale, I found that flour had fallen fifty cents on a barrel, therefore I struck off the dollar on the two barrels."

Mr. Ordway died November 14, 1859, of a painful disease, which he bore with fortitude and Christian resignation.

It was his custom for many years to keep a common-place book of thoughts and reflections, and a diary

or memorandum of events. From 1812 to 1832 the record is complete. At the close of every year it was his practice to review in his journal the acts of his life through the past year, and make such reflections as were suggested by the occasion. He suffered so many disappointments and was so unsuccessful in his various undertakings that his diary throughout is tinged with a feeling of sadness, enlivened, however, occasionally, by the mention of visits from friends, or his journeys to his early home at Amesbury, which he seemed to dwell upon with the greatest satisfaction.

He had a deep sense of the importance of religion, and took great interest in the formation of the Unitarian Church in Lowell. He was one of the first members and a deacon nearly thirty years. He had the strictest reverence for the Sabbath, and seldom allowed his children to be absent from church, where no one was more constant in attendance than he.

One of his boys when quite young was employed by a conscientious and exacting financier for some time, at a low rate for his services and with no assurance of an advance, which caused him to give up the situation. His employer called on Mr. Ordway, hoping to get the boy to return to the work at the office, and during the interview Mr. Ordway said the boy must judge, or act for himself. The gentleman being quite earnest, remarked that he could not give him a recommendation for any other place, unless he resumed work with him, for a time, at least. The indorsement of this gentleman among business men was second to none; but Mr. Ordway replied, sharply, that he "hoped his boys were so trained that they would need no recommendation from any one." This ended the negotiation at once.

The serious tone of his thoughts is evinced by the following reflections, culled from his common-place book:

"We should ever recollect that the most important business of life is religion; and though it is our duty to be ever industrious in order to render our lives useful to others, yet while we are employed in our occupations in life, we should not forget that the duties of religion are the most important. A habit of blending these duties with all our concerns and of exercising the precepts of religion on every occasion, will prevent us from so often neglecting them. Our minds should ever be impressed with the thought of the shortness and uncertainty of life and the vanity of the world. These reflections should serve to repress every vain and anxious thought. We should endeavor to lead a virtuous, upright, humble and pious life, receiving with thankfulness and content the gifts of Providence, and every adverse event with humble resignation; ever mindful of all our duties, and that the reward of the Christian is not only peace in this life, but endless happiness hereafter."

"A spirit of humility, gentleness and Christian charity will render its possessor truly amiable. Without religion all our hopes of happiness must prove delusive. Though we possess all the comforts and conveniences of life, we are ever subject to calamities under which nothing but religion can support us. With our minds at peace with themselves and all mankind, and with the prospect of eternal happiness before us, we cannot be unhappy in any situation."

"Christianity does not require us to neglect the concerns of this world, or to relinquish the innocent enjoyment which it affords; but it teaches us to remember that this is not our home. The traveller may fully enjoy the conversation of his companions, and partake

of the pleasures which his journey affords, without forgetting the end of the journey."

Mr. Ordway being city clerk and registrar from 1838 to 1858, there must be many old residents—and those somewhat advanced—who well remember how much at ease one was made when getting a marriage certificate; his extreme modesty and politeness during the interesting ceremony; also the inspection of his peculiar hand-writing in the notices of "intended marriages," which were posted in the churches in those times. Previous to this was the custom of reading these notices in church, and his voice may have been heard in such duty. But little attention was paid to the recording of births and deaths of the city until he introduced a thorough system—now more than forty years since—and laws were enacted in regard to the records at his suggestion. He was also one of the first to advocate underground drainage, the advantage of which in a sanitary point of view was hardly thought of till about the time he was city clerk.

He took but little interest in political affairs, although very firm in his views—being a Whig. He was not ambitious for office. He was a member of our first City Council, in 1836. He declined various positions tendered him by political friends before serving as City Clerk, and although elected almost unanimously for twenty years, at one time one vote was in opposition, and he was so extremely sensitive that he really thought of resigning the office at once. A remark came to him at this time from a grumbler, that those "long in the city service were paupers," which irritated him exceedingly. During the many years he served the city his salary averaged about $1,000, being $700 the first year. And he not only supported quite a family, but laid by sufficient

to build a good house on Nesmith Street, with quite a reserve for the future, in addition to replenishing his library, which was quite extensive.

He was a constant reader of old and new books of worth, and was always in pursuit of the latest publications of certain authors, and such as were not early in the libraries. On his way to and from his business he would stop at the book-stores, where he was always a welcome visitor, and would stand at the counter perusing some new volume until aroused to the consciousness that his time was limited, when he would leave with the book under his arm, often late to dinner, but always on time at his office. No one who had not visited the Holy Land possessed more accurate information of its topography than he. Once, when describing the different varieties of scenery in various parts of that country to a lady, she could not believe he had not travelled through it, so correct was his description of different localities.

The following has kindly been handed me by our present City Clerk, Samuel A. McPhetres,* who has a sharp eye to system and order:

LOWELL, April 10, 1882.

James K. Fellows, Esq.:

DEAR SIR — You ask me to give you my general ideas of the records of the late Thomas Ordway as City Clerk, from my experience with them. Having for more than thirteen years held the position which he once honored and graced, I can heartily testify to his accuracy and preciseness, and the legibility of his writing; also to the care he took in compiling family sketches. I find by the records that Mr. Ordway was elected City Clerk April 2, 1838, (the municipal year then commencing on the first Monday in April,) and that he retired January 2, 1854, his services covering sixteen municipal years. In addition, he continued until January, 1858, as city registrar, so that for twenty years he had charge of the records

*Mr. McPhetres died at Claremont, N. H., September 29, 1882.

of births, marriages and deaths. Until 1843 there does not appear to be a full record of births, no law until that year requiring the facts to be collected. Previous to that date such births only were recorded as were reported to the office by parents, but the records in this respect are large, showing that effort was made to obtain the facts, and there appear many very interesting family sketches, valuable to those most interested. My predecessor in office, now city treasurer, speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Ordway's records, which he had charge of for over eleven years, and he says that Mr. Ordway appears to have been a careful, painstaking official and to have taken great delight in his work. Our joint experience covers nearly a quarter of a century, and we have tested the value of his records of vital statistics, in making hundreds of copies for the use of persons in claims for pensions, and other benefits arising from services in the late rebellion.

I had little acquaintance, personally, with Mr. Ordway, but I recollect that on two or three occasions when I called upon him for information his accomodating and pleasant manner, and he is often referred to by older citizens, who have business at the office, in terms of affectionate remembrance.

I can picture him in his place at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen. An exciting subject was under discussion and the members nearly equally divided in sentiment, were contending for the mastery. Bitter words were spoken and burning retorts made. The City Clerk alone of all present was calm and cool, ready to give facts when called upon, prepare papers, and suggest forms of proceeding, but not to advance opinions on the merits of the question, for he must make an impartial record of the proceedings, which he could not have done had he mingled in the contest. He was the historian whose story was to be precise to render it of value, for it was handed down to posterity, and important issues have turned upon its correctness. "What is the record?" was afterward asked, and it settled the matter. Trifling memorandums were too valuable to be cast aside, and were preserved in the archives of the city. Such a cool, careful, dispassionate man, I believe our second City Clerk to have been, for I have had occasion hundreds of times to refer to his records, and I recall no instance where I have looked in vain for a valuable paper, or heard it claimed that his record was in error.

Yours Respectfully,

S. A. McPHETRES.

All those, we think, connected with our City Government during Mr. Ordway's official duties, who still survive, will acquiesce in the picture drawn by Mr. McPhetres above; and none, probably, who knew him personally, or had business intercourse with him, will deem the sketch too highly colored.

It is seldom in the course of our experience that we find one possessing the amiable and pleasing traits of character which distinguish the subject of this paper. Struggling with adverse fortune, yet maintaining an incorruptible integrity, unassumning in manner; bearing ill-will towards none; strictly conscientious, and having the respect and esteem of all; here, indeed, was a man without guile.

XVIII. The Newspaper Press of Lowell, by Alfred Gilman. Read May 3, 1882.

A RECENT writer (George Jacob Holyoake) says: "If electricity be the source of life, the press of America may be compared to a vast machine for the production of intellectual electricity, which vibrates through the nation, quickening the life of the people." He might justly have added that it is the safety-valve of the community. It restrains violence; exposes fraud and ignorance; inculcates obedience to the law; it is the arbiter amid diversity of minds and opinions; the instructor of youth and the delight of the aged; it is the bond of the Union and on it rests the future of our country.

The busy world around us is reflected in the columns of the newspaper, but how few of all the subscribers who regularly receive their newspapers preserve them. They are read, thrown aside and destroyed. Some great calamity, crime or misdemeanor; some remarkable revolution in politics, religion and science; some new development or discovery in the arts, may make an impression that lingers on the memory; but when called upon for details, we fail in satisfying the demands of historical accuracy.

I cannot but congratulate the Association on the possession of a volume containing portions of the first

numbers issued of the Chelmsford Phenix for 1825–'26; almost the whole of the numbers of the Chelmsford Journal for 1827 and portions of the Lowell Journal for 1828–'29. For this valuable contribution to the library of the Association we are indebted to Miss Elizabeth B. Livermore, who has uniformly manifested a most gratifying interest in our prosperity and success. I have also to record the donation of a file of Washington and Boston papers from 1793 to 1807, by the Misses Harriet and Louisa W. Bradley, daughters of the late Dr. Peleg Bradley. These evidences of the interest felt by the ladies of Lowell in the objects and aims of our Association, seem to me to call for some act of reciprocation on the part of the Association that shall entitle them to a participation either as active or honorary members.

Previous to 1818 printing paper was made by hand, one sheet at a time. In that year a machine was invented that made a continuous sheet of any required length. This materially reduced the cost. Fifty years since a printing press that could be made to print 300 sheets per hour, was considered a fast machine. A *token* or 240 sheets was a fair hour's work. The process of inking the types in 1828–'30, was a slow and tiresome work. It was done with two balls made of deer-skin or wash-leather, stuffed with hair or wool. The skin was fastened to the handle with tacks. The ink was taken up on a small flat shovel or trowel, daubed on one of the balls, and then the face of the balls were placed one over the other, and both made to revolve, thus distributing the ink equally on their surfaces. There was a peculiar knack in the performance which, if not thoroughly acquired, resulted in a smouched face. Before each impression, the form, as the body of type is called,

had to be gone over with these balls, one in each hand; until the whole face of the type was covered with ink. This labor was usually performed by the youngest apprentice, who was called the printer's devil. Composition rollers, made of glue and molasses run in a mold on a wooden frame, drove the balls from the printing office, lightening and simplifying the labor. To one accustomed to the use of balls there was music in timing and regulating their movement. After their use it was customary to wash them in a caustic, and scrape the face with a knife in order that they might not harden so as to be unfit for use.

"Necessity is the mother of invention." Who at this day does not recognize the necessity of the improvements that have taken place within the last fifty years? Some call this a fast age. Is it any more so, when we consider its wants, than that of half a century ago? Can we dispense with the improvements in travel, transmission of intelligence, and in the perfection of machinery? Let us imagine, for one instant, that every thing but population had remained stationary for the last fifty years. Where would be our facilities for doing business? Who would go back to a flint and steel, to tallow candles, to slow coaches, to three mails a week between Lowell and Boston, and to a weekly newspaper?

I would like to linger over the improvements that have been made in the art of printing during the last sixty years; but I fear to weary your patience by the recital. Suffice it to say that our daily papers, the Courier, Citizen, Times and Mail, are printed on one side of the sheet at the rate of 1,800 sheets an hour; the Vox Populi at the rate of 1,300 per hour, and the J. C. Ayer Company have a Campbell cylinder press that prints sixty

sheets each minute, 3,600 sheets per hour, making 7,200 copies of their almanac. Such a press can be fed from a roll of paper containing a continuous sheet three or four miles long, which it prints, cuts and folds in one operation. So extensive is the circulation of some of the daily papers in this country, England and France, that the forms have to be stereotyped for each daily issue. One press is not of sufficient capacity to supply the demand, consequently the number of presses and stereotyped plates have to be increased to meet it.

In Allen's History of Chelmsford we catch a glimpse of a Mr. Nathaniel Coverly, who moved his printing press from Boston to South Chelmsford in 1775. John Farmer is quoted as authority for this statement. The reason for such a romoval is readily suggested by the condition of Boston at that time. Mr. Coverly probably thought that his printing materials would be more secure in Chelmsford than in Boston. Next year Mr. Coverly is in Concord. As Allen's History of Chelmsford was printed at Haverhill, in 1820, we may safely conclude that there was no facility for the work in Chelmsford at that time.

Here let me introduce an extract from the diary of our respected President, Dr. John O. Green: "1824, June 24. First number of our Chelmsford newspaper brought round to us." This was the Chelmsford Courier, published and edited by William Baldwin. It was printed at Middlesex Village, and the first number was dated June 25, 1824. I am indebted to the same diary for the fact that "January 25, 1825, the Courier was edited by Paul Dabney, for a few weeks of his vacation, which he spent at the head of the Middlesex Canal. He was a resident graduate of Harvard, studying divinity." May 20, 1825, Rev. Bernard Whitman became

the editor.* I learn from Z. E. Stone, editor of the Mail, who is in possession of a portion of the first volume of the Courier, that the printing office was burned, and from its ashes arose the Phenix, and also that Mr. Baldwin published a paper called the Ladies' Literary Friend.

June 28, 1825, No. 1, Vol. 1, of the Chelmsford Phœnix † appeared, Bernard Whitman, editor, William Baldwin, publisher and proprietor. The motto at the head of the editorial column is a quotation from the thirteenth chapter of Hebrews, part of the sixteenth verse: "But to do good and to communicate forget not." The editor should have adopted the whole verse, with slight alterations: "for with such sacrifices [the editor] is well pleased." Under the motto the editor says: "One word to our subscribers. We wish them to send us from time to time a list of the subjects on which our thoughts are desired."

Mention is made of a paper called the "Globe," published at the "General Printing Office," East Chelmsford, by J. H. White. "The first number of a new paper dated at East Chelmsford, but printed in Boston, was circulated in this town on Saturday last (June 24, 1825). It is advertised in one of its columns as being published at the 'General Printing Office, East Chelmsford, by J. H. White.' We thought ourselves pretty well acquainted in this town, but we must confess that we have not been able to discover this General Printing Office." The editor then proceeds to give the "Globe" a thorough overhauling, exposing its bad grammar, pretence, assurance and egotism. As no further editorial

* Rev. Bernard Whitman officiated at the meeting-house which stood near the head of the canal, at Middlesex Village. This house was afterwards sold to the Catholics and moved to North Chelmsford, where it now stands. He received and accepted a call to become the pastor of the Second Religious Society, in Waltham. He was installed February 15, 1826.

† Soon after the *o* was left out in spelling this word.

mention is made of this paper, we are left to conclude it was short-lived. That it was printed in East Chelmsford appears conclusive, from a notice dated September 16, 1825: "The Phenix Office is removed to East Chelmsford, and occupies the place of the Globe Printing Office."

J. S. C. Knowlton became the proprietor of the Phenix, July 4, 1825, with E. W. Reinhart as printer. The name Phenix was dropped and Journal substituted, March 3, 1826. Lowell was incorporated as a town March 1, 1826, but the name Merrimack Journal was not changed to Lowell Journal until March 2, 1827.

October 7, 1825, William Baldwin calls upon those indebted to settle, and offers his furniture for sale, as he intends to leave town.

June 30, 1826, E. W. Reinhart issued proposals for publishing in the city of Boston, a weekly newspaper, entitled the North American Democrat.

January 12, 1826, Joel Adams, Postmaster at Chelmsford, published a list of the letters remaining in his office, with the information "that the list can be found at F. Hobbs' store."

January 31, 1826, nineteen days after, J. C. Morrill, Postmaster at East Chelmsford, appears in an advertisement which reveals the following facts: Mails were carried three times a week between Lowell and Boston; rates of letter postage for 80 miles 6 cts., 150 miles 12½ cts., 400 miles 18¾ cts., over 400 miles 25 cts.; if the letter was in two pieces, double these rates were charged.

November 14, 1829, the Lowell Mercury appeared as a weekly, Thomas Billings, proprietor, Rev. Eliphalet Case, editor. It was established as the organ of the Democratic party. At first it was printed in one of the

Merrimack cottages, situated on the south side of Merrimack Street, where Welles' Block now stands. As soon as Mr. Billings had finished the brick building on the opposite side of the street, the printing office was removed into it. Mr. Case was installed as pastor of the First Universalist Society in 1828, and retained this position two years. He succeeded William Wyman as Postmaster in 1833, and held the office seven or eight years. He removed to Portland, Me., and for a time edited the Eastern Argus. From there, in company with Samuel M. Bellows, he went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and started a newspaper. Failing in this experiment, he became interested in manufacturing whiskey and raising pork in Indiana.

Thomas Billings came to East Chelmsford in 1824 and started a book bindery. He soon added a bookstore to the bindery. In connection with Hazen Elliot he built the third brick building on Merrimack Street — it might truthfully be said to have been the second, as his block was finished as soon, if not sooner, than the City Hall Building. In 1833 he made an assignment of his property and removed to Lunenburgh, Mass. He saved his brick block, and eventually sold it, I think to S. F. Gladwin. The site is occupied by the Mechanics' Bank Building.

September 30, 1829, the Groton Herald was united with the Lowell Journal. July 8, 1831, the proprietor of the Journal gave notice that he should publish a triweekly paper. August 6th, J. S. C. Knowlton retired from the Journal, and left Lowell. He was born in Hopkinton, N. H.; graduated at Dartmouth College; went from Lowell to Worcester; started the Worcester Palladium; was elected High Sheriff of Worcester County in 1856; and died June 11, 1871.

March, 1832, Oliver Sheple commenced the publication of the Rose Bud, a Sabbath School monthly. The contributors to it were Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, Mrs. Huntington, and Miss Hinckley. The last number bears the date of February, 1834.

After the departure of Mr. Knowlton there was a contest for the possession of the Journal establishment. Randall Meacham, of the firm of Meacham & Mathewson, tried to buy the concern, but J. R. Adams had a mortgage on it, and was enabled to secure it for the sum of $1,800. This occurred September 3, 1831. Meacham having failed to secure the Journal, started the Middlesex Telegraph, September 16th, with Albin Beard as printer.* On the same day, E. C. Purdy, who had been engaged by J. R. Adams to take charge of the editorial department of the Journal, issued proposals for the publication of a daily. Mr. Purdy had edited the Rutland (Vt.) Herald, the Horn of the Green Mountains, and the Whitehall Palladium. September 17th, the first number of the Daily Journal appeared, and also that of the weekly Middlesex Telegraph. Mr. Purdy edited the Journal one year for Mr. J. R. Adams, and then leased the establishment of him, and published the paper on his own account. Before the expiration of the lease, in May, 1833, the establishment and lease was purchased by John S. Sleeper, who had been the publisher and editor of the Exeter (N. H.) News-Letter. Mr. Sleeper has placed upon record his recollection of this transaction, dated January 7, 1861: "I purchased the Lowell Journal (a weekly and daily paper) of Mr. Adams, May 15, 1833, and purchased of Mr. Purdy his lease and right to money due from subscribers. Mr.

* After Mr. Beard left Meacham, the Medical Journal, edited by Dr. Elisha Bartlett, was printed at the Telegraph office.

Weld came into this arrangement, and the Lowell Compend was published at the office of the Lowell Journal. Weld retired the 5th of August, leaving with me the Compend, which was continued until October 9th."

H. Hastings Weld, a graduate of the Journal office, started the Experiment in 1832, and soon after changed the name to the Compend. Previous to this new co-partnership Mr. Weld had purchased the type and material of the Middlesex Telegraph. If he bought on credit it afforded Meacham an opportunity to pay off the Journal for the disappointment he experienced in his failure to get possession of that paper. As has been stated, the co-partnership formed by Sleeper and Weld in May, 1833, terminated a few months after, resulting in the financial distress of H. Hastings Weld, and the transfer of John S. Sleeper to the editorship of the Boston Journal. Soon after these occurrences the Semi-Weekly Times was started (in 1834) by H. H. Weld, with Shubael Kinnicut as printer. The office was in Livingston's building, Tower's Corner. Afterwards, when Weld left Lowell, he became a contributor to the Boston Galaxy and the Boston Pearl. He published his contributions, in 1836, under the title of "Corrected Proofs." Later he compiled an Annual. He is now a clergyman of the Episcopal order, settled in Riverton, New Jersey.

November 1, 1832, Alfred Gilman started the Album, or Ladies' Common-Place Book. It was printed semi-monthly, at No. 35 Merrimack Street, in one of William Wyman's buildings. At the close of its first year the good will of the paper was sold to George Brown.

The Lowell Observer, an organ of the Congregationalists, and the Lowell Evangelist, Baptist, were started in 1831. The Observer was edited by the Rev. Mr. Southmayd, and the Evangelist by the Rev. E. W. Freeman. The experiment of publishing sectarian papers in

Lowell, of which the Observer and Evangelist were the pioneers, has almost invariably proved to be a financial failure. This was the case with both of these papers.

For a time, after Sleeper left the Lowell Journal, it was edited by Charles H. Locke. In the autumn or early winter of 1834, the old Lowell Journal failed under his management. The publication was not resumed until after the sale to Huntress & Knowlton. A bargain was made with Kirk Boott, but the property was held in trust by John R. Adams and John L. Sheafe. Leonard Huntress having purchased one-half of the Mercury, in 1834, formed a co-partnership with Daniel H. Knowlton, who bought the other half, and then they effected the purchase of the Journal, uniting the two papers. January 6, 1835, they started the Lowell Courier as a tri-weekly. This co-partnership was dissolved September 20, 1836.

In 1834 the Lowell Advertiser, a tri-weekly, was started by B. E. Hale, and edited by Eliphalet Case, who was intensely excited over the disaffection of the Mercury, which appeared as a Whig paper. In 1835 the Lowell Patriot, a weekly, was started in connection with the tri-weekly Advertiser, and both were printed by Dearborn & Bellows, at No. 35 Merrimack Street. A paper called the Pledge was printed at the Advertiser office, and another, called the Female Advocate, was printed at the Journal and Mercury office. This year Kinnicutt & Parker published a paper called the Journal and Bulletin. It was printed in Livingston's building, Tower's Corner. The appropriation of the name Journal, grew out of the suspension of the Lowell Journal. The Zion's Banner was published and edited by Elder Nathaniel Thurston, while his popularity was at its height.

In 1836 the Patriot office was moved to the brick building corner Central and Middle Street; the Lowell Times passed into the hands of James Wingate; a paper called the Messenger was printed by George Brown, at No. 35 Merrimack Street; another, called the Standard, edited by Edward Waylen, was printed at the Times office; another, called the Gazette, printed by Alfred S. Tilden, office corner Merrimack and John Streets; and the Philanthropist was published by Rev. Aaron Lummas, Suffolk Square, Merrimack Street.

April 17, 1837, Daniel H. Knowlton, Mr. Huntress' former partner, died at Hopkinton, N. H. He was a brother of J. S. C. Knowlton, and married Ann, sister to Thomas Billings. His wife and two children survived him.

In 1838 the Casket, a weekly paper, was published by Brown & Judkins, at No. 13 Merrimack Square, Suffolk Street. The Advertiser at this time was edited by N. P. Banks.

In 1839 Mr. Huntress engaged Robins Dinsmore, a lawyer by profession, who had been a member of the legislature of Vermont, to edit the Journal and Courier. He retired July 11, 1840, and was succeeded by William O. Bartlett, a brother of Dr. Elisha Bartlett. Mr. Bartlett continued until April 20, 1841, when he was succeeded by Daniel S. Richardson, who continued to the close of the year. This year (1839) the Advertiser and Patriot was printed by William Gould.

January 1, 1840, Rev. Orange Scott, assisted by Rev. J. Horton, published and edited the American Wesleyan Observer—anti-slavery. The publication continued six months and was succeeded, January 7, 1841, by the New England Christian Advocate, edited by Rev. Luther Lee. Both these papers were printed at the Journal and

Courier office, which was moved (1840) to the building on the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. This year (1840) the Advertiser and Patriot was published by Abijah Watson; the Zion's Banner (Free-Will Baptist) was printed in the basement of their building, at the head of Central Street; the Literary Souvenir, a weekly and the Ladies' Repository, a semi-monthly, were published by A. B. F. Hildreth. The last two were started in 1839. Mr. Hildreth also published a penny paper called "The Daily Morning News," August 12, 1840.

The first number of the Lowell Offering appeared in October, 1840. It demands something more than a mere passing notice. It was really what it pretended to be—a magazine containing original compositions by girls who worked in the mills. The circumstances attending its origin have been faithfully detailed by the Rev. A. C. Thomas and Miss Harriet Farley. An improvement circle was formed in 1839–'40, where written communications were received and read by the pastor of the Second Universalist Church, Mr. Thomas. Their authorship being unknown they were subject to criticism and amendment. The reading of these articles was the sole entertainment of the circle. This led to the practice of reading, at social meetings of the church members or the society, those articles which were of a serious and religious character. The talent thus brought out led to the publication of the Offering.

The success of the Offering was such that a rival sprung up called the Operatives' Magazine. Miss Farley says: "It differed from the Offering by receiving communications from both sexes and from those females who had left the mill. After a time, however, the gentlemen's articles were discarded, and the magazine passed entirely into the hands of the young ladies. They

owned, edited and published it." Previous to this the male editor, Abel C. Thomas, sold the Offering to the the printer of the Magazine, William Schouler, and after a while both works were united in one by the proprietor, and edited by Harriet Farley.

In the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1881, Lucy Larcom has an article entitled "Among Lowell Mill-Girls." She carries us back to the improvement circle in the following reminiscence of her youthful days:

"This propensity for scribbling having shown itself to be somewhat contagious among us younger ones, a motherly elder sister devised a plan for making a mutual entertainment for us out of it. She started a little paper in which our stories and verses were collected, having been dropped very privately by us into a box, of which she held the key. It was great fun for us to listen to the semi-weekly evening reading, and guess at the carefully concealed authorship.

"Our little journal was called the Diving Bell, and we were not critical enough to perceive any incongruity between its title and its motto—

> ''T is here young mind her untried strength shall prove,
> And onward, upward, she 'll forever move.'

Certainly we felt delightfully free to plunge or soar at will. Our thoughts made amusing ventures in almost every direction.

"The manuscript file of the Diving Bell, twelve numbers, yellow and thumb-worn, is still in existence. It is not unlikely that it was the germ from which the Lowell Offering blossomed. For, at about this time, a group of young mill-girls, of whom the elder sister just mentioned was one, formed themselves into what they called an Improvement Circle, the object of which was

the writing and reading of their own literary compositions, with mutual criticism. An enlarged improvement circle grew out of this, and from the material there collected the first numbers of the Lowell Offering were made up and published."

The Vox Populi was started in June, 1841, by J. M. Stone. Samuel J. Varney was engaged to print the Vox for six months. Mr. Varney came to Lowell in 1839 or 1840; had previously been at Methuen in business, which he sold and went to Ohio. The office at Methuen was destroyed by fire. He being a loser by that occurrence, came back and was attracted to Lowell. He worked in the Advertiser office, then owned by Abijah Watson. Afterwards he opened a small book, periodical and newspaper store in Wyman's Exchange. He obtained from Methuen a hand press which had become damaged in the fire, repaired it and set it up in the basement of a building at the corner of Central and Hurd Streets. December 4, 1841, at the end of six months, the Vox passed into the hands of Mr. Varney, and he retained it until January 8, 1850, when John T. Chesley became the proprietor. In May, 1856, it was purchased by S. J. Varney and published by S. W. Huse & Co., Mr. Varney being the sole owner. The death of Mr. Varney, November 11, 1859, made another change necessary, and January 1, 1860, the paper became the property of Stone & Huse. A few years afterwards N. J. N. Bacheller was admitted a partner. The editors of the Vox are numerous. Among them were James M. Stone, S. J. Varney, J. F. C. Hayes, B. F. Johnson, Enoch Emery, A. W. Farr, Thomas Bradley, Miss Harriet F. Curtis, John A. Goodwin, Z. E. Stone, and Samuel A. McPhetres. Three daily papers have at different times been published in connection with the Vox Populi —

the Daily Telegraph, during the winter of 1849–'50; the Daily Vox, during the first exhibition of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, in 1851; and the Daily News, by John T. Chesley. October, 1878, Z. E. Stone retired from the Vox, and was succeeded by John A. Goodwin. The firm is now Huse, Goodwin & Co.

In 1841 the Ladies' Pearl, a monthly publication by E. A. Rice, was printed at the Journal and Courier office.

The Star of Bethlehem, a weekly (Universalist) publication by Powers & Bagley, was printed at the Advertiser office. In 1844 it was edited by T. B. Thayer and A. A. Miner; N. Osgood publisher and proprietor.

January 1, 1842, William Schouler purchased the Lowell Journal and Courier. Previously he had purchased of William S. Robinson the Concord Republican, a paper that grew out of the Concord Yeoman. The two papers were united, or rather as Robinson had it, "the Journal swallowed" the Republican. William S. Robinson came to Lowell with Mr. Schouler, as assistant editor, and for a short time became the Washington correspondent of the Courier. As this did not pay, Robinson returned to Lowell and did the light work. In 1845 Robinson went to Manchester, N. H., and was associated with John H. Warland in editing the American, a Whig paper. He returned to Lowell in April, 1846. During 1842–'43 the Lowell Advertiser was edited by William Butterfield, afterwards the editor of the Nashua Gazette and Concord Patriot.

At this time (1842) there was also published a small weekly sheet entitled "The Sword of Truth." It was conducted in the interest of the Methodist denomination, perhaps as a counteractive to the Universalist paper already alluded to.

In 1843 the Middlesex Washingtonian and Martha Washington Advocate, a weekly, was printed in Coburn's Block, Central Street, L. D. Johnson.

The late James M. Stone, began the publication of the Daily Herald, a morning paper, office in third story of a building on Central Street, opposite Market, now occupied as a job printing office. So far as known there are no numbers of the paper in existence. It was published about a year. Soon after its discontinuance, Mr. Stone removed to Charlestown. He was the originator, and for the first six months of its existence, the conductor of the Vox Populi. Previous to engaging in the publication of the Herald he was for some years a clerk in the store of Messrs. Burbank, Chase & Co. Stone became prominent in the Free Soil party; was elected to the House of Representatives, became Speaker of that body and was for many years a prominent and influential party man. He was born in 1817, at Westford; died December 19, 1880.

The Genius of Christianity, a semi-monthly, was printed at the Journal and Courier office.

In 1843–'44 the Orion was started by Washington F. Somerby. It was printed in Coburn's Block, Central Street. After the first year it passed into the possession of Arthur P. Bonney who published and edited it another year, when it was merged in other papers. The Operative, a weekly, was published by J. C. Stowell & Co., at No. 76 Central Street, Lowell, and No. 38 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.

In 1845 the Patriot and Advertiser passed into the hands of H. E. and S. C. Baldwin; the Republican, a weekly, was printed at the Vox Populi office, Fisher A. Hildreth, publisher and proprietor; the Sunday School

Monitor, a monthly, was published at No. 9 Merrimack Street; the Worcester County Gazette and Middlesex Standard, a weekly, was published by Pillsbury & Knapp, at 24 Central Street, and Langley, Abbott ("Long John"), Dealing & Co., practical printers, published the True Reformer and Independent Press. A scurrilous paper called the Life in Lowell, edited by John C. Palmer, was published at No. 56 Central Street, and another called the Scourge, without paternity. John G. Whittier has left a reminiscence of his residence in Lowell, called the "Stranger in Lowell," published in 1845. He says: "Occupying, during a brief sojourn in Lowell, in the past autumn (1844) a position which necessarily brought him into somewhat harsh collision with both of the great political parties on the eve of an exciting election, he deemed it at once a duty and privilege to keep his heart open to the kindliest influences of nature and society."

At the solicitation of a few anti-slavery friends, he came here to edit the "Middlesex Standard," which survived but a few months. It was a pecuniary loss to Mr. Whittier as well as the proprietors.

In 1846 William Schouler went to Europe and left William S. Robinson in sole charge of the Courier. Mrs. Robinson, in the life of her husband, says, "the credit acquired by his (Robinson's) articles in the Courier, caused Schouler to receive an offer to go into the Boston Atlas in 1847!" There are others who believe that Schouler's letters from Europe, published in the Courier, had something to do with it.

In 1846 William F. Young edited a paper called the "Voice of Industry." It was printed at the Courier office. October 3, the editor lectured in Nashua. In commenting upon the lecture the editor of the Nashua Telegraph called it "stuff."

The Literary Visitor appeared in 1847, and was succeeded by the Lowell Gazette, July 31, published by Joel Taylor and Daniel Kimball. Joel Taylor served his apprenticeship in the office of the Lowell Mercury; continued in the employ of Huntress & Knowlton, after the Journal and Mercury were united; in 1844–'45 he had a job printing office at No. 82 Central Street, where the firm of Stearns & Taylor printed the Lowell Offering; left the Gazette November 30, 1847, having disposed of his interest to a Mr. Farnsworth, and probably went to Manchester, N. H., soon after. There he was commissioned as penny-post, January 29, 1849, in which position he continued until his decease, May, 8, 1881. Daniel Kimball was a lecturer on the subject of temperance, and editor of the Temperance Standard. The Gazette was sustained by William Livingston, between whom and B. F. Butler, there had grown up a rivalry for the Democratic support. Ira B. Pearsons became editor of the Gazette, which survived until February 9, 1849, when its light went out.

Fisher A. Hildreth in 1846–'47 became the editor of the Advertiser and Patriot, and the Republican was absorbed by these papers; the Niagara, a weekly, edited by Rev. William H. Brewster—Jesse E. Farnsworth and Nelson Drake, publishers—was printed at No. 44 Central Street; the Gospel Fountain, edited by Rev. William Bell, was published by Pillsbury & Knapp; the Ladies' Magazine and Casket of Literature, edited by Miss A. T. Wilbur, was published by E. A. Rice; and the Temperance Offering, a bi-monthly, Rev. Nathaniel Hervey, editor, office No. 112 Merrimack Street.

July 1, 1847, Schouler sold the Journal and Courier to James Atkinson, of Newport, R. I. William S. Robinson was retained as editor until June 12, 1848, when he was succeeded by Leander R. Streeter.

William Schouler was born at Kilbarchan, county of Renfrew, Scotland, December 31, 1814. He was by trade a calico printer. After he left Lowell, he became editor of the Boston Atlas, May 1, 1847, which position he retained for a number of years. Although a warm personal and political friend of Daniel Webster, the 7th of March speech made by him completely separated them. November 30, 1857, Mr. Schouler connected himself with the Cincinnati Gazette, retaining the connection three years. Afterwards he edited the Ohio State Journal at Columbus and was appointed by Gov. Chase, Adjutant General of Ohio. He returned to Massachusetts in 1857 and edited the Boston Atlas and Bee. In 1860 Gov. Banks appointed him Adjutant General for Massachusetts, a position he held through the war and until 1866.

Mr. Schouler represented Lowell in the House of Representatives in 1842, 1843, 1844. When he became a resident of Boston, he was sent to the House for four years and in 1853 was clerk. In 1868 he entered the Senate from the first Essex Senatorial District.

In connection with his son he edited and published two volumes of the Massachusetts War Records. He died at Roxbury, October 4, 1872.

January 1, 1848 the Courier was enlarged. In July, 1848, William S. Robinson succeeded C. F. Adams in the editorial chair of the Boston Daily Whig, afterwards called the Boston Republican, where he continued until February, 1849, when Henry Wilson cut his pay down to one dollar and twenty-five cents per day. He came back to Lowell, May 28, 1849, and started the Tri-Weekly American, which lived till November 22, 1853. August 28, 1848, the Massachusetts Era (Free Soil) appeared, Dana B. Gove, publisher; J. W. Hanson, editor. January 13, 1849, Leander R. Streeter left the

Journal and Courier, and was succeeded on the 15th by J. H. Warland. February 4, 1850, S. J. Varney purchased the Courier establishment, on which there was a mortgage of $9,000 to William Schouler. A small Sabbath School publication, called the Day Star, was printed by A. B. Wright, at No. 55 Central Street.

July 3, 1851, the Christian Era (Baptist), a weekly, was published by J. M. Burt; Rev. D. C. Eddy, editor. Miss Harriet Farley in 1851 published and edited the New England Offering and Mill Girls' Advocate. It was issued monthly from No. 22 Appleton Block. June 4, 1851, the Daily Morning News appeared, Enoch Emery and Abram Keach, editors; Keach, Emery & Co., publishers.

In 1851 the Spindle City and Middlesex Farmer, a weekly, was published by Keach & Emery; L. H. Hildreth, of Westford, agricultural editor.

August 23, 1852, the Lowell Advertiser made its appearance as a daily, published by Samuel M. Bellows and Levi Hedge; James J. Maguire, editor. A weekly paper called Wentworth's Waverly was published this year (1852) by George Wentworth, at No. 48 Central Street.

June 12, 1852, the Lowell Mirror, a weekly, published by Chase & Hoitt, No. 21 Central Street, made its appearance.

A monthly paper called the Medical Expositor was commenced in 1852, and printed from time to time as an advertising sheet.

June 30, 1853, J. H. Warland left the Courier and was succeeded by Charles Cowley. Mr. Cowley contributed to the Courier, in 1872, a sketch of the life of John H. Warland, from which I quote: "John H. Warland, eldest son of John and Sarah (Bates) Warland, was born in Cambridge, Mass., April 20, 1807. He was fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.

He entered Harvard College in 1823, and graduated in 1827, in the same class with Dr. Francis Dana, whose death preceded his own by only a few days. He once began the study of law in New York, but soon discontinued it and taught school, first in Lancaster, Mass., and afterwards in Medfield, Mass.

"In 1834 he went to Claremont, N. H., and took the charge of the National Eagle, a paper devoted to the Whig cause. He was much liked by the Whig chiefs. 'How are you, old Eagle?' was the familiar way in which Mr. Webster once addressed him. 'Give us your claw. I have heard the crack of your rifle at Washington. Let it ring out sharp, and clear, and true; let the lubberly smooth-bores foul their pieces as they may.'

"From Claremont in April, 1842, Mr. Warland went to Boston, and for a short time edited the American, a Clay paper. About 1847, he published The Plume, a volume of tales and poems, patriotic and popular, which had an extensive circulation. These tales and poems had all previously appeared in the Claremont Eagle. Some of the most popular songs sung during the campaign of 1840 ("Tippecanoe and Tyler, too") were from his pen, and may be found in the Plume.

"He was next connected with the Manchester American, and while so connected, experienced the first symtoms of that terrible mania which was fated to project its shadow over so much of his life. He, however, gunned the American all through the Polk and Clay campaign of 1846.

"When the Mexican war broke out he enlisted in the regiment which New England furnished for the army of invasion under Col. Caleb Cushing. In Mexico he had a rich experience, which he poured out profusely, in after years, in the columns of the various journals which from

time to time owned his sway. Gen. Pierce made him his private secretary, and at a later day General Scott employed him, or permitted him to be employed, as editor of the American Star, which was published, one-half in English, the other half in Spanish, in the city of Mexico, both the languages of his bi-lingual sheet being spoken and written with facility by the editor.

"Returning from Mexico he became editor of the Lowell Courier. His protracted war of words with Gen. Butler, whose epitaph he published, and thereby involved both himself and Mr. Varney, his editorial colleague, in prosecutions for libel, will never be forgotten by the Lowellians of that time. After quitting the Courier he became editor of the Boston Chronicle and subsequently a contributor to other Boston and New York journals.

"In 1859, the infirmity to which allusion has already been made, rendered it necessary that he should be treated systematically, and Mr. Warland became a patient in the Lunatic Hospital at South Boston. He remained there till 1868, when he was transferred to Taunton — his last abode.

"Mr. Warland was married in 1832 to Marianne, eldest daughter of William E. Carter, of Cambridge. She died at Claremont in 1841, and he never afterward married. By this marriage he had two children, who survive him — a son, William C. Warland, who went to sea at the age of fourteen and is now (1872) captain of the American merchantman Endeavor, and a daughter, the wife of James H. Wyeth, of Cambridge.

"He died July 7, 1872, and was interred in his father's tomb in old Cambridge."

October 12, 1853, the following papers were printed on the Courier press: Dailies — Courier, News and Her-

ald. Tri-weekly—American. Weeklies—Journal, Christian Era, Vox Populi and Lowell Cabinet. I have found no other record of the Cabinet than this fact.

April 21, 1854, the Lowell Daily Morning Herald, published by Enoch Emery, ceased to exist. It died a yearling. May 5, 1854, Z. E. Stone, who had been with J. T. Chesley in the management of the Vox Populi, left that paper, and commenced, May 20, the publication of the American Citizen. The World's Crisis (Second Advent) was published this year by Jonas Merriam; S. J. Varney, printer. September 1, 1854, Charles Cowley left the Courier and was succeeded, October 1, by John A. Goodwin. Mr. Goodwin bought the Lawrence Courier of J. F. C. Hayes, January 1, 1851; Homer A. Cook became senior partner with him July 1, 1852. Hayes took Cook's interest January 1, 1854, and Goodwin sold his share September 30, 1854, to F. Leathe, and came to Lowell.

May 3, 1855, James J. Maguire left the Advertiser and was succeeded by Charles Hunt and Robins Dinsmore. The proprietor of the Advertiser was Fisher A. Hildreth, Postmaster. September 10, 1855, Frank Crosby, son of Deacon Judah Crosby, was engaged on the American Citizen and remained until November 20. December 31, 1855, John A. Goodwin published his valedictory to the readers of the Courier and was succeeded by Benjamin W. Ball.

Charles Cowley in 1855 bought the News of Abram Keach and sold it immediately to Chesley, who disposed of it in 1856. April 28, 1856, the Daily Morning News and the Daily Citizen united under the editorial care of John A. Goodwin, general and political editor, Enoch Emery, city reporter; Leonard Brown and George F. Morey, publishers; politics, American Republican.

In 1854, as has been previously stated, Z. E. Stone commenced the publication of the American Citizen, a weekly; in September, 1855 he began the publication of a Daily of the same name in connection with it. April, 1856, he sold his office and papers to Messrs. Brown and Morey. The following two years he spent in Chicago, Illinois. He returned to Lowell, and July 1, 1858, bought a small second-hand printing establishment with which the Trumpet (an advertising sheet) had been published, moved it to Haverhill, enlarged it, and January 1, 1859, began the Tri-Weekly Publisher, which he conducted successfully and satisfactorily for one year, and then sold it to take a half interest in the Vox Populi, Samuel J. Varney, the proprietor, having died in November, 1859.

J. A. Goodwin retained his position as editor of the Daily Citizen and News for nearly a year. In the fall of 1856 he was elected as one of the representatives from Lowell to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and in 1857 attended both the regular and extra sessions. For a short time, during J. J. Colton's illness, he was a teacher in the High School. Enoch Emery, in the meantime, took control of the editorial department of the Citizen and News. Mr. Goodwin resumed the charge in 1858. In June, 1859, Leonard Brown disposed of his interest to C. L. Knapp, who became the editor, and the firm of Knapp & Morey was formed July 1, which continued until March, 1876, when Mr. Morey sold his interest to Mr. Knapp and retired.

May, 1856, the Courier establishment became the property of Tappan Wentworth, who purchased it of Samuel J. Varney. S. N. Merrill's name appeared as publisher. He had been an assistant with Charles Morrill, then principal of the Green School.

February 12, 1857, a paper called "The Star" appeared, published by E. D. Green & Co., at No. 38 Central Street. March 31, H. A. Pierce was associated with S. N. Merrill in the publication of the Courier. He was born at Danville, Vt.; entered Dartmouth College in 1852, but did not graduate; came to Lowell in 1855; was employed as clerk in the Courier office, and became a partner in 1857. He died January 23, 1858. September 30, 1857, The Middlesex American, a tri-weekly, appeared, edited by Rev. L. J. Fletcher, and advocated the election of Henry J. Gardner. The Weekly Union, printed by B. H. Penhallow, was published and edited by High School scholars.

July 1, 1859, John A. Goodwin retired from the Citizen and News. Being a member of the Legislature for 1859, '60 and '61, he was elected Speaker of the House for the two last years.

November 11, 1859, Samuel J. Varney died. He was born in Rochester, N. H., March 11, 1814, the son of Enos Varney. He learned the trade of printer in the Dover Gazette office, and in 1835 started the Methuen Falls Gazette, the publication of which was suspended on account of fire. He married, in 1836, a daughter of David Place, of Rochester. In 1840 he came to Lowell. His connection with the newspapers has already been detailed. His wife died in 1851, and in 1852 he married Ruth Stuart, who still survives. He was a member of the Common Council in 1850–'51 and Alderman in 1852 and '59. He was Secretary of the Middlesex North Agricultural Society for several years.

April 16, 1860, Stone & Huse purchased the Journal and Courier of Tappan Wentworth. November 16, Homer A. Cook, who had been editor of the Journal and Courier for a short time, retired from the editorial

management; started the Lowell Sentinel, a literary paper, in the spring of 1861, and discontinued the publication June 8, that same year. Z. E. Stone became editor of the Journal and Courier, and retained that position until September 1, 1867.

May 21, 1861, The Gad Fly, a semi-monthly, illustrated, Douglas Democratic paper, was printed and published by L. W. Huntington. This was a flyer to the Douglas Democrat, a tri-weekly, which appeared August 20, under the auspices of A. R. Brown, W. E. Livingston and J. K. Fellows.

September 1, 1867, Stone & Huse disposed of their interest in the Journal and Courier to Marden & Rowell, who retain it now. George A. Marden was born in Mount Vernon, N. H., August 9, 1839. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1861, having prepared himself at Appleton Academy. During his College course he worked at his trade and taught school to raise the necessary funds. In November, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company G, Second Regiment, Berdan's U. S. Sharpshooters; mustered in December 12, 1861, and received a warrant as Second Sergeant. In April, 1862, he was transferred to the First Regiment, U. S. S., which served under McClellan, from Yorktown to Harrison's Landing. July 10, 1862, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and Regimental Quartermaster. January 1, 1862, was ordered on staff duty as acting Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Brigade, Third Division, Third Corps, and served in this capacity until August, 1863, participating in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Wapping Heights. He was then ordered to Riker's Island, New York harbor, on detached service, but, at his own request, soon returned to his regiment and served until it was mustered out, September, 1864.

He returned to New Hampshire; studied law in the spring of 1865, at Concord, and was at the same time employed in writing for the Daily Monitor. In November, 1865, he went to Charleston, West Virginia, and purchased the Kanawha Republican, a weekly paper, which he edited until the spring of 1866, when he disposed of the paper and returned to New Hampshire. There he was employed to "compile, arrange and edit a history of each of the New Hampshire military organizations, during the war" for the Adjutant General's report. Meantime he wrote for the Monitor and the Boston Daily Advertiser. January, 1867, he accepted and held the position of assistant editor of the Advertiser until the first of September, when he came to Lowell.

December 10, 1867, he was married to Mary P., daughter of Dea. David Fiske, of Nashua, N. H. They have two children: Philip Sanford, born January 12, 1874, and Robert Fiske, born June 14, 1876.

Mr. Marden was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from Lowell in 1873; Clerk of the House in 1874, and has held that position every year since then.

Edward Thomas Rowell was born at West Concord, N. H., August 14, 1836, the son of Ira and Rebecca (Kimball) Rowell. He graduated at Dartmouth College in the Class of 1861, and soon after enlisted in the Fifth N. H. Volunteers. Before leaving the State he was commissioned Second Lieutenant of the Second N. H. Sharp-shooters, under Capt. Caldwell; was promoted to Captain, Major and Lieut-Colonel in the same regiment and served until the close of the war. Major Rowell was wounded at Gettysburg and quite severely at Petersburg.

At the close of the war he went to Portland, Me., and engaged in the iron business, a member of the firm of Haseltine, Cole & Co. In September, 1867, he came to Lowell.

He married, September 8, 1870, Clara S., daughter of George Webster, of Lowell. Major Rowell was appointed Postmaster of Lowell, April 15, 1874, which office he still retains.

Removals of the Journal Office: First, to a two-story wooden building near the First Congregational Church. Second, April 13, 1827, to a building a few rods east of St. Anne's Church. Third, to Central Street, near the American House. Fourth, to Hurd Street. Fifth, February 1, 1830, to corner of Central and Middlesex Streets. Sixth, January 1, 1840, to corner of Central and Hurd Streets. Seventh, May 8, 1852, to corner of Central and Middle Streets. Eighth, to the Museum Building, Merrimack Street.

October 8, 1871, the Middlesex Democrat was published by Dr. J. H. Smith. The office was in the Museum Building. In 1872, the Daily Morning Times was published by E. A. Hills, the Doctor's son-in-law. About the 1st of August, 1872, the Democrat, Times and the Dover (N. H.) Gazette were purchased by J. Livingston Hunt of Dr. Smith, secured to him by a mortgage on the material. In 1874, a second mortgage was given to Charles Cowley. The Hunt Brothers purchased in 1875 the Penhallow Printing Office of C. H. Latham, administrator; obtained a loan from Charles Cowley, giving a mortgage on the material as security. December 20, 1875, Cowley foreclosed, took possession of the printing material, and published the papers for three months on his own account. In the early part of 1876, the two establishments were separated and the

Times transferred to Dr. J. H. Smith. From December 20, 1875, to March 20, 1876, the Times was published as an Independent paper. In 1876 the Sunday News, a Democratic campaign weekly, was published three months by D. B. Hughes and Walter H. Mills. December 15, 1879, Campbell & Hanscom bought the the Daily Morning Times of Dr. J. H. Smith.

James L. Campbell was born in Henniker, N. H. His father published the Manchester Union, where he (James L.) learned his trade. In 1872 he entered into a co-partnership with George A. Hanscom, and together they published the Union until 1879.

George A. Hanscom was born in Elliot, Me.; served three years' apprenticeship in the office of the Maine Democrat, Saco; followed the sea for twenty years; went to Manchester, N. H.; was employed in the Union office, and in connection with James L. Campbell bought the Union of the elder Campbell.

John T. Chesley was born in Dover, N. H., February 28, 1817; came to Lowell in September, 1835; worked at his trade for Daniel Swan; afterward opened a store for the sale of petroleum; became at first a local reporter for, and then the publisher of, the Vox Populi. After the war he was engaged in the exhibition of panoramic scenes during the war. Just previous to his death (November 6, 1872) he was in the employment of J. C. Ayer & Co. He left a wife but no children.

Fisher A. Hildreth died July 9, 1873. He was born in Dracut, February 5, 1818, the son of Dr. Israel Hildreth. His education was acquired in the town schools and at the Dracut Academy. On the attainment of his majority, he was sent from his native town to the Legislature of Massachusetts for two years (1840–'41). In 1845 he commenced at Lowell the publication of

the Republican, a weekly Democratic paper, and a few months after he purchased of H. E. & S. C. Baldwin* the establishment of the Tri-Weekly Advertiser and Weekly Patriot. He retained an interest in these papers up to the time of their suspension in 1863. In 1850 he received from Gov. Boutwell the appointment of Sheriff of Middlesex County, which he retained for two years. He succeeded T. P. Goodhue as Postmaster of Lowell in 1853, in which position he was kept by the Pierce and Buchanan administrations. He married Lauretta, daughter of Major Ephraim Coburn, of Dracut. The widow† and two daughters survive; the elder married Thomas Nesmith; the younger, Charles D. Palmer.

Efforts were made by our French fellow-citizens, in 1874, to be supplied with a publication in their own language. These resulted in the publication, at Fall River, of "L'Echo du Canada," which had a Lowell edition from November, 1874, to May, 1875. This was subsequented in October, 1875, by "La Republique," H. Beaugrand, editor and proprietor. This publication was removed from Lowell to Fall River, April, 1876. Beaugrand is at present editor of the leading liberal paper in Canada. "La Sentinelle" was commenced here in April, George Lambert, proprietor, and continued until December, 1879. "L'Abeille" (the Bee), a daily publication, J. B. Hurtubise, proprietor, L. E. Carufel, editor, commenced December 31, 1880; since, sold to "La Campagnie d'Imprimerie Canadienne Francaise de Lowell," office No. 49 Central Street.

* January, 1843, S. C. Baldwin became editor and publisher of the Granite State Democrat, printed at Exeter, N. H. In consequence of ill health he relinquished the undertaking, and the paper ceased to exist March 9, 1843. Afterwards he came to Lowell.

† Mrs. Hildreth died October 30, 1882.

The Sun, Harrington Brothers (Daniel J.* and John H.), publishers and proprietors, Thomas F. Byron, editor, was started August 10, 1878, with four pages, enlarged August 10, 1881, to eight pages.

Stone & Huse, as has been stated, during their proprietorship of the Journal and Courier, continued the publication of the Vox Populi. After the sale of those papers to Marden & Rowell, September 1, 1867, they established a Saturday edition of the Vox, and the semi-weekly issue was continued by the new proprietors after the retirement of Z. E. Stone and N. J. N. Bacheller in 1878. A new co-partnership was formed, consisting of Z. E. Stone, N. J. N. Bacheller and Ephraim D. Livingston, which commenced the publication July 1, 1879, of the Daily Morning Mail. In connection with this publication a Semi-Weekly Mail was issued, which has since been changed to a weekly called the Saturday Evening Mail.

Zina E. Stone, the editor of the Mail, was born March 30, 1823, at Bethel, Me.; entered a printing office, as an apprentice, when a lad so small as to require the aid of about five thicknesses of inch board to bring him up to a position where he could reach the type advantageously. He served a regular apprenticeship of three years, and a year later (in 1842), a minor, came to Lowell in pursuit of work. Not succeeding he went to Concord, N. H., and worked as a journeyman, for the first time, in the office of the late Gov. Isaac Hill. In Boston, Lowell and other places he followed "the art preservative" as journeyman till 1854, when he began the publication of the Citizen. Mr. Stone was elected in 1865–'66 a member of the House of Representatives from

Daniel J. Harrington died May 24, 1882.

Ward Six. The interest he has taken in the aims and objects of this Association has been uniformly persistent. The columns of the press under his direction have ever been at its service and open to all who would elucidate and reveal new facts in the history of our city. His personal efforts in collecting and preserving pamphlets, papers and old books, in any manner illustrating the early history of Lowell, have been unwavering, and in a measure successful.

Nathaniel J. N. Bacheller was born June 16, 1827, in Fayette, Me.; learned the printing business in Saco; was in business as a newspaper and job printer in Biddeford and Saco for a time. He came to Lowell to reside in 1857. Here he became a partner in the Vox Populi printing establishment in 1872, the firm name being Stone, Huse & Co. After the dissolution of the co-partnership, in 1878, he became one of the new firm, Stone, Bacheller & Livingston, in 1879, the publishers of the Daily Mail.

Ephraim D. Livingston is a native of Lowell, born October 9, 1847. He served a regular apprenticeship in the job printing office of the late Benjamin H. Penhallow. On the decease of Mr. Penhallow he for a time continued the business for the heirs. He became a member of the present firm in 1878.

A new monthly magazine (illustrated) was issued from the Vox Populi office in November, 1881, called the New Moon, W. B. Goodwin editor, and published by the New Moon Company.

April 3, 1882, the Daily Citizen was sold by C. L. Knapp & Son to the Citizen Newspaper Company; Harry R. Rice business manager, Henry J. Moulton editor, C. F. Coburn assistant editor, and James Bayles city editor.

Chauncy L. Knapp, the retiring editor, was born February 26, 1809, at Berlin, Vt. He came to Lowell in October, 1843; united himself in 1844 with John G. Pillsbury, a book and job printer, whose office was in Centralville. Pillsbury & Knapp soon after moved their office to No. 24 Central Street. Mention has been made of their connection with sundry newspapers. Mr. Knapp afterwards was alone, occupying a room in Nesmith's Building, on Merrimack Street. He was one of the original Free Soil party which united with the Democrats and elected George S. Boutwell Governor, in 1851. Mr. Knapp was elected, in 1851, Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate. In 1854 he was elected a member of Congress by the American party and served two terms. When he returned to Lowell, after Preston Brooks' attack on Charles Sumner, his friends, not to be singular, presented him with a pistol. All the members of Congress from Massachusetts were complimented in the same way. His duties as editor of the Citizen since 1859 have been discharged with acknowleged ability. He is now a worthy member of this Association.

Harry R. Rice, the business manager of the Daily Citizen, was born in Quebec, P. Q., attended the schools of that city, and subsequently took a four years' course in a private classical school in Montreal, P. Q. He commenced on newspaper work in Hon. Mr. Walton's Gazette office in Sherbrooke, P. Q., was afterwards engaged in the same employment in Montpelier, Vt., Burlington, Vt., and Claremont, N. H. He came to Lowell in 1869 and was employed on the Lowell Daily Citizen as city editor, a position he retained until the Citizen Newspaper Company was organized, April 1, 1882.

During Mr. Rice's residence in Lowell he has been special correspondent of the Boston Journal and Bos-

ton Globe and has furnished a series of letters for Canada, Vermont and New Hampshire papers.

Henry J. Moulton was born March 29, 1847, at Macon, Georgia, the son of Thomas J. and Julia Ann (Smith) Moulton. His father was a native of Pittsfield, N. H., his mother of New Haven, Conn., both of whom he lost at an early age. From 1856 to 1859 he resided with a relative in New Hampshire; then went to Taunton, Mass., and remained until 1864. That year he removed to Tewksbury, having received an appointment as Clerk at the State Almshouse, where he remained (with the exception of one year in New York city) until the fall of 1869, when he removed to Monson, Mass. Here his duties were similar but in connection with the State School. In 1873 he went to South Carolina; in 1876 he returned to his old position at Monson and remained until 1877; when he removed to Boston and was connected with the State Board of Charities until 1880. Since then Mr. Moulton has been engaged in journalism, writing for different newspapers. He is unmarried and the sole survivor of his family, an only sister, Mrs. Helen M. Swift of Taunton, having died in January, 1882.

In writing up the history of the press, reminiscences of the past have come to mind, which if related would have swelled the proportions of this paper to such an extent that the time allotted for its reading would have proved too short. They must be deferred until some one, refreshed and inspired by the names and dates now presented, shall take the task in hand and complete the record.

It is hardly necessary to say that this paper is imperfect; that is granted at once. If it will only be the means of inducing those who know the facts to impart

that knowledge, thus enabling us to make corrections and hand down to our successors a true record, this effort will not have been made in vain.

Before closing I cheerfully give credit to the publishers and editors of our local papers for their courtesy and kindness in imparting information. Especially am I indebted to Z. E. Stone, the editor of the Daily Mail, for allowing me to examine copies of the different papers patiently collected by him from time to time.

XIX. The Drama in Lowell, with a Short Sketch of the Life of Perez Fuller, by H. M. Ordway.

THE theatre is an institution of great antiquity. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, it was held in high estimation, and was thought to have been derived from the gods. The amphitheatre was designed for shows of gladiators and wild beasts, while the theatre was used for stage-plays. The theatres of modern days, differing somewhat from those of the ancient times, are not less popular, and one or more may be found in every town or city of any considerable size. Serious objections to theatrical performances have been raised from time to time on account of their supposed immoral tendency, and it must be confessed that many of the plays represented are not generally of a high character; but well selected entertainments, properly conducted, may serve to elevate and instruct as well as to amuse. The drama first appeared in Lowell in 1828 when it was introduced by a company whose performances were held in the hall connected with the hotel in Belvidere kept by Mr. John Kimball, the father of our esteemed fellow-citizen, John F. Kimball, Esq. This building known in later years as the "Old Yellow House," has undergone many changes since the removal of Mr. Kimball to the house on the

corner of Howe and East Merrimack Streets, now occupied by Mrs. J. B. Giles. The hall in the rear part has been separated from the main structure and was moved westerly a few rods. Rented to private families for some time, it was at length purchased by the Catholics, who removed it to Stackpole Street, where it is now used as the home of the Oblate Fathers. After the erection of the Church of the Immaculate Conception the main portion of the old structure was moved from its original location easterly, for an annex to St. John's Hospital. Within a few weeks it has been again moved, to make room for a more substantial building, and will hereafter be used for a different purpose, but still connected with the hospital.

In 1831 — five years previous to the incorporation of Lowell as a city — Mr. Jonathan Morse, the owner of a block of tenements on Winter Street, in the rear of the First Presbyterian Church, on Appleton Street, converted the entire premises into a hall, which he leased to a speculator by the named of Rounds for dramatic purposes. Neither the plays presented nor the new negro melodies sung (such as "Jim Crow," "Long-Tailed Blue," and others), proved conducive to the moral or to the intellectual improvement of its patrons, who secured admittance to the entire entertainment by paying twenty-five cents. This theatre, which was capable of accommodating about two hundred people, was successful for one or two seasons, when it was closed on account of the erection, by a Boston and Lowell Stock Company, of a much more pretentious structure on the northerly side of Lowell (now Market) Street, between Worthen Street and Maiden Lane. Here, in 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Barrett, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Murdock

and Williamson and others appeared occasionally, assisted by Mr. Perez Fuller. Mr. Barrett — one of the actors — was stage-manager, and Mr. Ostinelli, who enjoyed an enviable reputation as a conductor in Boston, led the orchestra. While living here Mr. Ostinelli played the first violin in the Appleton Street Church, now under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Court, and also received pupils in music in Concert Hall, on Merrimack Street. Mr. Ostinelli married a Miss Hewett, an accomplished lady of Boston, who for many years was organist for the Handel and Hadyn Society, and it is said that she was the first lady organist, and their daughter, the celebrated Madame Biscaciantti, the first American prima donna who appeared before the public. Mr. and Mrs. Ostinelli's married life not proving harmonious, a separation ensued.

The Lowell Street Theatre proved a successful investment the first year, although denounced by nearly all the members of the different churches, who believed it to be one of the great sources of evil. Rev. Eliphalet Case, the editor of the Mercury, representing this portion of the community, presented a remonstrance to the Selectmen against renewing the license of the Company. Several public meetings were held concerning it. John P. Robinson, a stock-holder and one of the foremost lawyers in the town, was counsel for the applicants, while Mr. Heydock, a Websterian-looking lawyer of considerable repute, and Rev. Mr. Streeter, a retired Universalist clergyman from Salem, then practising law in Lowell, represented the opposition. The controversy was not conducted in the most amiable spirit, the counsel often indulging in the most bitter invective, which did not assist in allaying the excitement. Every one connected in any way with this theatre was censured. Even the

Secretary of this Association was threatened with prosecution for doing the printing for the company.*

Finally, after weeks of agitation, the Selectmen refused to grant a renewal of the license. Mr. Robinson advised a continuance of the plays without one; and, acting upon his advice, the management announced for the succeeding evening Sheriden Knowles' "Hunchback." Immediately after the conclusion of the performance the principal actors were arrested and held for trial. At the examination before Judge Locke, in the Police Court rooms (held in the building built by a brother of Judge Crosby, but recently demolished for the erection of the new Central Block), Mr. Robinson, who was an exceedingly nervous man, used such intemperate language to the Court, witnesses and counsel, that serious thoughts were entertained of attempting to procure his expulsion from the bar. This contest resulted adversely to the company, and the building was closed for theatrical entertainments. It was afterwards opened by Rev. Mr. Pease for a free church, called the Third Congregational Society, which had but a short existence. At the present time this long, dilapidated structure (just above the Hadley Block) is overflowing with a class of tenants whose greatest ambition is to participate in a contest to redress Ireland's wrongs.

*Dr. John O. Green, since this sketch was read, wrote a note to the author, saying: "I find the following records"—presumably in his private diary:

"July 15, 1833. The town refused to license a theatre.

"November 11, 1833. We have been holding a town meeting all day, at which more than one thousand votes have been cast. The true State officers were all elected. We had four separate tickets for Representatives—the National Republican, Jackson, Liberal and Workingmen. Only one Representative was elected—Mr. Samuel Howard. The Liberals are a new party, got up for their attachment to the Lowell Theatre. In July preceding, this was put down by public opinion, but to-day it was tested again. The vote confirmed the previous decision. There were 393 votes in favor and 595 against. They say the subject shall be brought up at every town meeting till their point is gained. This made a split in the National Republicans, and the Jackson men profit by the division. The meeting was adjourned late the following day for choice of other Representatives."

Still later (in 1836) about thirty of the most promising young men in the place, interested in histrionic art, associated themselves together for the purpose of forming an organization called the Thespian Club, to give gratuitous entertainments to the public. They leased the hall formerly occupied by the Masonic fraternity, in the brick block at the junction of Merrimack and Worthen Streets, and arranged the stage with all the necessary appliances to ensure successful exhibitions. The most prominent members of this company were Perez Fuller, leading actor; Brooks Bradley, tragedian; John Wellington and a Mr. Stone, comedians; and T. T. Ordway, delineator of female characters, supported by John Sweetser, Moses Winn, William T. G. Pierce, Luther Convers (afterward captain of the Highlanders), Joseph Ripley, Kelsey Moore, Miss Willis, Miss Seymour and Miss Eaton—the latter a lady who afterward attained celebrity. After a short time some of the members becoming dissatisfied with the asssignments of characters, refused to pay their assessments and withdrew, leaving the others to meet the liabilities incurred. As quite a debt had been created, it was thought advisable by the management to charge the small admission fee of twenty-five cents, which resulted in procuring funds to cancel their obligations, after which the company disbanded, leaving all their stage paraphernalia to adorn a neighboring piggery.

An amusing incident is related regarding the realistic acting of this company. A terrific sword-combat was introduced in one of the acts of the play which was being performed, and just as one of the heroes was about ending the earthly career of his opponent, two young ladies who had been engaged to support the

troupe that evening, fled from the stage with horror depicted upon their countenances, leaving Mr. Ordway (who had assumed an important female role) to receive alone the applause which followed his recognition.

On one occasion an original play was produced. It was written by Mr. Clapp, assistant teacher of the High School when the principal was Thomas M. Clarke, now Bishop of Rhode Island. Mr. Fuller took the part of Henry VI., and that of Prince Edward was given to a High School lad of fourteen years, who, recently, when nearly sixty years of age, sent me fragments of the play, which are all his memory retains of that excellent production. This really was the first amateur theatrical organization that appeared in our city, and although other clubs subsequently acquired quite respectable reputations here, none have exceeded, or even equalled the old Thespian in point of dramatic ability.

The next attempt to establish a permanent place for theatricals occurred in 1840, when Mr. Moses Kimball, of Boston, fitted up the fourth story of the stone building (Wyman's Exchange), corner of Merrimack and Central Streets, for a museum. The collection of curiosities consisted of pictures, wax statuary, and selections of natural history, from the New England Museum, Boston. In the course of a year a stage was erected for light entertainments such as dioramas, magical performances, etc., but no legitimate dramatic performances were attempted. The most noted celebrities who appeared here were Adelaide Phillipps and Freeman, the giant. As the museum did not prove remunerative, it was closed for a while, and finally disposed of (in 1845) to Mr. Noah F. Gates, who took possession in October, 1846. Soon aftewards Mr. Gates

leased the Freewill Baptist Church building (on the opposite side of the street) of Henry Reed for three years, from January 1, 1847, at a rental of eight hundred dollars per annum.

The attempt to introduce dramatic entertainments in the old church edifice aroused the indignation of those who formerly worshipped there, and such a pressure was brought to bear upon the City Council that they refused to grant a license for such purposes. A long petition signed by many of the most prominent citizens was presented to the Council to influence their decisions, and at a hearing in regard to it, John P. Robinson and Thomas Hopkinson appeared for the petitioners, and Rev. Messrs. Thurston and True for the remonstrants. This hearing terminated in obtaining a license, and the theatre flourished under the managemen of Mr. Gates until April, 1850, when he applied to the Legislature for an act of incorporation for a stock company with a capital of $60,000, the officers of which were Noah F. Gates, president; W. A. Richardson, clerk; G. L. Pollard, treasurer, who were also directors, associated with B. H. Weaver, F. A. Hildreth, A. B. French and Henry Reed.

The new arrangement opened under favorable auspices with the following dramatic talent, viz: C. G. Graham, W. F. Johnson, R. W. Germon, Messrs. Bland, Reed, W. LaFavre, G. E. Locke, Mr. and Mrs. G. C. Germon, Mr. and Mrs. Altemas, and Miss Emmons. Mr. Johnson (connected with this company) was one of the finest comedians known. Previous to severing his connection with the troupe he was tendered a complimentary benefit, which he accepted, and announced his farewell, October, 15, 1852. His advertisement of the affair was so unique that we give it verbatim:

PROCLAMATION!

WHEREAS, it has become customary, from time immemorial, during the fall of the year, or that portion of the season which precedes sleigh-rides, oyster suppers, balls, colds, rheumatics, etc., to appoint a day and evening of general thanksgiving, and pray that we may be blessed with the means to enjoy the one and have the good luck to escape the other, I hereby, with the advice and consent of my numerous councillors and friends — and, moreover, as such matter seems to escape the memory of Brother Boutwell, much to the indignation, it appears, of the ladies of the numerous corporations — appoint next Monday evening as a time and place for a general jollification, amusement and beneficial enjoyment of all parties without regard to the all-absorbing topic of who shall be President, to take place at the Lowell Museum, where a grand mass-meeting will be held, it is hoped, to test their approbation of the Governor's proceedings in the present dearth of fun and amusement.

Given at our council chamber, the same old attic, 56 American House, this sixth of October, in the year of our Lord, 1852.

WILLIAM F. JOHNSON, Governor.

HOOKEY WALKER, Secretary of State.

God Save the United States of America!

This literary effusion secured Mr. Johnson the honorable title of "Governor," which followed him all through a Southern tour, and led some of the local Southern papers into the error of announcing the appearance of a distinguished Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.

Soon after this the building was struck by lightning, and (in 1853) it was burned, with the stuffed elephant, wax figures of Queen Elizabeth, White and his murderers, and other monstrosities, including oil portraits of all the Presidents, which had been painted for five dollars a head by a prominent young artist who has never had occasion to regret that great loss to art.

December 14, 1853, an amateur organization known as the Aurora Club, hired a hall in the third story of

a brick block on Merrimack Street, now owned by Mr. Edward Garner. Shortly after eight o'clock, just before the play commenced — the room being crowded with about two hundred people — the floor gave way, precipitating the entire audience into the story below. A stove filled with burning coals descended with the audience, occasioning an alarm of fire, but the presence of mind of a few individuals averted what might have been a sad calamity. No serious injury was inflicted, although several individuals received severe bruises.

During the year 1866 Mr. Henry Emery remodelled his hotel, and converted the westerly portion into an opera house, opening it August 1st, with an inaugural vocal and instrumental concert, under the direction of Mr. Charles Koppitz, leader of the Boston Theatre Orchestra. Nearly all the numerous dramatic troupes, and the stars of any magnitude, have appeared upon these boards. But, owing to its somewhat diminutive character, the place does not meet our present requirements.

What Lowell needs and demands is a first-class opera house of sufficient capacity to accommodate the public, and we trust the time is not far distant when a suitable edifice will be erected, which will not only reflect credit on our city, but prove a remunerative investment to its proprietors.

Within fifty years there has been in this community quite a change in public sentiment with regard to theatricals. Theatres are not necessarily demoralizing institutions. On the contrary, it only remains for the public to elevate their standard by shunning entertainments of a low or doubtful character, and by patronizing those of the highest class. The theatre then will have an elevating and refining tendency, and the presentation of noble

characters and virtuous, useful lives, may serve as a means of inciting young and old to an imitation of those characters, and to an earnest effort to live such lives.

MR. PEREZ FULLER.

This paper would be incomplete without a brief notice of one who doubtless was more interested in histrionic art and who was a better amateur actor than any other person ever residing in our city. Mr. Perez Fuller, to whom we refer, was born in Kingston, this State, January 11, 1797, and married Miss Newman, who died in 1833, leaving a daughter who became the wife of a minister named Murray. Mr. Fuller established himself in business in Medway, but through the influence of his old friends, Alexander Wright and Royal Southwick, he came to Lowell about 1830, and opened a tailoring establishment on Merrimack Street. Although an exceedingly quiet and unostentatious gentlemen, his talents were soon appreciated by a large circle of friends, who prevailed upon him to appear in the Lowell Street Theatre, and also to become one of the prominent members of the Thespian Club. In 1838, when a member of the City Council, and likewise while representing our city in the Legislature, he was induced to appear at a benefit tendered Miss Hildreth (afterwards Mrs. Benjamin F. Butler) at the Tremont Theatre, in Boston, sustaining the role of Michael, in "The Adopted Son," to the satisfaction of a critical audience. Previous to appearing he came to the conclusion that such a transaction would be derogatory to the dignity of the House of Representatives, and so, rather than disappoint the beneficiary, he sent in his resignation.

Previous to his departure for Europe, in 1847, he gave a few concerts in the City Hall, at one of which

he was assisted by his good friend Oliver, of Boston. Among Mr. Oliver's numbers on the programme was "Yankee Doodle." After singing the line, "Yankee Doodle is the tune," he stopped, and quickly turning to Mr. Fuller, who was seated a little in his rear, he said — "Is n't it, Perez?" Mr. Fuller arose, in his courtly way, and in his slow, inimitable manner responded — "Of course it is, Mr. Oliver!" This little episode occasioned considerable merriment among the audience, and a repetition of the song was demanded.

After Mr. Fuller's return from his visit to Europe he presented his claims for patronage in these words:

Perez Fuller, having commenced business at the store No. 1 Savings Bank Building, City Hall Square, Merrimack Street, respectfully invites the attention of his friends and the public to an entire new stock of cloths, cassimeres, doeskins, vestings, etc. Having purchased for cash at the lowest tariff prices, he will be able to execute orders for clothing on the most favorable terms to patrons. He has, during the past season, personally made arrangements with some of the best houses in Paris, London and New York to furnish him from time to time with reports of the most approved styles of cut and workmanship that may prevail at those places. While constantly prepared to furnish garments in the most approved style, he will as usual cheerfully conform to any directions which the convenience of his customers may suggest.

Mr. Fuller had an original way of disposing of captious customers, even if it was not always effective. One of his friends demurred at the charge of $8 for a pair of pantaloons. "Too much — eight dollars too much!" replied the humorous Mr. Fuller; "why, sir, you can buy them anywhere for six!" Another intimate friend ordered a coat made, which was found to be too small, so it was returned with directions to "let it out." After a few days the owner called for the garment, and was informed by Mr. Fuller that he had

strictly complied with his directions and had "let it out" to Mr. Barrett, conductor on the Boston and Lowell Railroad.

Mr. Fuller was not only a good actor, comic singer and elocutionist, but he also possessed considerable poetic talent. At a Fourth of July celebration in Pelham, in 1833, when Dr. Israel Hildreth delivered the oration and Henry Reed, proprietor of the hotel, furnished the dinner, Mr. Fuller sang an original song containing many happy allusions to different members of the Phalanx (a military company of this city) which had been invited to be present to perform escort duty on the occasion. He likewise wrote a hymn for the dedication services of the Unitarian Church, which was pronounced by some of the committee superior to the one accepted. At various other times he indulged in verse, always inditing something appropriate for the occasion.

The many accomplishments of Mr. Fuller made him a valuable acquisition to society, and no party or social gathering was complete without his presence. His store was the resort of a number of intimate friends, who delighted to impose upon his good nature merely for the purpose of enjoying his sarcastic or witty retorts. He never appeared conscious of doing anything or of uttering a word calculated to provoke a smile, and yet his humorous observations are remembered and related by his old friends as gems worthy of almost immortal fame.

But it would require too much time to collect and relate all the good things credited to Mr. Fuller. Those who knew him will bear witness to his appreciation of the humorous, and to his possession of all those acquirements necessary to make a good citizen and valuable friend. His last illness — an attack of typhoid fever,

The entertainments given, at different times later, by the Lowell Dramatic Society, embraced the following: "Pizarro," "Damon and Pythias," "Rudolph," "Family Jars," "The Turnpike Gate," "The Boarding House," "The Cork Leg," with appropriate songs on each evening by Miss Moore and Masters J. Brooks Bradley and Joseph B. Ripley. Master Bradley sang sentimental and patriotic songs, and also had conspicuous parts as an actor, while Master Ripley was the low comedian and comic singer.

The following was the cast for the performance of "Pizarro" when performed at Concert Hall: Pizarro, Philip Stewart; Rolla, Charles Stanley; Almagio, H. K. Moore; Dorilla, H. Wales; Orazembo, G. W. Stanley; Gomez, P. Stanley; Valverd, J. B. Ripley; Sentinel, Charles Stanwood; King Attaliba, ——— Richardson; Alonzo, J. B. Bradley; Elvira, Miss Moore; Cora, Miss Eaton. The play was followed by a duet, entitled "Polly Hopkins and Tommy Tompkins," by Miss Moore and Master Ripley The closing piece for the evening was "The Boarding-House," Phineas Stanley assuming the part of the Admiral and H. Wales that of Peter Fidget.

Some of the songs introduced at the performances of the Society are remembered to have been "Polly Hopkins and Tommy Tompkins," "Harry Bluff," "Mr. York, you're Wanted," "Bay of Biscay," "The Soldier's Tear," "Barney Bralligan," "King of the Cannibal Islands," "Adam and Eve," "Jim Crow," etc.

While this Dramatic Society was giving their entertainments a company of professional players were performing in a hall in rear of the stone church on Appleton Street. Among the performers there were Charles Rounds, low comedian and extravaganza singer, and Mr. and Mrs. Keiser, Miss Julia Clement and at times

a Mr. and Mrs. Goodnow, Mr. and Mrs. Gale and a Mrs. Conway. Many if not all of this company of players boarded with Mr. Benjamin Moore, the father of Miss Martha Moore, and from them Miss Moore obtained many valuable hints in regard to enacting the parts which she assumed in the Lowell Dramatic Society; Miss Clement, in particular, gave her much aid in the details of stage action.

I remember having seen this company perform the following plays at the hall designated above: "The Heir at Law," "The Spectre Bridegroom; or, A Ghost in Spite of Himself," "The Manager in Distress," "The Iron Chest," and "The Lottery Ticket." It is said there were at times "scenes" enacted by some of the players not announced on the bills of the day, and that Keiser's violent conduct toward his wife was the cause of their separation. Mr. Rounds for a long time nightly performed the extravaganza of "Jim Crow" at this Theatre; and Master Ripley, at the performances of the Dramatic Society imitated, if he did not excel him, in this particular line. The verses for that particular piece were frequently improvised, or made on "the spur of the moment," and were intended for local hits at everybody and everything. On one occasion Mr. Rounds made a pointed allusion to the rival "Jim Crow," of the Dramatic Society; consequently at the next performance of the Society, Master Ripley retaliated. It may not be amiss here to give a few specimen verses of the retort, and also a quotation from another, then popular humorous and satirical song of that time, to show in some degree what amused and entertained the theatre-goers of the period of which I write. The song of "Jim Crow," first given in New York and Boston the season before by Thomas D. Rice (then best known as "Jim Crow Rice")

was the rage all over the country; hence its popularity then in Lowell. Master Ripley's retort on Mr. Rounds, which was received with great enthusiasm, was as follows:

Now, old Jim Crow, the other night,
  Did prove himself so cute,
I think it is no more than right
  That I should follow suit.
    Wheel about and turn about,
      And do just so, etc.

He says that I can't run him down
  A-singing of Jim Crow;
I know I can't, for he 's down now
  As low as he can go.
    Wheel about, etc.

Da play up in de cellar;
  Da play of drinkin' hard;
I t'ink da 'd better go and play
  In Dracut Navy Yard.
    Wheel about, etc.

Old K—— broke his cane—
  It happened de other day;
It happened over his wife's head,
  And he happened to run away.
    Wheel about, etc.

Las' night was Mrs. Gale's benefit,
  Up under Morse's Hall.
They counted fifty tickets,
  And the benefit was small.
    Wheel about, etc.

The song of "Adam and Eve" was also very popular all over the country at this time. A few verses will serve as a specimen of the whole:

I sing to you of ancient days,
Of ancient fashions and ancient ways,
When people had no toils nor cares
And sat on stools instead of chairs.
  REFRAIN. — Sing heigh-ho! I grieve, I grieve,
    For the good old days of Adam and of Eve.

O, dear! — O, dear! how I dream now;
Everything, it goes by steam now.
In my young days, when I was little,
The only steam came from the tea-kettle.
  Sing heigh-ho, etc.

The dandies then looked slim and pale,
(Now they look hearty, fresh and hale);
Their voices sounded like a squeaking fiddle;
They were small as a wasp around their middle.
Sing heigh-ho, etc.

The dandies now wear stays and laces,
Horses' girts around their *waistes*.
Times are not as times have been;
Father "laced" me with a cow-skin.
Sing heigh-ho, etc.

Sometimes at the performances of the Dramatic Society instead of "A Song, by Master Bradley," or "A Duet, by Miss Moore and Master Ripley," the announcement would be "The Rival Jim Crows, by Messrs. Ripley and Eaton." On such occasions, although Eaton was some little older and nearly twice as large as Ripley, he was no match for him in wit and repartee, and for half an hour the audience seemed to think that they had had their "money's worth" in listening to the wit and fun of the "rivals" alone.

I cannot give the exact dates of any of the exhibitions of the "Dramatic Society," but one date can be fixed accurately if any one can tell when the great "Union Ball" took place at the City Hall—an event of no small interest at the time; for "Pizarro" was performed that night, and some of the performers went to the ball, after the play was over. I know that two of the musicians on that occasion also "hooked" into the ball.

The last exhibition of the Society was given in a hall in "Barnes' Folly," and the play was "Damon and Pythias," with the following cast, as near as can be recollected: Damon, P. Stuart; Pythias, Charles Stanley; Procles, H. K. Moore; Dyoninus, B. Bradley; Damocles, Henry Wales; Lucullus, Luther Conner; Boy, Peter Renton Moore; Calantha, Miss M. A. Leonard; Hermion, Miss Martha Moore. The admission fee was twenty-five cents, and there was a good attendance.

Perhaps, in recalling the events and scenes of fifty years ago, they may have a seeming importance that a just criticism would not justify. But that the Lowell Dramatic Society was made up of bright, intelligent, well-behaved persons, belonging in good and respectable families, everybody in the city knew. That they played well in their several parts was shown by the closely packed audiences which always greeted them. That there was much real talent in several of the performers is shown when we see that Miss Eaton adopts the profession of an actress, and as Mrs. Woodward became a quite distinguished actress at the National Theatre in Boston and in other theatres. Miss Moore exhibited so much dramatic talent that George Barrett and John Gilbert, of Boston, made a special but unsuccessful visit to Lowell to induce her father to permit her to study for the stage, under their personal supervision and guardianship, predicting for her high rank and fortune as the result.

About 1833—I am not quite sure of the year—a company of professionals played six consecutive weeks in the brick building at the corner of Merrimack and Worthen Streets, now owned by Dr. Gilman Kimball. I was all the time a member of the orchestra, playing nightly. The hall had been for some years previously occupied for the meetings of the Masonic fraternity.

Many people of Lowell remember that J. Brooks Bradley was a good singer on the stage, and performed many times at the Old Lowell Museum in later years.

Charles Stanley was an excellent "Rolla," and to my youthful imagination an equal of Forrest. He was an energetic business man; at one time he commanded the Lowell Phalanx; held a position in one of the mills

at Lawrence; subsequently removed to the West, and there died not many years ago.

George W. Stanley grew up here, married, held a responsible position in the service of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills for many years, was esteemed and honored by all who knew him. He died October, 1878.

Philip Stewart had a large share of dramatic talent. His performance of "Damon" was equal to that of any professional. He was in youth employed at the Lowell Machine Shop. Later on he was in business in Billerica, where he died about four years ago.

Joseph B. Ripley was a printer by trade. In his youth and prime of life he was considered one of the skilled ones of the craft. Like many others who stand at the "case," he evidently improved well his opportunities for obtaining knowledge; for after working several years in the different offices in Lowell, we find him editor and proprietor of a paper in Worcester. It is not known whether the paper was a success or not; but he afterwards came to Lowell and found employment as a journeyman. He enlisted during the war of the rebellion, and bore a good record for faithful and honorable service. He was of a generous disposition, courteous and polite to every one, well read in general literature and current politics, witty, and possessed an abundant flow of language, and it was his pride to render it precise and elegant. As an actor, printer, editor, soldier and gentleman, he will long be remembered, and his good traits will, I trust, overshadow whatever errors and misfortunes may have marred any portion of his life.

Luther Connor is living in Boston. In his youth he painted the "scenes" for the Dramatic Society, and now, with his left hand, he wields the brush to gratify his taste and earn his living. He lost his right hand many years ago.

Hugh K. Moore is living in Malden, a prosperous business man, for several years manager of the American Steam Gauge Company; has an interesting family, wife, sons and daughters, all of whom are gifted with music in a marked degree.

Joseph Nason was an excellent player on the flute and a genius in everything; a superior scholar; could write sensible poetry; was a natural mechanic; a good draftsman; an inventor. He was, I think, the founder of the house of Walworth & Nason, in Boston, manufacturers of piping and gas fixtures. He subsequently moved to New York and established a large business of the same kind there. He died about five years since.

Miss Moore (now Mrs. Joseph Raynes), to whom I am indebted for many of the facts concerning the Dramatic Society, is still living in Lowell, enjoying the evening of her life in the possession of good health, with her children and grand-children around and with her. She retains to a remarkable degree her memory of the events of her youth, and delights to recall and live them over again, even though nearly all of her associates have made their final exit.

XX. Elisha Glidden, by Hon. John A. Knowles. Read November 8, 1882.

"Tread lightly o'er his grave, ye men of virtue, for he was your brother.
Weed his grave clean, ye men of learning, for he was your kinsman."

It is difficult to give the character of an individual unless you know something of his early proclivities and the historical facts of his childhood and youth, for, as it has been well said, "the child is father of the man." My acquaintance with Elisha Glidden commenced in 1827. December 10, 1827, I took a seat in his office, first as student and clerk, afterwards as sharer of his profits. The next year I went to board with him, and continued with him until within a few months of five years. From the college records of Dartmouth College I learn that he entered college, and graduated in 1815. He was born in Unity, N. H., in 1789. After graduating he first studied law, I think, in Dover, N. H., for a time, but afterwards went to Boston and entered the office of Mr. Hubbard, late a Justice of our Supreme Court. He continued there until he entered the Bar, which I think was in 1818 or '19. In 1820 he was invited to go to Townsend, Mass., to take charge of the legal business of Col. Walter Hastings. Col. Hastings graduated at Harvard in 1799; was appointed Colonel in 1812, and took his regiment to an island in Boston Harbor. After the war he returned to Townsend and took up his profession of law, but was taken sick and

obliged to retire from business, and Elisha Glidden was called to take charge of his large docket. In 1821 Col. Hastings died, and Mr. Glidden continued, finishing up his legal business and aiding Mrs. Hastings in settling up her husband's estate. Col. Hastings left four children, over all of whom Elisha Glidden was appointed guardian. He continued in Townsend until 1823, when he, Mrs. Hastings and her children, moved to Boston. He remained there until 1826, when he married Mrs. Hastings, and afterwards moved to Lowell.

He took an office in the southerly end of a wooden block standing where the Appleton Block now stands; his office was directly over the present banking rooms of the Appleton National Bank, and he occupied with his family a building on the land of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, nearly opposite his office. The building he occupied was sold long since and moved down Church Street, and was for a long time the residence of the late Deacon Tapley. Mr. Glidden continued to live in the house above named until the autumn of 1828, when he moved into his new home at the corner of Gorham and Appleton Streets. Major Josiah Sawtell having come to town, made a contract with Mr. Glidden to erect him a building on the afore-named lot, and completed it in the autumn of 1828. This was the first house erected by that well-known builder, Major Josiah Sawtell. The garden of Mr. Glidden is now occupied by that large brick block lately erected by our worthy Mayor Runels. The house formerly erected for Mr. Glidden stands next west of Mr. Runels' large block, and is owned by John McAleer. Mr. Glidden continued his practice in the old wooden building until the Middlesex Company wanted that part of the land to erect a brick block, and Mr. Glidden, having formed a co-partnership

with Luther Lawrence, moved across Central Street and took an office in the Hamilton brick block, so called. He remained there until the Middlesex Company had completed their block, when he moved back again, and the Railroad Bank, having been chartered, was established in the southerly end of the block formerly occupied by Elisha Glidden, and Lawrence & Glidden took an office in the rooms next north of that. In the mean time Mr. Glidden had become enfeebled by a severe attack of pleurisy which he took when attending Court at Cambridge. He becoming quite ill, his physician advised him to take a journey into the country, and he invited me to go with him. We took a buggy and passed up through Nashua, Francestown, Hillsboro' and on to Claremont, N. H., where we stopped with an elder brother of his, who was a trader there. Here we tarried a few days, when we went to Unity to visit his brother Gen. Erastus Glidden. After paying him a visit of a few days we passed down the river, through Brattleboro', to Greenfield, Mass., and after remaining there two or three days we passed to Leicester, Worcester and Concord, Mass., and then returned home to Lowell. Mr. Glidden was a very accurate and careful conveyancer, and drew all kinds of legal papers with much taste. He was very quick to discover any defect in any legal paper, and seized with much readiness any important matter pertaining to his profession. He once had a client in Tewksbury, I think, who was desirous to refer his case which he had in court, and applied to Mr. Glidden in a great deal of trouble about its reference, saying, "I would like to refer my action, but my opponent refuses to refer to any persons unless they are deacons in a church, and I don't want to refer my suit to any person who does not understand law." To which Mr. Glidden immediately replied, "We can fix that well enough,

for I know two good lawyers who are deacons." To which the client replied, "I never knew lawyers could be deacons." "Oh, yes," replied Mr. Glidden, "Joseph Locke and Joel Adams are both deacons, and very good lawyers, too." The client then replied, "I am glad you told me. We will have them; please draw the papers and we will refer the case." Mr. Glidden accordingly drew the papers for referring the case, and Messrs. Locke and Adams soon settled the difficulty. Mr. Glidden was a close financier, but was a high-minded and honorable man in his transactions. He once proposed to purchase a lot of land on the southerly side of Appleton Street, covered with a stone ledge, from eighteen inches to three feet in height. The proprietors offered it to him very low, as it was a hard ledge to remove. He took me up to the lot and wanted my opinion about it, and I informed him that I would give him my opinion if he would give me one-eighth of all he made on it. To which he replied, "I will do it." I then told him to purchase the lot by all means, and by the aid of William Livingston I had no doubt he would make it a profitable bargain. He purchased the lot and after Mr. Livingston had removed the ledge he sold it at an advance of $2400, one-eighth of which was $300, and although I never asked for it, he put it in on our settlements, and said it was justly due me. He was a man of great simplicity of character, and although I could not see any consideration for the $300, as I ran no risk in the transaction, yet he thought, undoubtedly, that my opinion was worth something, and chose to allow it.

Mr. Glidden was of a very equable disposition and in the five years I resided at his house, I have no recollection of ever seeing him excited, by anger or passion. He was always industrious and prudent in the expenditure

of money, and yet was as charitable as people generally in his position. He was not rich, but continued to save money during his nine years of practice in Lowell, and left, I should think, from $30,000 to $40,000. Elisha Glidden was peculiarly attached to his family, including not only his own daughter, but his several step-children. I may say he was peculiarly under the influence of his affections. His only daughter survived him several years. She was very agreeable, but exceedingly frail. She died early, after having married a distinguished naval officer. Mr. Glidden was late in college and probably aided his father upon his farm, as he did not graduate until he was twenty-five years of age. He was a very careful practitioner and for a long time attended to the business of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River. He frequently met Kirk Boott, Esq., with whom he did a great deal of business. Mr. Glidden engaged in very little litigation, as that kind of business was not to him the most profitable, and I think not to his taste. He was a contemporary of Hon. Nathaniel Wright, John R. Adams (who have long since passed away), and afterwards Hon. Seth Ames, John P. Robinson, Tappen Wentworth and others. He took an interest in establishing the Railroad Bank at the corner of Central and Hurd Streets, he being one of the Directors, and Luther Lawrence, his partner, the first President of the Bank. He was afterwards connected with Hon. Thomas Hopkinson, who continued with Mr. Glidden as long as he was able to attend to duty. Mr. Glidden was surrounded by a number of profitable clients, among them being Mansur & Reed, General Sawtell, William Livingston and many others.* Erastus Glidden, Esq., was

*In the diary of our respected President is this record: At a meeting holden in Hamilton Counting Room, May 5, 1829, of Lowell Institution for Savings, Samuel Batchel-

the executor, and I think also the guardian of the daughter. Of the family of Col. Hastings, now remain only Henry Hastings, Esq., of Boston, and Catherine, a daughter.

der was elected President, but declined, upon which Elisha Glidden was duly elected to the office, and served till his death, April 2, 1835, his attendance the last year being often prevented by sickness. May 5, 1835, Theodore Edson was chosen, and continues in office.

XXI. History of Central Bridge, by Alfred Gilman. Read November 8, 1882.

UNDER the date of 1737, Allen's History of Chelmsford says: "Road from Hunt's to Clark's Ferry, south side of Merrimack, laid out by order of the Court of Sessions."

Hunt's Ferry was afterwards called Bradley's Ferry, which crossed the Merrimack River at Bridge Street. The road on the Dracut or northerly side was called Ferry Lane. The ferry was probably owned by Joseph Bradley, and for a time kept by his brother, Nehemiah, who had a little shop on the Dracut side, where he manufactured boots and shoes. Previous to this time James and Stephen Puffer were the ferrymen. James was the father of A. D. Puffer and Stephen the father of J. F. Puffer, both well known citizens to-day, and members of this Association. How long previous to 1737 this ferry had been established is uncertain. The Chelmsford grant was made May 19, 1653; Dracut was incorporated in 1701, and the probability is that it was established soon after the latter event was consummated. The ferry boat was kept on the northerly side of the river, obliging the traveller on the southerly side, intending to cross, to blow a horn or shout, to attract the ferryman's attention. Clark's Ferry was at Middlesex Village. The road to it is still open (a little north of the hotel), for the convenience of a railroad station. The manner of propelling

the ferry boat was a rope or chain stretched from shore to shore. Miss Louisa W. Bradley says on one occasion, when she and her mother were crossing in the boat, the chain broke and the boat floated down river.

February 24, 1825, the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act to incorporate the Central Bridge Corporation. The corporators were Joseph Bradley, Ezekiel Cheever, Abijah Fox, Ezekiel Fox and Peter Heaselton —the tolls to be the same as the tolls at Pawtucket bridge. The Legislature had the right, at the expiration of eighteen years, to regulate anew the tolls. Under certain conditions the property was to revert to the Commonwealth, or whenever the inhabitants of the towns of Dracut and Chelmsford should remunerate said proprietors for the expense of said bridge (deducting what may have been received for tolls) the same might be opened free of toll. When the bridge was built, the clerk of the proprietors thereof was required to make a return into the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of the actual expense of building the same, and at the expiration of eighteen years the clerk was required to make a return, stating the amount of the receipts, expenditures and dividends during the said term of time.

I call attention to these terms because on the compliance with, and construction of them, the whole contest for the possession of the bridge turned. They seem plain and clear to an ordinary business man, to call for no extraordinary ability in their settlement, and yet it took seven or eight years to effect that object.

Mr. William Kittredge's recollections of the building of Central Bridge were related to me some years since and I preserved them :

"In the year 1822–'23 it became necessary to rebuild the locks at the foot of the canal near Concord

River, in the vicinity of the American House. It was a work requiring great skill, judgment and some experience. The timber of which the old locks were erected was all to be removed, excavation to the depth of forty feet was to be made, and the new locks were to be constructed of stone of the largest capacity, shaped and jointed so as to be impervious to water.

"Mr. Boott was fortunate in securing the services of Luke S. Rand to do this work. He was a native of Vermont, possessed of a large farm, well stocked with cattle and producing an abundance of hay and vegetables. When he came down from Vermont to commence operations the procession of his oxen, the cart-loads of hay and grain, and his teams appeared to the astonished natives more like the procession of a caravan than the material of a job-taker. He was a man of his word — prompt, energetic and yet a keen observer of human nature.

"At this time wheels for the transportation of stone weighing eight and ten tons to the single block were unknown. Mr. Rand had a pair fourteen feet in diameter, which caused quite a sensation. People from all the adjacent towns visited the scene of his operations to view the working of the monster wheels, and were astonished to witness the ease with which he handled such immense weights.

"While Mr. Rand was building the locks referred to, the question arose as to the feasibility of constructing a bridge across the Merrimack at what was called Bradley's Ferry. Soundings had been made, and it was thought impracticable to erect a bridge in that locality, on account of the depth of the water on the Chelmsford side of the river. It was found to be thirty-two feet deep. Mr. Rand's opinion was asked, and he told them that "as soon as he could arrange for it, after constructing the

the locks, he would throw a little bridge over the river for them." Encouraged by this opinion, where so much doubt had been expressed before, they engaged him to do the work.

"He sounded the river from shore to shore and proceeded to make a large raft, capable of sustaining the weight of quite a number of tons. This raft he moored over the spot where he intended to erect his pier, and held it there with anchors.* The stone of which the pier was to be constructed he carefully selected for its dimensions, being of the largest size he could obtain. These he conveyed to his raft in scows, and having deposited the first layer, he then added another course of stone and bound the two with iron clamps, every stone being secured by a clamp to the next one, thus securing an inseparable mass that would stand any shock or strain. As the weight was added upon the raft the whole mass would sink, until finally it touched the bottom. It did not stop there, but sank in the mud to the depth of four or five feet, carrying timbers and stone below the bed of the river. There that pier remains to the present day, evidence of the thorough workmanship of Mr. Rand. The iron work was all forged at the shop of Joseph G. Kittredge."

The discrepancy between this account and the fact as revealed by the recent displacement of the piers of the old bridge is, what is called a raft turns out to be a crib, built of heavy timbers one above another, to the number of eight or ten, dove-tailed at the ends and fastened with long wooden pins, bearing the shape intended for the piers. These were sunk and filled full with stone and gravel. On this superstructure the stones were laid

*The divers employed to remove the wood work of the old piers discovered an extra crib not far from one of the piers, of which it is supposed Mr. Rand lost control. It is about five feet under water.

and the up-river ends protected and bound together with straps of iron. I learn that the iron work was added in 1862. It is an interesting and noteworthy fact that this timber, that has been under water fifty-six years, comes up as sound as it was the day it was submerged.

Under the date of December 15, 1826, the Merrimack Journal has the following:

NEW BRIDGE.

The Central Bridge now erecting across the Merrimack at this place, is so nearly completed as to be passable. It is built on the principle of the brace and the arch, is five hundred feet in length, and stands on the abutments and two piers. The span of the centre arch is one hundred and eighty feet, of the two outer arches one hundred and sixty feet each. The travelled way is divided into two parts, with the walks on each side. The timbers are all secured from water. The work appears to have been judiciously planned by the architect, Luke S. Rand, Esq., and handsomely executed under his direction. The expense of erecting it will probably amount to $16,000; but the rapid growth of this place warrants the conclusion that the enterprising proprietors will find it a profitable investment of capital. Two stage coaches cross it daily already, one to Haverhill and Dover and one to Londonderry.

According to the answer of the Central Bridge Corporation at the April term of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1855, it is said that the bridge "is five hundred and forty feet in length," that the "actual expense" of building said bridge, according to the return made by the clerk and filed October 15, 1829 (almost three years after its completion), was $22,128.25.

March 10, 1832, the proprietors obtained an act of the legislature authorizing the Corporation to "compound tolls" to passengers. Prior to this time influential directors of the Bridge Corporation had purchased the most eligible lands in Centralville, including what was known as the "Bradley Farm," and under authority of

this act the Board of Directors contracted with the owners that thenceforth all persons living on any of their lands, and all persons going to any of their lands on the business of the owner, should have the right to pass the bridge free of toll.

It is evident that the inhabitants of Dracut felt that some injustice had been allowed and should be corrected. At the town meeting held in Dracut, March 4, 1833, it was "voted that our Representatives suspend all further operations in the General Court against the proprietors of Central Bridge, provided said proprietors give them satisfactory assurance that said Corporation will reduce their tolls to the town of Dracut, as proposed by the agent of said Corporation, to wit: to one-half of what said Corporation now take; in case of half-cents, these to be given to the Corporation."

March 26, 1833, the proprietors voted to comply with the demand of Dracut, on account of the great expense of keeping the roads in repair leading to and from Central Bridge, on condition that Dracut shall "stop all further proceedings on their part against this Corporation."

March 28, 1833, the directors having made their lands free of tolls, by their procurement, the legislature repealed the act to compound tolls, and authorized the Central Bridge Corporation to reduce their tolls to correspond with those established at Pawtucket bridge.

April 1, 1833, at a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Dracut, after having ascertained that the town would lose none of its rights, as set forth in the original charter of the bridge, the town voted to accept the offer of the Corporation.

At that time Dracut was much more interested in bridge matters than Lowell. Its territory extended to

the northerly end of the bridge. It was a territory sparsely populated but constantly increasing in value, a fact thoroughly appreciated by the proprietors of the bridge. They testify that less than forty of the three hundred shares of stock remained in the hands of the original owners. The new proprietors were men of means, and the temptation to acquire a title to the land on that side of the river was too great to be resisted. Concessions in the matter of tolls to those who would buy or reside on land belonging to them, was no doubt winked at and allowed.

From April, 1833, to October 31, 1842, the inhabitants of Dracut rested quiet in regard to the management of the bridge; at any rate the town in its corporate capacity did not trouble it, although there may have existed among the people a feeling of dissatisfaction. At the last named date, however, two articles were inserted in the warrant for the town meeting, first: "To see what measures the town will take to reduce the toll on Central Bridge," and second: "To see if the town will vote to petition the legislature of this Commonwealth to send out a committee from that honorable body, invested with suitable power to find the amount of money the Central Bridge Corporation have taken by tolls, and by compounding with themselves, or act any other way relative thereto; and also to find the amount of money that has been expended upon Central Bridge, or act any other way relative thereto."

This term "by compounding with themselves" clearly indicates that some action of this kind had come to the knowledge of the people. At the meeting, November 14, 1842, the town instructed its Representative to ascertain at the office of the Secretary of State, and report at the next March meeting the amount of money

taken by, and the expenses of the Central Bridge Corporation; and the Selectmen were also instructed to petition the legislature to reduce the Central Bridge tolls to Pawtucket Bridge rates. After the passage of the act of March 28, 1833, the last mentioned vote would lead any one to infer that the provisions of that act had not been complied with by the Corporation.

Repeated town meetings were held in Dracut during the latter part of 1842 and the early part of 1843; the burthen of their deliberations was to find out the cost and expenses of Central Bridge, and ways and means to obtain a reduction of the tolls. The incentive of all their investigation, however, was to get possession of the bridge under the conditions of the original charter. The proprietors were well aware of this, and they shrewdly forestalled the purpose by procuring the passage of the act of March 23, 1843, giving them authority to reconstruct the bridge; for that purpose assessing the stockholders not exceeding $9000, and declaring that the sum of $10,000 of the cost of the bridge remained unpaid, and that that sum, together with the cost of reconstruction should therefore constitute the capital stock. Subsequent investigation disclosed the fact that the declaration in the act of 1843 that $10,000 of the cost of the original bridge remained unpaid by tolls was untrue, and that in fact the whole cost, with nine per cent. interest, had been repaid; and in 1857 the legislature passed an act declaring that that declaration in the act of 1843 was void. The Supreme Court, however, held that the previous act constituted a contract and was valid and the later act was unconstitutional. This act defined the rate of tolls and abolished the tolls for foot passengers. The bridge was but sixteen years old and should have been in a fair condition. The average yearly dividends, according

to the showing in their own report, to 1843, the time it was rebuilt, was over nine per cent. on $23,000 cost. If the income over the expenses was more than the amount of the dividends, it would go just so far towards rebuilding without touching the increase of capital. Not satisfied with the increase of $9000 to the capital, they obtained February 10, 1845, a supplementary act for $5000 more, being the amount demanded by the excess of cost in rebuilding "and protecting the whole structure by a permanent and substantial covering." This covering was not added until 1849.

It is very evident that there was considerable by-play between Dracut and the proprietors in regard to the acceptance of the rebuilding act. The act was passed March 23, 1843; the directors held a meeting, April 4, and authorized a notice for a meeting of the proprietors April 21. Lowell accepted the act April 5. At the meeting of the proprietors, April 21, Dracut did not come in, at least no notice had been officially received by the Corporation of the fact, and a vote by ballot being taken it stood 26 in favor and 23 against accepting said act. It must be borne in mind that this act was one of their own seeking. The record says: "The meeting was then met by a committee of the town of Dracut, informing them that the town had passed a vote accepting said act." At an adjourned meeting of the proprietors, held the next day, April 22, the vote of the previous day was ratified and confirmed, 45 in favor and 13 opposed. The proprietors say in their answer that they "refused to accept said act and reconstruct said bridge unless said inhabitants of said town of Dracut at a legal meeting would vote to accept said act." The date of the acceptance by Dracut is April 3, 1843.

Up to this time Dracut had the fight pretty much all to itself. To be sure Lowell had contributed largely to populate its territory and swell the receipts of its treasury. People living on the other side of the bridge, while their interests were in Lowell, did not like to go so far to town meeting. Their religious privileges were secured in Lowell, while Dracut could do little for them in the way of education. The question of annexing that portion of Dracut called Centralville to Lowell was agitated in Lowell as early as 1846, and culminated in the act of February 28, 1851, notwithstanding the vote of the citizens, December 9, 1850, at which time the vote was 851 for and 1153 against annexation. The proprietors of the bridge now had a new and active opponent. It is very evident that they relied somewhat on the plea advanced that Lowell had no rights in the bridge; that the original act of incorporation for the Bridge Company conferred certain privileges upon the towns of Chelmsford and Dracut, and they only were entitled to open said bridge free of toll. They forgot that they had recognized the rights and privileges of Lowell when they were so anxious to get its sanction of the act of 1843. When, therefore, Lowell obtained, May 7, 1851, an act "granting certain powers," i. e., the same powers originally conferred on Chelmsford, it was equivalent to a declaration of war, and Lowell struck hands with Dracut with the intent to free Central Bridge.

As early as May 21, 1853, the legislature passed an act authorizing the city of Lowell and the town of Dracut to purchase of the proprietors the bridge over Merrimack River upon such terms as might be agreed upon between the parties. The parties could not agree upon terms. Section third of this act authorized them to enter upon, take and lay out Central Bridge as and for

a town-way or street in the same manner as other streets are laid out, the damages to be assessed and paid in the same way as damages occasioned by the laying out of streets in the City of Lowell.

In 1854 the city petitioned the legislature for an act to authorize the Supreme Court to determine in equity what sum the Bridge Company were entitled to be paid, in order that the bridge might be opened free of toll. This application was strongly opposed by the Bridge Company, Rufus Choate and other counsel appearing in behalf of the Corporation; A. P. Bonney and T. H. Sweetser, the City Solicitor, for the city. The result was the passage of the act of April 29, 1854, drawn by Mr. Bonney, entitled "An act to provide a mode of opening Central Bridge free of toll." It entitled Lowell and Dracut, or either of them, to petition the Supreme Judicial Court to hear and determine, in equity, what sum was due the Central Bridge Corporation, and to order and decree that upon the payment of such sum to the Corporation the bridge shall be opened free of toll.

These acts of the legislature said plainly to the proprietors: Lowell and Dracut want that bridge; they will buy it and pay a fair price for it; if they cannot buy it they will take it and lay it out as a street; and then will ask the Supreme Court to fix the amount of damages to which the Corporation will be entitled.

Upon the passage of the last named act negotiations commenced between the city and the Bridge Corporation for opening the bridge as a free way; but failing of satisfactory results the city commenced proceedings under this act. The cause was argued before the Supreme Court by A. P. Bonney for the city and Rufus Choate for the Bridge Company. The Bridge Company met the case with the dilatory pleading for which equity cases

are famous, and before any decision was rendered by the Court, the city perceiving that long delay was inevitable before the bridge could be made free under this method, instructed Mr. Bonney, who had succeeded Mr. Sweetser as City Solicitor, to prepare proper measures for the laying out of the bridge under the act of 1853, and July 24, 1855, the City Council passed a resolution laying out the bridge as a town-way or street. This act was resisted by the proprietors in every possible way. After its passage, claiming that the proceedings were unconstitutional and illegal, they petitioned for and obtained an injunction restraining the city from taking possession of the bridge. At the first hearing for the dissolution of the injunction before Judges Bigelow (afterwards chief justice) and Metcalf, the two judges were divided on the question, and it went before the full bench, which, after argument, held that the proceedings laying out the bridge as a public highway were legal and dissolved the injunction, and therefore the city took possession of the bridge and opened it to the public as a free highway.

The Bridge Corporation then applied to the County Commissioners for a jury to assess the damages under the highway act, the City Council having awarded them nominal damages of a dollar. Meantime a political change had taken place in the City Government, and the counsel who had hitherto managed the case on the part of the city were discharged and no opposition was made to the granting of the application and a jury was ordered accordingly.

A trial was had before this jury, Sheriff John S. Keyes presiding (Mr. Bonney being again retained by the city on the day of the assembling of the jury, and Gen. Butler at a later stage of the trial), Rufus Choate, D. S. Richardson and Benjamin Dean appearing for the

Bridge Corporation. This trial resulted in a verdict in favor of the Bridge Company of $16,000 for the bridge, $4,740.83 for the franchise and $1002.47 interest, in all $21,743.30. This verdict was set aside by the Supreme Court on exceptions by the city for erroneous rulings, and instructions given by the sheriff to the jury, and a new trial ordered.

At this trial the counsel for the city were A. P. Bonney and T. H. Sweetser (then City Solicitor); for the Bridge Company, J. G. Abbot, D. S. Richardson and Benjamin Dean; Mr. Choate having died since the previous trial.

The second trial resulted in a verdict of $17,000, which was set aside by the Supreme Court on exceptions taken by the Bridge Company, and a new trial was ordered. The case was never tried again, but in pursuance of an agreement effected between the city and the Bridge Company, a verdict was rendered by *consent* in 1862 for $33,998.51, which sum included interest for seven years and costs of suit. Of this amount Dracut paid $7865 and Lowell the residue.

One curious phase of this bridge case is the obligation of the Corporation, under the original and amended charters to make due returns to the office of the Secretary of State. In the petition of the city of Lowell, presented by its counsel, it is said "And your petitioners further show that though said eighteen years have long since expired, the clerk of said Corporation has never made return into the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, of the actual expense of the building of said bridge, nor of the amount of the receipts, expenditures and dividends, during said term of time."

We feel a natural curiosity to know what the answer is to this serious charge. There are such things as

"fictions of law." Perhaps this is one of them. Then again in regard to the reconstruction acts, the city charge the proprietors with a failure to make a return of the actual expenses incident thereto.

The directors of the Bridge Company, in their answer say, that the clerk of the Corporation "did make a return" of the original cost, October 15, 1827, which was filed February 19, 1829, used before a committee of the legislature in 1852 and has since been lost. That at the expiration of eighteen years a committee duly appointed appeared before a committee of the Commonwealth with a full, true and perfect statement, and evidence of the receipts, expenditures and dividends during the eighteen years then elapsed. This account was laid before a committee of the town of Dracut, which found it true and accurate, and the filing of the statement in the office of the Secretary of State "became wholly unnecessary and was waived." So in regard to the cost of reconstruction the filing of a statement was waived. It does not appear who authorized the waiving of the provision of their charter.

Under the management of the proprietors of Central Bridge after it was roofed in, no lights were allowed to enable the passengers to see their way. It was on one dark night, just after a severe rain storm, that a gentleman doing business in Lowell, who resided in what was then Dracut, had occasion to cross the bridge. While groping his way to the bridge he fell into a hole close to it which had been washed out by the rain. He happily gathered himself together without any more serious damage than a thorough shaking up, and went at once to the toll-gatherer and notified him that he should put a lantern near the hole as a warning to other travellers. Through the representations of this gentleman to the

city authorities, the proprietors caused a few oil lamps to be distributed through the bridge, just sufficient to make darkness visible. These not being satisfactory, the city authorities carried the matter before the Grand Jury and the proprietors were indicted for maintaining a nuisance. This irritated them to such an extent that individual members swore that gas-pipe should never be carried across that bridge into Centralville. The indictment was sustained by the Court, the proprietors fined in the sum of $2000 with $46.37 costs, and the Sheriff of the County was empowered to expend the amount of the fine to carry gas-pipe through the bridge for the purpose of lighting it. The sheriff gave the proprietors the option of doing the work at their own expense or he would cause it to be done. They accepted the first proposition and the Gas Company was enabled thereafter to supply Centralville with gas light. Subsequently a demand was made by the proprietors that this amount of $2000 should be refunded to them as part of the cost of the bridge.

The bridge was rebuilt by the city in 1862 (some years after litigation concerning it had ended), at an expense of $33,818.33. The City Council appointed a special committee, consisting of Aldermen James B. Francis and William A. Burke, Councilmen George Runels (Mayor in 1882), William T. McNeil and Cleveland J. Cheney to superintend the work. The bridge was built by Josiah Sawtell after a pattern for which his son, Col. J. A. Sawtell, a well-known citizen at present, took out a patent when but seventeen years of age. It first had a plank roadway but owing to the increase of travel it was voted in 1874 to pave it with wood, and the work was done in the summer of that year. As soon as the wood paving was laid the

Horse Railroad Company extended its track to Centralville, the extension being formally opened in September of the same year. In 1879 the roadway was laid in concrete. It became necessary to straighten the bridge, which had been thrown out of line by the west winds, or other causes, and the work was done in September, 1880, by Dutton Wood, of Concord, N. H.

In looking back over the events that have transpired from 1825 until now and scanning this whole matter, we cannot but become aware that toll bridges and turnpike roads, in the opinion of the public, were nuisances; that people were averse to paying tolls when travelling, and preferred to take the burthen of supporting roads and bridges upon themselves. The trouble with the proprietors of Central Bridge was, they did not look at the matter in that light.

The following account of the destruction by fire of the bridge built in 1862, the building of temporary bridges and the preparations for building a permanent one, have been compiled from the columns of the Lowell Morning Mail.

About 20 minutes to 3 o'clock, Saturday morning, August 5, officer D. W. Lane, who watches in Centralville, discovered a fire about midway of the Central Bridge, on the western side. An alarm was at once sounded from Box 46, and the officers and two or three bystanders attempted to work the sprinkler-pipes, but after gaining access to closets on both sides of the bridge, nothing was found but the wrench and neither the officer nor his assistants knew where to apply it. By this time a fireman was on hand and at once took up the iron cover in the sidewalk, and after some necessary delay succeeded

in letting on the water. All this required time, and before the water was fairly on, the flames burst through the end near the Boott Cotton Mills and a sheet of flame burst through the roof. The sprinkler-pipe had the effect to stop the flames somewhat, but the wooden structure being as dry as tinder, it soon became evident to all that nothing could save the bridge. Chief Engineer Hosmer had arrived by this time and hose was at once laid and a ladder raised to the roof. At this juncture a section of the roof-timbers in the centre fell with a crash, and the firemen on the roof were warned to be careful. Streams of water were thrown on the fire by hose from the Boott and Massachusetts mills, but it seemed for a moment as though the Boott mill nearest the bridge must go, as the window-cases were in a blaze. Suddenly, without a moment's warning, the entire roof on the south end of the bridge gave way and three of the firemen, who were on its top, fell with it, and were precipitated into the river beneath. Chief Hosmer at once lowered a ladder into the river to reach the men who fell. James McCormick, of Hose 6, was found clinging to timber and was rescued without being much injured. Edward Meloy, of Hose 4, was found down at the edge of the river and helplessly hurt. He was taken out and found to be badly bruised in the face and injured internally, to what extent could not be told at the time. He was placed in the protective wagon and taken home. Capt. Stackpole, of Hose 3, also went down to the river's edge but was able to crawl out. He found William Dana, of Hose 3, clinging to the wall and helped him down. The two then crawled along to the Boott embankment and came up through the Boott yard. Stackpole was badly injured about the head and slightly in the leg; Dana's injuries were in the stomach, and he was not able to walk.

Capt. Edward Cunningham, of Hose 8, when the bridge went down, caught the wire guy rope that supported the derrick in use by the Boott Company in constructing their heavy bank wall. It was a most thrilling spectacle — Capt. Cunningham dangling from the rope, twenty-five or thirty feet from the ground, with the flames roaring and crackling only a foot or two back of him. A crowd impulsively gathered underneath, expecting every moment to see him drop, and thinking they might by some means break his fall. But with wonderful coolness he worked his way along the heated wire until a footing was gained among the telephone wires suspended below. On reaching it he waved his hand in triumph, turned up his coat collar as a protection against the blistering heat behind him, and quietly watched the movements being made for his rescue. When the ladder was put up he coolly came down and was soon ready for action again.

Immediately after the bridge fell a blazing volume of gas burst forth from a six-inch pipe directed toward the Boott mill, and only the constant application of a stream of water from the top of the mill kept it from doing an inconceivable amount of damage. Not until daylight appeared was the gas shut off and this dangerous fire extinguished.

The dry woodwork burned so rapidly that in less than half an hour the entire superstructure was down for one-half its length, and soon after the entire structure fell into the river, while the shore ends remaining undetached, and partially held by the many pipes and wires, kept the blazing line, which reached from shore to shore, from going down stream with the current until it was eaten into pieces by the greedy flames. It was a brilliant and novel spectacle, and was witnessed by many thousand people, who lined the shores,

watching the progress of the flames until the fire waned in the approaching light of the morning. At an early hour portions of the bridge which did not burn were cut away and floated down stream, lodging on the rocks (the water being very low) at the head of Hunt's Falls.

The origin of the fire is unknown. The engineer in charge of the portable engine in use in building the embankment wall for the Boott Company, from which it was said the flame started, stoutly denied the possibility of it, as no sparks flew from the smoke-stack, and if they did they could not have reached the bridge at the point where the conflagration was first discovered. It is not improbable that it caught from a cigar-stump or an ignited match, dropped carelessly on the planking, as one of the police officers recently extinguished an incipient fire on another wooden bridge in the city that had caught from this cause.

No sooner was the destruction of the bridge an assured fact than the important question for official consideration was, what means could be provided to transport citizens from the comparatively isolated district across the river to the city proper. Before the ruins had ceased to smoke Mayor Runels and Alderman Garity, with the assistance of other prominent citizens, arranged a temporary but precarious foot-path on the partially sunken *debris*, and by means of ropes and ladders a large number of persons who had the courage to attempt it were furnished with means of reaching their daily employment.

At an early hour, also, Mr. E. B. Peirce, the versatile navigator of the Merrimack (above Pawtucket Falls), was consulted, and promised to have a ferry-boat running by 9 o'clock. About the time fixed he made his appearance with a cumbrous but commodious canal-boat, with a

steamer for propelling it, and passengers were conveyed back and forth at the city's expense. This put a stop, to a great extent, to the operations of two other tiny steamers which had promptly appeared, and to a variety of small row-boats which had been brought into use, to earn an honest penny for their owners on the Centralville side. A landing was improvised near the Boott wall, and communication with Bridge Street was made by a circuitous passage through the company's yard. Mr. Peirce's boat served the purpose during the forenoon, and at noon another canal boat, belonging to the Locks and Canals Company, made its appearance. During the afternoon both boats ran with full fares. Policemen were placed on both sides of the river, to restrict the travel as much as possible to persons having legitimate business.

A floating bridge for pedestrians was a manifest necessity, and William H. Wiggin was authorized, early Saturday forenoon, to construct one. A large force of men was at once set at work; every available team heavy enough for the business was brought into requisition, and before many of the tardy on-lookers took their first view of the ruins of the bridge, the floating highway was well out into the stream, going forward vigorously. The sills (heavy mill timbers) were dumped on Bridge Street, shoved off into the river and floated into place, four abreast. They were held fast by heavy flooring planked on transversely, and under the efforts of the workmen the floating structure fast assumed a solid appearance. By Sunday evening the work was practically finished, and a quite satisfactory communication was again established with Centralville — for pedestrians only. The floating bridge was below the ruins, and Bridge Street was now gained by a flight of steps next to the Massachusetts mill; on the Centralville side the end was at the

old "landing." Teams were obliged to go around and cross the river at Pawtucket Falls. One of the horse-cars was taken around by way of Pawtucket Falls and the Navy Yard, and put upon the track in Centralville. A car was run down Bridge Street to the ruins; passengers walked across the temporary bridge, and took the waiting car on the Centralville side, and thus travel on the horse-cars was re-opened.

The loss of gas to the Centralville people was for two nights a very serious matter; but as soon as practicable the Gas Company laid a pipe along the floating bridge, and the inconvenience in that direction was thereafter removed. The broken lines of the telephone were also soon restored, and thus all interruptions were quickly re-established.

The floating bridge was built under authority conferred by the City Council, at a special meeting held immediately after the fire, Saturday forenoon. On Thursday evening citizens of Centralville held a meeting over which presided G. A. Gerry, T. G. Wadman acting as secretary, to discuss the question as to the kind of a bridge that ought to be erected in place of the old one. After a free expression of opinion by several gentlemen, it was apparent that the feeling was in favor of a structure of stone, as superior and more economical in the end than one of wood or iron. A committee of eleven was appointed to present a petition to the City Council, praying for a hearing on the subject. The hearing prayed for was assigned for August 28, when all parties interested were respectfully heard. Petitioners were likewise heard on the matter of widening Bridge Street, from the canal to the river, by taking a portion of the Massachusetts Company's estate. The action of the City Council was averse to the prayers of both petitioners.

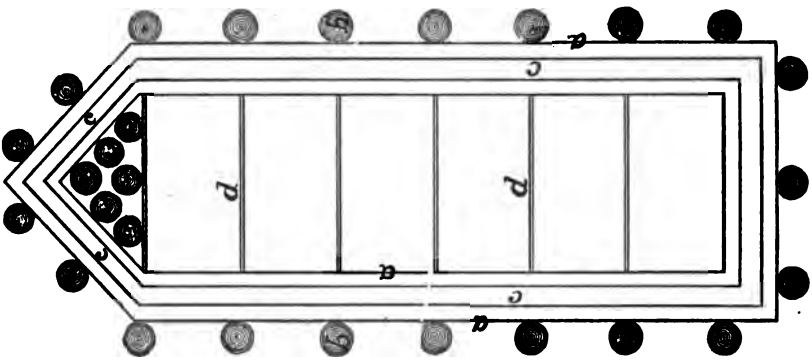
A temporary bridge for carriages and teams was deemed indispensable, and specifications for one were issued by the special committee on Central Bridge—which consisted of the following named gentlemen: Messrs. George Runels (Mayor), W. N. Osgood (President Common Council), T. R. Garity and J. F. Phillips (Aldermen), J. F. Puffer, Jr., L. J. Smith; and A. G. Thompson (Councilmen). The requirements demanded a bridge 780 feet long, extending from the Locks and Canals Company's land (next below the residence of Mrs. Levi Hancock) in Centralville—between First Street and the river—to land of the same company on the Belvidere side—between the river and Stackpole Street—nearly opposite the Church of the Immaculate Conception; to be built on piles 14½ feet above the (then) water-level; to be 20 feet wide; roadway of one thickness of 3-inch spruce plank. Bidders were required to give the price of construction per lineal foot, and fix the time desired for completing the work. The following were the bids: S. N. Proctor, 40 days, $11.00 per foot; J. W. Bennett & Co., 21 days, $10.68; W. H. Ward, 30 days, $10.60; W. H. Wiggin, 28 days, $9.87; Trumbell & Cheney, 28 days, $8.94; V. L. Wilson, 30 days, $6.45. By the terms of contract Mr. Wilson was to pay $50 for each day that he exceeded the time fixed for finishing his work and he was to receive the same amount for every day gained within the thirty days. He commenced driving the piles on the 14th, and the bridge was formally opened for travel on the 23rd—some vehicles passed over it on the preceding day. Mr. Wilson received $815 in addition to the contract price.

At a special meeting of the City Council, September 22, a resolution was passed authorizing the construction

of a pile foot-bridge, the floating one having proved unsafe and otherwise insufficient. W. H. Ward was given the contract, his bid being $2780, he to pay two-fifths of the expense in consideration of advantages secured by the laying of a railway track on the bridge, for moving material for the construction of the abutments and piers of the new bridge, that job having been awarded him some days previously. The pile bridge was built as nearly as possible to the line of the proposed new bridge; and in order to gain Bridge Street without interrupting the work of the contractors, an opening was made through the river-side of the brick wall of the Massachusetts mill and another through the wall on Bridge Street, thus making a passage, some thirty feet long, through the mill, above which the machinery merrily hummed through the working hours of every day.

The annexed diagram shows the form of the curb upon which the piers are to be constructed. The dimensions of the curb from outside to outside: length 61 feet 4 inches; width 14 feet 4 inches. Five of these frames will be used in the construction of the two piers, two on the north and three on the south pier. The outer frame of the curb in seen at *a*, the round piling at *b*, the sheet piling at *c*, and the one and three-quarter inch iron bolts that hold the whole together, at *d*. The round piling as shown at the head of the pier is to extend under its whole body, and after these are in place the interstices are to be filled with concrete composed of the best quality of hydraulic cement, broken stone, free from dirt and dust, or pebbles screened, varying in size from ½ to 2½ inches in diameter. The material to be in proportion of four parts broken stone, two parts clean sand and one part cement. The piles to be sawed off eight and not

higher than six feet below datum. The curbs to be filled with cement or concrete to the top of the piles, which are to receive a capping of heavy timber, framed and thoroughly secured. On this foundation the piers are to be built of square stone, each block of the bottom course to rest over one or more of the round piles.



The contract for the superstructure of the main bridge, which after many propositions and hearings it was decided should be of iron, was given to the Morse Bridge Company, of Youngstown, Ohio, whose bid was $51,590 — the lowest of any considered. This brought the contract price, at $110,590, Mr. Ward's figures for the abutments, piers, etc., being $59,000. The incidental expenses will probably bring the cost up to $115,000. At this writing, it is supposed the bridge will not be completed within nine months of the time of the destruction of the old one.

XXII. Responses from Corresponding Members.

THE interest manifested by the corresponding members of the Association is very gratifying. Responses have been received from Rev. Henry A. Miles, Hingham, Mass.; Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D. D., Providence, R. I.; Rev. Elias Nason, Billerica, Mass.; Rev. D. C. Eddy, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. George Leeds, D. D., Baltimore, Md.; Rev. H. Hastings Weld, D. D., Riverton, N. J.; Rev. E. L. Magoon, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa.; and James Payne, Esq., Lawrence, Mass. These all express pleasure for the honor conferred, great interest in the object of the Association, and a willingness to do all in their power to make the institution a success. Two of the responses are of sufficient interest to warrant their publication, as follows.

1319 GIRARD AVENUE,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., November 24, 1882.

DEAR PRESIDENT GREEN—Notice of my election as Corresponding Member of your Old Residents' Historical Association was yesterday received. Grateful appreciation of the honor thus conferred may perhaps be best indicated by at once sending you a few hastily recorded reminiscences of fifty years ago.

In June, 1826, an apprenticeship of three years was begun with the bricklayers, Willard & Chapin, in Windsor, Vt. In 1830 the former went to Lowell to execute several contracts, and employed the apprentice he had trained to work as journeyman, he then being twenty years old.

Early in the spring we began a block of stores opposite St. Anne's Church, owned by Messrs. Elliott and Billings, this being the first edifice of brick on that main street. Wooden "tenfooters" extended on both sides below, and the Town Hall was soon started above. The great vacant area in the rear was merely "old field," whereon the "Glorious Fourth" was celebrated in primitive style. A modest iron swivel woke echoes over a sparse population, summoning a miscellaneous crowd to hear Dr. Bartlett read an oration in verse, full of keen humor and patriotic thought. With his classic face and comprehensive culture, what a magnificent citizen stood there! Foremost in professional skill and every public enterprise, pioneer in all municipal growth, was he not your first Mayor?

After the civic celebration, minus brass band and military display, came a yet more pacific anniversary of the public schools, in the customary Oak Grove. At the head of this cheerful throng wending thither, walked arm-in-arm the two oldest village ecclesiastics, the tall and courteous Baptist pastor, Enoch W. Freeman, erect and elegant as a wax candle, and Rector Edson, whose lucid purity is not yet entirely removed, thank God!

Various denominations planted their chapels at an early day, but no Catholic church was yet built, as a genial religious resort, especially for the foreign population. The want of needful restraint upon ardent

hereditary proclivities often presented curious scenes in an extended arena now occupied by a most influential and decorous community. Well is it remembered how our fellow-laborers, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," ditchers and hod-carriers, formerly dwelt there in rude mud-hovels, with pigs and poultry, squalid urchins and drudging adults, in blended glee and misery. Lager was yet in the far future, and penny pipes abounded much more than dime cigars. But new rum was an adequate substitute for old whiskey as a stimulant to quarrelsomeness, and Sunday assemblies about "the Acre" were sometimes much more belligerent than devout.

From our front staging of simple constructive use, it was interesting occasionally to observe the great primary architect of your city, Kirk Boott, as his impressive form moved past with that peculiar oscillation in gait caused by an affection of the spine. Only old residents know where his white-columned mansion originally stood; but thousands yet profit by his influence.

Many potent individuals concentrated their differenced abilities in diverting the mighty current of limpid White Mountain drainage through desolate swamps and arid ravines, to create along Merrimack's ragged cataracts the prolific sources of cheap clothing for impoverished mankind. In the front rank of these benefactors of his race was Warren Colburn, who, early in the morning with a band of signal-holders and chain-measurers, would go forth with theodolite in hand to extend avenues and define foundations whereon now soars majestically "the Manchester of America." Then, in the evening, with equal facility, wielding pen and press as vehicles, he initiated rising generations into

the mysteries of serenest science and rendered mathematics the recreation of childhood as well as the crowning grace of maturest age.

With the native scholar let us gratefully associate in memory his beloved friend and representative Englishman, Manager Spencer, who was called hither to supervise the erection and manipulate the completeness of Hamilton Print Works. Robust in form, sedate in manner, of few words, but full of intuitive sagacity, no one ever doubted his "yes" or "no."

To those who, like Boott and Colburn, did much to cause a single outlet from the old Granite State to whirl more spindles than any other river on earth, and to such as bleached gray fabrics into immaculate purity, or, with exquisite design and color, sent forth innumerable folds of printed goods, both to comfort and adorn every variety of need or taste, add the great inventor who taught unsophisticated hands most adroitly to weave, and stretched multitudinous rows of power-looms to that effect. We used to look on Paul Moody as the very incarnation of mechanical skill, who, to drive the innumerable shuttles he had winged, supplemented the force of liquid torrents with the might of steam, newly conditioned and rendered comparatively safe by that revolving regulator which now surmounts and controls the myriad engines of the world.

Postmaster Morrill was a highly esteemed citizen, whose home and office were on Central Street. His oldest son, Otis, was my classmate in college, greatly loved as a student as he was so well appreciated in connection with your public schools. A younger brother, promoted to the higher position he now so admirably fills, needs no commendation of mine.

My own board and lodgings, during the only year of continuous residence in town, was with Abel Shattuck, an admirable family, on Hurd Street. Some of the children are probably yet alive and esteemed amongst you, as by heredity and self-culture they deserve to be.

In the same neighborhood resided Dr. John Wheelock Graves and his accomplished wife, whose personal and professional worth some of us have the best reasons never to forget.

On the first of May, 1831, the writer, with a suit of new clothes, a set of trowels, and forty dollars in cash, left Lowell for New Hampton Institution, in his native New Hampshire, and there began a ten years' course of education. While in preparatory studies and during the four years at Waterville, Me., "vacations" were occupied in "masonic" toil. Even as late as the three years at Newton Theological Institution the familiar trowel was occasionally resumed "at home," if such a place had ever been found for poor me. On such visits it was always a joy to call on George H. Carleton and other generous friends who never failed in encouraging words and acts. Bent & Bush was a sign peculiarly golden, for there some unknown friend "dead-headed" the prospective preacher with the only fur hat he ever had before he was ordained.

The allusion just made to the amiable druggist brings us back to the old Town Hall, and reminds us of the strange changes that have transpired therein and around. For instance, when that eloquent member of the British Parliament, abolitionist Thompson, was sent to lecture this country on its greatest curse, the conservative influence of Massachusetts manufacturers was so great that our mentor could not proceed in that tumultuous gather-

ing-place. Intensifying the characteristic aspirate of his rhetoric into concentrated indignation he named the precinct "Lowhell." But in due time the stupendous evil ferments itself into a vastly more frightful explosion, when the radical cure, latent in worn hands and heroical souls, proved equal to the emergency they would neither create nor evade. "To the front," endangered Freedom cries, and the first to respond, with bare brow and undaunted breast, "marching through Baltimore," were they whose blood crystallized into the foremost monument of the kind on all our vast domain, now your grand city's centre and in full view of a reunited republic more firmly consolidated than ever before.

Doubtless much has been achieved by men in building up the productive metropolis of our early struggles and undying solicitude. But to women, young and old, is Lowell mainly indebted for the accumulation of wealth and spread of influence. The reminiscences we are recalling are intimately related to the throngs of noble factory girls who worked the mills, built the churches, supported the schools, contributed benevolent funds, and adorned the social life of our own aspiring days. Many were the lovely daughters of rural parents, who came hither to toil a portion of their life to gain the means of preparation for other spheres. It is quite easy to recall many a maiden who passed from factory to academy, and thence to equal honors with eminent coöperatives in every walk of life. Not waiting to matriculate with formal diplomas elsewhere, the admirable literary journal originated and sustained by themselves alone for so many years was itself the type and eulogy of factory girls, God bless them!

To preside over a wide diversity of retail trade and prudently to manage the numerous and crowded boarding-houses on all corporations was the appropriate office

of matrons, in friendly alliance with the industry of younger females. One of that valuable class I well knew, whose dignified urbanity and untiring industry were subordinated to the welfare of her household in general, and for the frugal but thorough education of her darling son in particular. Member of the same church and her children in the same Sunday school, she particularly desired me to aid in the welfare of her child when abroad. Accordingly, on the 10th of September, 1834, I wrote a letter of introduction to the President of Waterville College (now Colby University), of which I was then a junior, introducing this youth as a candidate for the freshman class. He entered at once, and, after the full course of four years, graduated with high honor.

In that communication the belief was expressed that Master Butler would prove himself a successful scholar. He has since been heard from, even so far that in his own Commonwealth he is now supreme. He may sometimes seem fierce in the execution of his design; but did he ever enter the list with visor down, or ignobly obstruct a competitor in open contest? With no patron but Providence, and no patrimony save native talent and indomitable self-reliance, whatever eminence he may have attained many may envy but none can despise.

The letter of introduction alluded to above is herein enclosed,* and you may show it to my promising young-

* The letter, folded in the prevailing style previous to the introduction of envelopes, is yellow with years, but unworn and legible. The superscription upon it is as follows:

Rev. Rufus Babcock,
President Wat. College,
Mr. B. Butler. *Waterville, Me.*

It is dated September 18, 1834. Its contents relate largely to matters concerning the writer, and his allusion to "the widow's son" is very brief, viz: "Hope the College will prosper. I have seen several who will enter this year. One will bear this letter to you. Master Butler will make a good scholar, I think."

ster, upon whom I have not laid eyes for more than forty years. Nor am I yet ready for congratulation, since, though he has always been my candidate, not yet is prophetic hope fully realized. When from Governor of Massachusetts he becomes President of the United States, it may then be said—"Dear Ben, after privately vindicating your public career for a quarter of a century without obtruding either person or petition, as the only justification and reward of my confidence I beseech you yet more and more continue to be a right good boy."

E. L. MAGOON.

LAWRENCE, November 25, 1882.

A. Gilman, Esq., Secretary of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell:

DEAR SIR—A few days ago I received a certificate of membership in the above named Association. Will you please convey to the officers and members my thanks for the honor conferred. Lowell has always seemed more like home than any place I have ever lived in, and it is particularly gratifying to me to be associated with a society having amongst its members friends of more than half a century.

All my recollections of Lowell are pleasant. I arrived there in the spring of 1827, my father and mother with me. I very well remember the appearance of Central Street as our party drove through it to the Mansion House, then kept by the late Jonathan Tyler. I remember, too, my delight in seeing the two rivers—Merrimack and Concord. Hastily equipping myself with rod and line, I rushed across the field to the river and soon pulled out a strange-looking fish—a horned pout, I was told—requiring careful handling; this I found out.

My father had acted as agent in England for the

Merrimack Company, in 1826, sending out men specially for the Print Works. In the course of the same year Kirk Boott visited England, when my father arranged to return with him to Lowell. It was decided that we should sail about the 1st of March from Liverpool, in the first-class packet ship Emerald, of Boston, Jabez Howes, master, a remarkable ship in those days — three hundred and seventy tons burthen. We arrived in Liverpool on time, but the ship did not get away till the 26th, waiting for a fair wind. In the cabin were Kirk Boott, Mrs. J. D. Prince and children, E. J. Payne, wife and son, Richard Worswick, wife and son, Mr. William Duesbury (old Doctor), and Stephen Dickinson, a block-cutter. It took about thirty-three days to arrive in Boston, where some anxiety was felt for the safety of the ship, being overdue.

There were a number of passengers in the steerage, one of whom found his way to Lowell and was employed in a subordinate capacity in the engraving department, under Mr. Worswick. Thomas Slater was his name, and he it was who first gave the name of John Bull's Row to the few brick cottages erected for the accommodation of some of the skilled workmen employed by the Merrimack Company. He had lost some article of value to himself, and went to a printing-office to have it advertised. When asked for his address, he gave it — for want of a better — John Bull's Row. It was so printed and circulated through the village, and every one at once knew the locality, as every house was occupied by an English family. This took place, I think, about the year 1828. I was learning the art of engraving at the time, worked in the same room, was present when he reported to Mr. Worswick what he had done. There was a good deal of talk in English circles on the subject for a time, and I supposed as did every one that

I knew, that it would soon die out and be forgotten. Slater undoubtedly is dead, and I am probably the only person living who remembers the circumstances under which the name was given. This seems a small matter to write about at this day; but as Gen. Butler thought fit to give a version of it in his address at the semi-centennial celebration of the town's organization, and might have obtained it through some member of your Association, I thought it might be interesting to get at the fact from one who knew the party well.

There was another statement made by the General on the same occasion, representing Kirk Boott as an "English Cavalry officer," which is incorrect. Kirk Boott was born in Boston, I believe, of English parents, was educated and grew to manhood there. Having a taste for military life he went to England, obtained a commission in the English army and saw a great deal of hard fighting in Portugal and Spain, under the Duke of Wellington. When war was declared against Great Britain, in 1812, the regiment to which he was attached (infantry) was ordered to America. He refused to fight against his own countrymen, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, who, when informed of the circumstance of his nationality, granted him leave of absence. He retained his commission till after the battle of Waterloo, when peace was declared by the allied powers. I learned this from my father, who was on friendly terms with Mr. Boott, and who could, if living, have told a great many interesting facts relating to his military career. My object in writing this is to place Kirk Boott before the Old Residents' Historical Association as a true and loyal American.

Truly yours,

JAMES PAYNE.

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I. *Sketch of the Life of Kirk Boott, by Alfred Gilman.*

KIRK BOOTT was born in Boston, October 20 1790. At an early age he was sent to England, and was for some time a member of the Rugby School. On his return he entered Harvard. His name appears among the juniors in 1807, and the seniors in 1808; but he did not graduate. Choosing the military profession, his father obtained for him a commission in the English army, with which he was connected for about five years. He served in the Peninsular War, under the Duke of Wellington; and commanded a detachment at the siege of San Sebastian in July, 1813. After this his regiment was ordered to New Orleans, to serve against the United States. Mr. Boott obtained leave to withdraw, and entered a military academy, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of engineering and surveying arts, which were afterwards of such eminent service to him.

His father, Kirk Boott, who died January, 1817, came to Boston in the latter part of the last century and established an importing house. In 1810, February 1, John Wright Boott was admitted a partner, and the firm became Kirk Boott and Son. At a subsequent period Francis, another son, was admitted as a partner. The father built the mansion house, now known as the Revere House in Boston. This was the family mansion until 1845, when it was sold to William Lawrence.

By the father's will it was provided that the business of the co-partnership in which he was engaged with his sons, John Wright and Francis, should be continued, until the 19th of March, 1818—the day when his son James would come of age; that, in the mean time, the executors should invest, from his share of the capital, the amount of the trust funds, created by the will, for the benefit of his widow and two maiden sisters;* and that after the 19th of March, 1818, if his sons should form a new co-partnership, they should employ in the business the portions of his minor children, three in number, until they should respectively come of age. He gave to his widow the right of occupying the mansion house during her life; and after a few specific legacies, he left the residue of his property, with a reversion in the house and the trust funds, equally to his nine children. The execution of this will devolved, by the resignation of the other executors, upon his eldest son, John Wright Boott. The minor children were Mary, James, Elizabeth, Ann and William. Mary married William Lyman; Ann married Robert Ralston, and Eliza married Edward Brooks; James and William were unmarried. There was a Frances who married William Wells. Besides these there was John Wright, Francis and Kirk, Jr.

When James became of age, in 1818, a new firm, consisting of John W., Kirk and James Boott, under the same firm-title, was formed and continued a little less than four years, until 1822. The business of Kirk Boott and Sons had been importers of British goods.

*He left to his wife the house, furniture, wines, &c., in Bowdoin Square, and one hundred thousand dollars, to be held in trust, the income to be expended for her support, and the support of the minor children until they became of age; and a little over eleven thousand dollars, also to be held in trust, to his two maiden sisters, who resided in Derby, England, the income of which was to be paid to them.

The firm met with very heavy losses, after the death of Kirk Boott, Senior. The double duties which had been levied during the war of 1812, were repealed in 1816, and there was in consequence a great fall in the value of merchandise. Mr. Kirk Boott, of London, a cousin of Mr. Boott, Senior, was the firm's agent in England. He became bankrupt in June, 1817, owing the firm nearly $50,000, very little of which was ever paid. Out of the proceeds of their father's estate each of the heirs were paid, by the executor, $10,000. During the term of co-partnership, Kirk Boott states that they met with heavy losses, and that he became indebted to his brother, John Wright Boott, for "advances."

During the summer of 1821, Kirk, while passing a day at Nahant, in company with Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, the latter gentleman expressed great delight in having even that brief respite from his numerous and pressing cares. Mr. Boott expressed a wish that he had cares, too, and offered to accept of any post of service which Mr. Jackson might assign him. Thus, accidentally, he found the place for which he was so admirably fitted.

This was the condition of Mr. Boott at the time he came to Chelmsford. We find a communication from him to the owners of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, dated November 14, 1821, offering to hire the water-power at $1800 per annum. The offer was refused, and the Boston Company proceeded to buy up a sufficient amount of the stock to control it; when Thomas M. Clark, the clerk of the old Locks and Canals Company, was employed to purchase the lands in the vicinity. The property in the hands of John Wright Boott was in the market seeking a profitable investment. The Boston Manufacturing Company, at Waltham, had solved the problem in regard to the ability of manufac-

turers to sustain themselves in the business. It was here, then, that the trust funds held by John Wright Boott, under his father's will, were invested, and I find among the articles subscribed to by the founders of Lowell, the following:—

"Article 6th. Whereas, we have been informed that the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River are possessed of valuable mill-seats and water-privileges; and, whereas, Kirk Boott has, with our consent, advanced money for the purchase of shares in the stock of that corporation, and of lands thereunto adjoining, we hereby confirm all he has done in the premises, and further authorize him to buy the remainder of the shares in said stock, and any lands adjoining the Locks and Canals he may judge it for our interest to own; and also to bargain with the above-named corporation for all the mill-seats and water-privileges they may own. He must in all cases be governed by such advice and direction as he may receive from the company, or any committee duly appointed by them."

Kirk Boott we find now thoroughly and systematically engaged in this new enterprise. He gave himself up heartily to its prosecution; and in the discharge of every duty devolving upon him, he amply fulfilled the expectations of his most sanguine friends. But we have become aware of one fact: that he was not a rich man. The interest from his portion of his father's estate did not go a great way toward the support of himself and family, while the pittance allowed him by the company ($3000 per annum*) in the light of salaries of the present day looks meagre.

*In 1832 his salary was increased to $4000.

There was no public house at that time suitable for the entertainment of his friends or the directors, when they came to Lowell. It fell upon him to make his house their resort, whether they were attracted here by curiosity or business. The Merrimack Company built a house for him, which formerly stood on the ground now occupied by the Boott Mills, for which at first he was charged rent, but upon his representation that he could not live on his salary, it was abated. Besides his cares and duties as resident manager of the Merrimack Company, and afterwards of the Locks and Canals Company, he was the foremost man in every public enterprise. He was chosen moderator of the first town meeting, and repeatedly represented the town's interests in the state legislature.

He married Anne Haden, November 14, 1818, and had six children: Kirk, born in Boston, October 27, 1819; Sarah Ann, Boston, March 18, 1821; Mary Love, Chelmsford, October 4, 1822; John Wright, Lowell, May 9, 1824; Eliza Haden, Lowell, February 18, 1827; Frederic, Lowell, February 16, 1829.

Mr. Boott has been charged with intolerance in both religion and politics. All we have to do with these charges is to print the correspondence between him and Dr. Edson, in evidence of his prudence and impartiality, and the following printed rules given to each person employed by the company:

APRIL 9, 1825.

TO REV. THEODORE EDSON—

Dear Sir: With a view to preserve some record of the conversations I have had with you, relative to your settlement, I will now report the tenor of my observations, and shall be happy to receive from you a written

reply. As agent for the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, I will engage to give you $800 per annum, in quarterly payments, and to furnish you a house rent free.

In case the form of worship we have adopted should, contrary to my belief and expectations, be found so unpalatable to the majority of our people that the church is neglected, and the company should, in consequence, deem it prudent to substitute some other, I agree that you shall receive a year's notice of their intention, or your salary for the same period, as may be thought most advisable. I have only to stipulate on your part that if, from any cause, you desire to be dismissed, you will give us a like notice; and should this desire arise from more advantageous proposals, that upon our offering you an equivalent, you will consider yourself bound to give us the preference.

I do not anticipate any of these occurrences but with reluctance; but, on the contrary, look forward with confidence to a belief that every year will render a separation less probable and far more painful.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

Very truly your friend,

K. BOOTT, AGENT.

CHELMSFORD, April 11, 1825.

KIRK BOOTT, Agent—Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 9th instant, I agree to become your minister on the terms therein stated. In regard to the cases you mention which may possibly lead to a dissolution of this relation, I am willing to submit them to the direction of a superintending Providence. The nature of my connection here is obviously

such as not well to admit of compulsion on either part, and I am aware that whenever a separation becomes expedient, it will in some way or other be effected. The provisions on that point, contained in your letter, are perfectly fair and satisfactory to me.

I am, dear Sir,
Your obliged friend and servant,
THEO. EDSON.

"All persons are required to be constant in attendance on public worship, either at the church in this place or in some of the neighboring parishes.

"All are required to pay 37½ cents per quarter, in advance, for the support of public worship in this place, which sum shall be paid over for the use of such regular society, as each may choose to join."

These rules, drawn up by Mr. Boott, evince an almost parental solicitude for the well-being and culture of the operatives. They were to be surrounded by the influences of home, and yet left free to choose. If it was a hardship to be "required" to do right, then the world is full of hardships. In regard to the second charge—"intolerance in politics"—we quote from an opponent. Eliphalet Case, in the Mercury, May 29, 1830, says: "The corporations do not care a stiver, one way or the other, for the peculiarities of religion or politics of those in their employ."

There is no doubt as to the effect of Mr. Boott's education—that it made him reserved in his communication with others, giving and requiring exact information upon any subject discussed, and a prompt and efficient discharge of every duty. We have only to refer to his

correspondence, in 1830, to learn that the position he occupied was not a "bed of roses"—that it was no sinecure. He says, in a letter dated September 29th—"I am almost worried out. Committee after committee keep coming up in relation to the increase of the Appleton works, or a new concern, for all of which many calculations are required, taking all my time; and since this unhappy disclosure,* I get neither sleep nor rest."

Again: he reveals a new feature in the care of the property entrusted to him, where he says: "Mr. Colburn is away from home, and I make it a point never to suffer both to sleep away from the works, on any account whatever." Here we see the master sunk in the servant, and cannot but admire the rule that governed his life.

We have also a glimpse of his home life. He had a fine establishment, his house was in a beautiful location, from which he could view the noble Merrimack from the foot of Pawtucket Falls to the bend at Hunt's Falls. He had his stud of horses, his grounds and his servants. He had, also, more valuable than all, a companion "possessed of the rare accomplishment of adapting herself to any circumstances into which by God's providence she might be called, whose life was devoted to him." All could not withdraw his mind from business; for October 10, 1830, he writes from his home: "I have been very busy, ... and have the house full of company."

In the persistent opposition he offered, on various occasions, to the plans of his fellow-townsmen, I have found that he acted under instructions that he could not disregard or disobey.

*Referring to J. W. Boott's unfortunate investments in the Mill Dam Foundry.

While preparing this notice of Kirk Boott, I received the following interesting letter from Dr. J. O. Green:—

Kirk Boott died at 12 o'clock, noon, Tuesday, April 11, 1837, near the Merrimack House. He died instantaneously, falling from his chaise at the moment. The chaise was standing still, and he engaged a moment before in conversation with Mr. Tilden. It providentially happened that the Boston directors were here and very near him at the time, viz: Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, Mr. Lyman, Mr. Tilden, Mr. Hale and others.

The following day came up Dr. J. B. S. Jackson and Dr. Putnam, and a minute examination was made of every organ of the body, occupying all the afternoon. The result was that he died of apoplexy, from a rupture of a blood-vessel on the brain. The cause of his chronic complaints was a thickening of the enveloping membranes of the spinal cord.

His brother, Mr. Wright Boott, came up the day he died, and on Wednesday he told me his brother had left express direction that his funeral should be as *private as possible.* It took place on Friday at his house, Dr. Edson reading the service for the burial of the dead in the presence of the family and some few relatives from Boston, and the body was carried to Boston in a special train at 4, P. M.

The following Sunday Mr. Edson's morning sermon was on the words: "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come"; in the afternoon on "The day is far spent, the night is at hand."

Mr. Boott left a will, made a year before his death, just before he embarked for England. His property was given to his wife and children in trust. Patrick T.

Jackson was made executor and John A. Lowell and Edward Brooks trustees. He left about $40,000 and a valuable reversion in his father's property, which was not payable till his mother's death, so that the whole is estimated at somewhat short of $50,000.

At a meeting of the proprietors at Boston, April 28th, Mr. Francis Lowell was elected treasurer and agent of the Merrimack Company, vice the late Kirk Boott, and Mr. John A. Lowell treasurer *pro tem* of the Locks and Canals (he declining a permanent appointment) vice Mr. Boott. The Merrimack Company voted Mrs. Boott $4000 and the Locks and Canals presented her with forty thousand feet of land on Dutton Street, valued at least at fifty cents a foot.

J. O. GREEN.

LOWELL, March 5, 1879.

It will be seen by this brief sketch of the life of Kirk Boott, that his family bore a prominent part in the beginning and growth of Lowell.

April 28, 1837, at a meeting of the Directors of the Merrimack Company, it was "Voted, That P. T. Jackson be requested to communicate to the widow of the late Kirk Boott, Esq., the sympathy of the proprietors of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, with her and her family in the bereavement that they have recently sustained, and the high respect which they feel for the character and services of the late Mr. Boott."

II. Reminiscences of the Lowell High School, by James S. Russell. Read August 6, 1879.

THE Lowell High School was organized in December, 1831, under Thomas M. Clark as principal, assisted by John M. Clapp. Mr. Clark was a recent graduate, not yet having attained his majority. He was enthusiastic and of versatile talents, not only ably doing duty in school but supplying the pulpit at Pawtucket Falls, being at that time a candidate for a Congregational clergymanship. He was independent, having none too much reverence for those in authority over him; but at the same time he was quite popular among his scholars, always taking their part in any controversy with the grammar school occupying the same house; or even with the committee when they found it necessary to interfere. Mr. Clark changed his church relations after leaving Lowell, took orders in the Episcopal church and rose from one independent post to another till he now is one of the most successful bishops of the church.

Mr. Clapp was a graduate of Yale College, a classmate and friend of Mr. Clark. After he left Lowell he became teacher of Beaufort Academy, S. C.; then he passed to the editorial staff of the *Charleston Mercury*. He entered actively upon the political strifes of his day, and secession found in him a champion, though he died in December, 1857, before secession was fully developed.

Nicholas Hoppin was Mr. Clark's successor, and, as usual in such circumstances, he found it difficult to follow a popular teacher. He was a contrast to Mr. Clark: humble, quiet, and of nervous temperament. After a limited time the school was discontinued, and he became an Episcopal clergyman, being for many years rector of Christ Church, Cambridge.

Mr. Hoppin, in a communication to the *Lowell Daily Courier*, says in reference to these reminiscences:

"To his brief account of my very short connection of only a few months with the High School, between forty and fifty years ago, Mr. Russell might have added the same remark that he makes with regard to my distinguished predecessor, namely: that I was under age when I took charge of it. He alludes, in his second paragraph, to what would now be considered, and in fact was considered at the time, a strange sort of insubordination, which had been allowed and kept up in the school, and which had grown to a direct collision with the authority of the school committee. I was not apprised of this state of things, and knew nothing of it till I encountered the natural consequences immediately upon taking charge. It did not need any great degree of 'humility' or 'nervousness' to make one distrustful in a very short time of the expediency of retaining the responsibility. I might perhaps have been a little more 'popular' with the older boys, some of whom afterwards gained positions of influence, but for the necessity and duty of enforcing certain distasteful but explicit requirements of the school committee, which they had been and were still encouraged to resist. Under these circumstances I was quite ready to agree with a proposal of the committee to shut up the school,

as the most effectual way of vindicating their authority. There had certainly been no lack of decision and firmness on my part in the unusual situation referred to; and . . . . . I have always looked back upon my course as head of the Lowell High School with just pride and self-respect, as I have also rejoiced in the improved character and usefulness of the institution.

N. HOPPIN.

CAMBRIDGE, August 18, 1879."

When the school was re-opened William Hall became the principal. The school was then located in Concert Hall, on Merrimack Street. It had been located previously, first in a low building on Middlesex Street, then in the Free Chapel, then in the upper room of the South grammar school-house on Highland Street.

Early in April, forty-four years ago, a college student, who had been keeping school all winter at $35 a month, to eke out his means of paying commons' bills and the numerous calls upon a poor student's scanty means, previous to his return to his college duties, presumed upon a short visit to his friends at Lowell. Seeing an advertisement for a principal and assistant to take charge of the Lowell High School, at a salary of $1000 for one and $500 for the other, our under-graduate contrasted these salaries with the pittance he had secured for his last winter's work, and concluded that he might as well attempt to secure one of these places for a year, and provide the means to pursue his education without further interruption. Though not expecting anything more than the second place, he applied for the first, and in a postscript signified his willingness to accept the second place, should a better man be found

for the first. The result was that a better man *was* found, and your humble servant was judged only the second best available man.

Franklin Forbes, a graduate of Amherst College, afterward a teacher in a Boston school, and then but recently elected principal of Marblehead High School, had the good fortune to be elected principal, or rather Lowell had the fortune to secure his services. He had the keenest mind, the most acute appreciation of the truth, and the ability to express that truth in the most fitting words. Aptness to teach he had in a high degree.

On the fourth day of May, 1835, Mr. Forbes and myself entered upon duty in the North school-house. The other schools of the town had commenced, after a vacation of the first week of April. But the High School was delayed by an interregnum in the succession of teachers. William Hall, the former teacher, had been re-elected on a liberal salary, and the school was to be opened in due time on a larger scale. But Mr. Hall assuming to himself the duties of a law-student, an interest in a bookstore, and an interest in the daughter of Dr. Hubbard in addition to his public duties, the school committee, fearing their interests might suffer, waited on him to induce him to relinquish some of these extra interests, or else relinquish the school. Mr. Hall chose the latter, either to show his independence or, more likely, because he had so involved himself that he could not well relinquish his other engagements. His law business was slow in its returns; his bookstore was not successful; his increased expenses were too importunate for him to live in Lowell, and he turned up in Pittsburg, Pa., where he struggled for awhile with varying fortune, till the small-pox terminated his earthly career.

Some time was needful to select Mr. Hall's successor; Mr. Forbes, when elected, could not at a moment's warning leave the Marblehead school, where he had been only a few weeks; and thus the scholars of the High School luxuriated in a vacation of the whole month of April. Little did they care for loss of time, and much were they envied by the scholars of the other schools.

A few days before the school opened, I accepted an invitation to be present at the examination of candidates for admission. I walked a mile in an April rain, pouring torrents, found some fifteen or twenty eager aspirants undergoing the examination by Dr. Edson, in a lobby of the Town Hall, and seated myself where I best could, there being no special seats for invited guests. I was soon surprised as well as amused by the Doctor's including me in his list of candidates, and putting me a word to spell in his rotation around the compact circle. I excused myself as having already received my certificate. The Doctor could only offer in apology the disguise of my wet garments. I could easily excuse the indignity in the despatch of business. In two hours or less, the Doctor had examined them all, given them their certificates, and they were on their way home, rejoicing in their success and wondering that they should have suffered so much in the anticipation of that which proved so simple and inoffensive.

The early examinations of applicants were conducted orally by the committee, and rarely was an applicant rejected. This may be accounted for, partly from the more strict construction of the rules by the teachers presenting the candidates, and partly from the then undeveloped notion that the High School is a popular institution and the people have a right to its privileges, even if those privileges be useless unless taken in due

order. Afterward the teachers conducted the examinations, and the committee, in full board, admitted or rejected on the reported results furnished by the teachers. Still the examinations were oral. In process of time the grammar masters were required to be present at the examinations, that they might learn to what results to direct their teaching. But when the importance of their presence was magnified too greatly, their *non*-attendance was requested. As the number of applicants increased and their qualifications diminished, and the outside pressure became clamorous, written examinations were adopted, not only as furnishing a more sure test, but also as furnishing a tangible answer to all complaints, and charges of favoritism.

The standard of qualification for admission has been thought to be elevated from time to time, till now a college would accept some of our rejected applicants. But really, the standard has been arranged on a sliding scale, rising or falling, so as to admit to the utmost capacity of the school; and not unfrequently, by some hitch in the machinery the influx has exceeded the accommodations. Instead of the standard being now so much higher than formerly, there are causes operating in an opposite direction. Formerly there was no limit to the term of membership. A scholar could attend as long as he pleased, or graduate when he pleased, by simply dropping out without ceremony. But since the custom of awarding diplomas, and graduating by classes came into use, the graduates include many who deprive themselves of the advantages of the school at a time when they are best qualified to appreciate them; and their scholarship reflects little honor upon the school, which, moreover, is deprived of that mature scholarship which once gave it character; and the vacated seats are

filled with scholars whose attendance another year at the grammar schools would be advantageous, both to themselves and to those schools, as well as to the High School.

But it may be urged in favor of the diplomas, that the *esprit de corps* they induce excites to more diligence, better attendance, and greater efforts to keep up and graduate with their own class. And should the diplomas always be awarded with a just discrimination, so that they may really be what they pretend to be; and should a wise discrimination also be exercised in the admission of members, having as much care to avoid depleting the grammar schools as to surfeit the High School, the effect of the diplomas would be highly salutary.

But to return from this long digression. Mr. Forbes, myself, and about eighty scholars assembled at the school-room on a beautiful May morning, and had our first introduction. The salutations were soon over, the forces were marshaled into order with wonderful facility, and we were soon in complete and successful operation upon the famous "ten-minute system." This system was followed to the letter, till it was thoroughly proved, and in many respects found wanting; then it was modified by doubling the time and trebling it, till at present each teacher has only six recitations a day, instead of thirty-two as formerly. The ten-minute clock was left behind when the school removed from the North school house, and no longer obtruded its admonitions upon unwilling ears.

This system doubtless had its advantages, but it has long since passed away, and with it some of the spirit and life of the grammar schools. It is but recently that I heard a man in authority say that he believed the restoration of that system, with slight modification,

would be for the advantage of those schools. The father of the system in our schools (the venerable Dr. Edson) I believe has never lost confidence in it. But I am happy to say the High School has never needed the driving power of that engine. Mr. Forbes certainly had velocity sufficient to drive his business, and under his administration the school was faithfully worked; the swift had a free rein, and the slow lacked not the spur. All worked together harmoniously, both teachers and scholars, especially those who imbibed the enthusiasm of the teachers, as most could not fail to do. But if any chose the way of transgressors, it would not be wonderful if they should remember to this day the hardness of their chosen way.

Time fled apace, and my year's furlough drawing to a close, it became necessary to resign my place and return to college, or to abandon my degree altogether. The decision was difficult. On one side was the convenient salary, and the Circean embrace in which I was held; on the other was the college diploma, to be had through an examination extending over more than a year. Formidable indeed it might be, though most faithful diligence had been used in preparation for the ordeal. The decision was made to depend upon the cast of a die: upon the success of a petition for more salary. The result of that petition was the following vote: "That the salary of the assistant teacher in the High School be $575, but that Mr. Russell shall receive $600 while he remains." That fatal vote fixed the current of my life. The ready money had more attraction than the coveted piece of parchment at a distant day. In due time, however, the generous university bestowed the parchment of a higher honorary degree.

The pleasant association with Mr. Forbes was fated to be transient, as he was elected principal of the Winthrop School in Boston; and in August he resigned his place in the Lowell High School after one year and a quarter's service.

Mr. Forbes' successor was Moody Currier, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and at the time of his election a successful teacher of an academy in Hopkinton, N. H. While in school he occupied his leisure over law books, and when he left Lowell he opened a law office in Manchester, N. H., just as that embryo city was starting into vigorous growth. He has for a long time been cashier of Amoskeag Bank and the treasurer of the savings bank connected therewith, which need not fear suspension from shrinkage of its securities while Mr. Currier has charge. He was almost totally unlike Mr. Forbes. Though he had many excellences, they were of a different class. We worked together harmoniously, but a larger ratio of the government now devolved upon the assistant. The teachers' tables were placed before the scholars; the principal's before the boys, near the entrance; the assistant's before the girls, near the other end of the room. The assistant had the oversight of the girls, but was often constrained to volunteer a glance over the other end of the room. We were embarked on the same ship, and so associated that if either went under the other went with him. Such helps never lacked the grateful appreciation of the principal, though it must be said they met less appreciation from disappointed evil-doers. Mr. Currier was more shrewd to discover the authors of mischief by after investigation, than to detect and nip it in the bud, as may be illustrated by examples. On one occasion a music-box suddenly arrested the attention of all by starting off on Yankee Doodle, or

something equally out of time and place. The principal, with unusual energy, issued forth. The music held its breath in horror, and seemed about to escape detection, when the assistant, judging only from appearances, ventured to call out at a distance, "French has the music." The principal turned and held out his hand toward French, and forth to public stare came the trembling box! On another occasion, years after, in the Hamilton school-house, Mr. Currier picked from the floor an obscene note, addressed to one of the young ladies. By comparing the hand-writing with that in writing-books and compositions, and skilfully collating items of circumstantial evidence, he traced out the author, who delayed not his graduation many days.

But the High School was destined to another reverse. It struggled for life in its origin, and its breath was once suspended. It was driven from the South school-house to make way for a grammar school, living for a time in a hall no better suited for it than for its rival, and not fit for either. It expanded into new life and hope in the North school-house. But now again in December, 1836, it is shoved away by a young grammar school, and stowed in an attic-loft some hundred feet high, reached by a narrow flight of stairs through a dark passage. The room was about a hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, ten or twelve feet high, imperfectly lighted at each end, and heated with the breaths of occupants, a wood fire at one end, and a smoke-pipe issuing out at the other end. Here were packed scholars enough to require a second assistant teacher — Seth Pooler, recently graduated from Vermont, a most excellent man, and faithful teacher. He taught English grammar and other English studies. We all heard recitations in that one room. The mingled voices of the

reciters, the echoing sounds from the drumhead floor, the inevitable murmur of a school-room, the obscure light, especially in the short and cloudy days of winter, the pestiferous atmosphere, all rendered total suspension of animation, as on a former occasion, a state devoutly to be preferred. On one occasion, as all was in the usual routine, a heavy sound attracted all eyes to Mr. Currier's class, standing mute near the stove—all except Miss Angeline Cudworth, who was lying straight upon the floor, pale as death. Her eyes look kindly upon me now as they did when I dashed into her face and bosom an avalanche of fresh snow hastily seized from the window seat at my end of the room. Had not that blessed snow fallen that day that estimable young lady would have waited long before she had opened those kindly eyes, such was the distance from all relief.

The High School remained in this rookery about a year, when it took its flight to another attic in the Hamilton school-house, somewhat less elevated, better proportioned, better lighted, but too small and unsuited to the convenience and dignity of the High School. The gallery at one end of the room was boarded up in front, making a room about seven by twice nine, and ceiling within reach. This served Mr. Pooler for a recitation room. The other arrangements were much as they were in the North school-house and the rookery. The school remained here three long years, begging for more ample accommodations, but patiently and faithfully laboring on, and establishing for itself a character and an influence to demand and secure a dwelling that should at least compare favorably with those of the grammar schools. The history of the High School for one of those years is less vivid in my memory. Like the squirrel in the fable, seeing in the distant hills attractions

that made him discontented with his burrow on the plain, he wandered away for a year. But a nearer view of those delusive hills not verifying the distant promise, he returned to his former position in the High School, having spent six months as principal and only teacher in what was then called the Latin Grammar School of Worcester, four months as assistant in the State Normal School, then at Barre, and the remainder of the time in preparing the manuscript of "Russell's Arithmetic." In the meantime the position in the High School was occupied by Abner H. Brown, one of the first members of the school, a recent graduate of Dartmouth College, a fine scholar, and a man to be loved and respected, as many who hear me will testify. Mr. Brown left the High School to accept a tutorship in his *alma mater*. He was afterwards elected principal of the Lowell High School in 1842; but failing health preventing his entering upon duty, he practised medicine and lectured to medical students till his much-lamented death in 1851.

The new school-house upon Kirk and Anne Streets was built in 1840, and at that time it might well be considered one of the best school-houses in the State. But school architecture has since made such advances, that there are numerous high school-houses in the State that have much better appointments than our own.

The school moved into the new building as soon as it was ready, and a little before. The boys' room being finished first, they took possession October 8th, at the beginning of the term; but the girls were disbanded till their room should be ready in the distant future.

Previous to this time the two sexes had assembled in the same room, mingled in the same classes, and enjoyed all the advantages of mutual acquaintance and

influence. For the most part that influence was salutary; but at one time, beginning at the North schoolhouse, and extending over the occupancy of the rookery, the social inclinations of the scholars acquired an ascendency that essentially interfered with the legitimate objects of the school, and was a source of unusual solicitude on the part of the teachers and of a stringency of discipline that for the time was irksome to the scholars. The origin of this state of things seemed to date from the entrance into the school of several scholars from a recently disbanded private school.

On entering the new house, December 7, 1840, after a vacation of nearly ten weeks, the females were separated entirely from the males, entering the house from a different street, occupying a different room and not mingling at all in the same classes. The organization of the school was entirely changed. Only male teachers had ever been employed. Now, two female teachers were introduced (one as principal and the other as assistant) in the female department. The male department had a male principal. The other teachers were common to the two departments, and were denominated, one, "Teacher of Mathematics," the other, "Teacher of Languages"; afterwards a "Teacher of Natural Sciences" was added. Their relation to the school, at that time, was much like that of professors in college, each being responsible for his distinct department. The two principals were independent of each other in all matters relating to their several rooms; but in general matters relating alike to both departments, the male principal had the ultimate authority.

Mr. Russell was appointed the teacher of mathematics, and he has occupied that position to the present time.

Mr. Currier's successor was Nehemiah Cleveland, who had long been principal of Dummer Academy at Byfield, one of the oldest and best academies of the State. He was totally unlike Mr. Currier, or any of his predecessors. His personal appearance did much for him. He was tall, large, dignified, and of aristocratic bearing, yet affable, easy, graceful and genteel in manners; but he was better fitted for an academy than for a public school. The response to his demand for a large increase in salary being unfavorable, he left at the end of one year, opened a school for young ladies at Brooklyn, N. Y., and afterwards engaged in literary labors to the end of his long life.

After Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Forbes again took charge, till, thinking he had mistaken his vocation, he took up engineering for a limited time, and then became agent for the Lancaster Mills, where his remarkable success proved he had found his proper vocation at last. He is no longer living. I have, as a memorial of him, not only our long and friendly intercourse, but his saying of me in an address before the High School Association in 1864: "I was then (1842) associated with my long-respected friend Russell, as true in heart and head as figures, the best teacher of mathematics I ever knew."

Mr. Forbes' successor was the present worthy principal, Charles C. Chase, of whom it will not become me particularly to speak. I may, however, be allowed to repeat, in substance, what I once said when called upon by authority to testify, that, though Mr. Chase might lack the eloquence of Clark, the meekness of Hoppin, the keenness of Forbes, the soundness of Currier, and the patrician bearing of Cleveland, he was a more useful and faithful teacher than any one of them.

The position of a High School principal is the most difficult and uncertain of any in the profession. Mr. Chase's tenure is exceptional. He has continued for thirty-four years, whereas seven principals preceded him in less than fourteen years. What better eulogy could one crave ?

John W. Brown was appointed the first teacher of languages under the new organization. He was a lawyer by profession, but being too conscientiously scrupulous to follow the law, he took up the profession of teaching; and even that worried his conscience so that he resigned after one year's service. This was an evil world for him, both in his life and in his tragical death.

Mr. Brown was succeeded by George B. Jewett, a scholarly gentleman from Amherst College, to which he returned as tutor after one year's popular service here. He afterwards entered the ministry of the Congregational church. He returned to Lowell as principal of a select private school at the corner of High and Bartlett Streets, on the site of the "Livermore mansion," which he conducted successfully for a number of years. He was subsequently called to a proffessorship at Amherst College. A railroad accident rendered him a cripple for life, disappointing an ambition that looked aloft.

David C. Scobey succeeded Mr. Jewett. He was one of the old Puritan stamp, a thorough teacher, with high notions of a teacher's prerogatives. He held the position till death severed the connection.

Jonathan Kimball was his successor in 1850, and in 1852 he succeeded Miss Sawyer as sub-principal. He was popular among the young ladies of the school. He is at present superintendent of schools in the city of Chelsea.

Lloyd W. Hixon succeeded Mr. Kimball in 1858. He now has a private boarding-school in Newburyport.

After Mr. Hixon, Miss Mary F. Eastman served one year as sub-principal. She is now one of the advanced women in the lecture-field of women's rights.

James O. Scripture was her successor in 1860. He afterwards entered the Episcopal ministry, where his prospects of high position were soon cut off by premature death.

Mr. Scripture was followed by Joseph H. McDaniels, now Greek Professor in Hobart College at Geneva, N. Y. Since Professor McDaniels there has been no distinctive classical teacher.

Ephraim W. Young, in 1849, became the first special teacher of natural sciences. He is at present a lawyer, farmer and government officer in a western state.

Mr. Young's successors were Dr. John J. Colton, in 1857; Gorham Williams, in 1866; Levi S. Burbank, in 1867; and Edwin H. Lord, in 1873. The department still holds its distinctive character.

The female teachers have been numerous. The principals of the female department were Miss Lucy E. Penhallow, in 1840, beloved by those who would take care of themselves; Miss Susan E. Burdick, 1846, beloved by those least deserving her favor, and Miss Anna B. Sawyer, who soon chose to retire to a family school. Then the experiment of a female principalship was abandoned, but revived again temporarily under Miss Eastman in 1860. Other sub-principals were, as before named, Kimball, Hixon, Scripture and Williams.

In 1867 the school-house was transformed into its present condition, and meantime the school had a lodgment in Jackson Hall, at great inconvenience. Since

that time there has been no distinctive female department. The scholars are seated in different study-rooms, the sexes mixed in the different rooms, mixed in the classes, and the classes in different studies mixed among the teachers, so that most of the teachers must attend to a variety of studies.

In 1840 the new school-house was arranged for a complete separation of the sexes, the males and females entering from different streets and never uniting in the same classes. But after a time doors were cut through partitions to admit of uniting the smaller classes, and by degrees the present complete amalgamation of the sexes has been attained.

The first female assistant was Miss Julia M. Penhallow, a general favorite and a valuable teacher. Following Miss Penhallow were Miss Augusta Lovering in 1844, and in 1846 two assistants, Misses Catherine C. Pond and Elizabeth T. Wright. Miss Wright was only a temporary teacher at this time, but afterwards, in 1852, she was for several years a most successful teacher and a particular favorite of the young men. Miss Martha F. McKown was a dignified, lady-like teacher, and of salutary influence. In 1852 Miss Caroline A. Raymond became a valuable acquisition to the school. Misses Emily B. Guild, Susan A. Skinner, Mary F. Morgan, Mary H. Farmer, Caroline A. Page, Agnes Gillis, Eliza T. Braley, Harriet B. Bancroft, Gertrude Sheldon, Elizabeth B. Russell, Alice J. Hardman, Maria C. R. Swan, Mary E. Hardman, Julia Bennett and Helen Ham, served for limited times, either by election or as temporary teachers.

In 1844 music was introduced into the school by the enthusiastic teacher, B. F. Baker, and continued by Isaac N. Metcalf and the present able instructor, George

F. Willey. French was taught in the school by the special teachers, E. H. Viau in 1848, Louis Royer in 1869 and Charles De Frondat in 1874. Drawing was taught by Augusta L. Brigham in 1867. Some other teachers have served as substitutes on occasions of temporary sickness or other causes of absence of the regular teachers.

The present board of teachers are more permanent than most of their predecessors. The principal, Charles C. Chase, elected in 1845; the assistants are Mary A. Webster, elected in 1864; Marietta Melvin, elected in 1868; Elizabeth McDaniels and Charlotte E. Draper, elected in 1870; Harriet C. Hovey, elected in 1872; Edwin H. Lord, elected in 1873, and Mrs. Alice J. Chase, elected in 1878.

Of this noble and well-proved band there is no need that I should speak. They are worthy of a higher appreciation than the penny-wise economy of the present day can comprehend.

The writing in the school had always been taught by professors of the art, or at least by those who taught only writing and book-keeping. Their connection with the school has always seemed less intimate than that of the other teachers, and their association with the other teachers has lacked completeness, they holding themselves aloof on the numerous and various occasions that bring the teachers into intimate and pleasant intercourse. In their selection, proficiency in their art has seemed the only necessary qualification. But when persons of known character, instead of itinerants, have been selected, they have been men worthy of the most intimate association.

Francis D. Randall taught writing a part of the time under the administration of Messrs. Clark and

Hoppin. He was a respectable man, of full middle age, did his duty acceptably, and being elected register of deeds in his native county in New Hampshire, he left Lowell.

At the beginning of Mr. Forbes' administration, S. R. Hanscom, who had previously been an assistant in the school with Mr. Hoppin, taught the writing, dividing his time between the High and some of the Grammar schools. He was an efficient teacher and his services were reasonably acceptable; but on the first of April, 1836, he was permitted to give place to Calvin Bugbee, who happened along here at that time, could write a good hand, cut splendid flourishes, and stay in a place till he became known, which in Lowell proved to be only a few months.

For a time the school was without instruction in writing, till January, 1837, when William A. Van Derlip taught the writing to the boys, and Ephraim B. Patch, to the girls, making two visits a week each, and giving their instructions in the common room, while all else went on in the usual manner. This arrangement continued till the school was removed to its own new building, except the place of Mr. Patch was filled for some months by his brother, John S. Patch. Mr. Van Derlip had been of the itineracy, and it is sufficient to say that he out-did Mr. Bugbee in all his qualifications, writing better, bragging more, and concealing his character longer. The Messrs. Patch had long been citizens of Lowell, in the mercantile business, and accepted this post as a temporary convenience, pending some changes in business. They were neat penmen, efficient teachers, and safe in their moral influence. On the re-organization of the school, E. D. Sanborn was elected "teacher of writing and of book-keeping." But he made only a short stop with us; not making a fortunate impression upon the High School boys, there

was too much friction, and his services were transferred to the grammar schools, and Charles H. Farnsworth took his place in the High School. Mr. Farnsworth succeeded remarkably well in imparting his elegant style of writing. He had no worse enemy than himself. He was succeeded in 1865 by Bertram Harrison, who has continued in the position to the present time.

In the beginning of 1837 the schools of Lowell were required to open their morning sessions with devotional exercises. Mr. Currier and myself compiled a form of prayer from the Book of Common Prayer and Blair's Book of Prayers, which has been in use ever since. Episcopalians, Unitarians, Orthodox, Baptists and others, alike have used the prayer in responsive form in connection with the "Scriptures without note or comment," and with singing also in later years. Never have I known devotional exercises in any public school conducted with more decorum, decency and order.

The instruction in the High School has generally been of the most thorough character; scholars who have gone from our schools to other schools, have often shown such marked superiority in their independence of forms, and readiness of comprehension of the subjects taught as to call forth the most flattering compliments for our teachers. Our college students have been relatively numerous, and their standing in college has often been such as to reflect great honor upon the school where they received their preparatory instruction.

Though not claiming perfection for the Lowell High School, it need not decline comparison with any similar institution. And if the citizens of Lowell should know the extent of the advantages they derive from the High School, they would not suffer it to lack anything it may need for its highest usefulness.

III. Capt. G. V. Fox in the War of the Rebellion, by Alfred Gilman. Read August 6, 1879.

SCATTERED over the pages of the history of the great rebellion will be found many incidents in the life of a Lowell boy. To the fact that he has never been mentioned as a candidate for the suffrages of the people, must be ascribed the reason that no one has collected and collated these incidents and given them to the public in a connected and readable narrative. He graduated from the Lowell High School and Phillips Academy, Andover, entered the United States Navy early in life, served as an officer for nineteen years, during which time he was ordered to different stations—in command of mail steamers, in the work of the Coast Survey and in the prosecution of the war with Mexico. The experience gained in the various positions assigned him, while in the service of the country, eminently fitted him for the part he took in the suppression of the Rebellion.

Montgomery Blair was the Postmaster General during part of President Lincoln's administration. He married a daughter of the Hon. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire. Our hero married into the same family. Mr. Blair, before and while a member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, gave his voice and influence to the plan of re-enforcing and victualling Fort Sumter. When we recall the events of that period, we become aware that a little of Old Hickory's pluck and

determination would have put an entirely different aspect upon the affairs of the country. It would seem as if Buchanan had been selected by the South for the Presidency with a full knowledge of his complete subserviency to the wishes and plans of its leaders. It was Mr. Blair who advised Gen. Scott to send, in this emergency, for his brother-in-law, Gustavus V. Fox. In this case it was an honor to be called to perform a duty, as it implied confidence in the ability requisite to its performance. There is a marked distinction between being called to and seeking a post of honor.

Lossing, in his narrative of the Rebellion, says: "January 7, 1861, Mr. Fox presented Mr. Buchanan a plan for provisioning and re-enforcing the garrison of Sumter." This question agitated the country and caused eventually a division in the ranks of the Democratic party. President Buchanan was committed to the doctrine of "no coercion," which was stretched to the extent that the United States troops were to be shut up and starved without even making an attempt to relieve them. Gen. Cass, the veteran hero of the Northwest, who had been the standard-bearer of the Democratic party, could not and did not sustain the President in this view. This disaffection spread among the people.

We have only to consult our own experience to know that opportunities lost can never be recovered. With a spirit discouraged but not disheartened, Capt. Fox found his plans thwarted by the President. It does not detract one particle from the credit due him that General Scott and Major Anderson decided that twenty thousand troops were necessary to re-enforce Fort Sumter. He had the spirit and will to make the effort, which was required to vindicate the dignity, honor and character of the Government.

Were evidence wanting to prove that an early effort would have been successful, I have only to refer to the action of Major Anderson in the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Sumter, December 26, 1860; to the probable effect of opening a fire upon the rebels when they assailed the Star of the West, which was laden with provisions for the relief of Sumter, or the successful retention and re-enforcement of Fort Pickens.

Lossing in his History of the Rebellion, says:—"March 21, 1861, President Lincoln sent Mr. Fox on a visit to Fort Sumter, and he was permitted to enter by Governor Pickens."

The correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, under date of March 26, 1861, says: "Capt. Fox is cautious, intelligent and well-informed, and was brought to the notice of the government by Mr. Aspinwall, J. M. Forbes and some of the principal ship-owners of New York and Boston."

On the occasion of this visit, the Governor of South Carolina sent the following note to Major Anderson:

"I have permitted Captain Fox and Major Hartstein to go to you under peculiar circumstances, and I deeply regret General Scott could not have been more formal to me, as you well know I have been in a peculiar position for months here, and I do this now because I confide in you as a gentleman of honor."

Major Hartstein was sent as a guard to prevent any confidential conversation between Major Anderson and Captain Fox.

On the return of Captain Fox from Fort Sumter he informed President Lincoln that any attempt to succor Anderson must be made before the middle of April.

The order was given the afternoon of the 4th of April, and Col. Lamon was sent, April 8th, as a special messenger to the Governor of South Carolina, to notify him that supplies must be sent to Fort Sumter, peaceably it was to be hoped, but forcibly if necessary. It is not surprising, therefore, that every needful preparation was made for the reception of Captain Fox, and for the assault on Sumter.

President Lincoln's sense of honor would not permit him to make even an attempt to succor the garrison of Fort Sumter without formally giving his enemies notice.

In answer to a note, Captain Fox sent me the following statement, which has an important historical value:—

. . . . . "The first question presented to Mr. Lincoln, after his inauguration, was that of re-enforcing or abandoning Fort Sumter. Mr. Seward was for giving it up, and Mr. Blair for holding and re-enforcing it. On taking the sense of his Cabinet the vote stood, for withdrawing Major Anderson and yielding the fort to the rebels, Seward, Chase, Cameron, Smith and Bates; against yielding, Blair and Welles. Major Anderson having written a letter advising the Government to order his withdrawal from the fort, (to which an excellent military judgment had carried him), and having stated in that letter that it would require twenty thousand men to re-enforce him, and General Scott having endorsed the letter of Major Anderson in a personal interview with President Lincoln, the Cabinet then followed the recommendation of General Scott, and advised that the garrison of Fort Sumter be withdrawn, Mr. Blair alone dissenting.

Mr. Blair took the ground that to yield this fort,

the property of the United States, and forego any attempt to provision a starving garrison of United States soldiers, would demoralize the North, destroy the party which had just elected its President, and accomplish at once a permanent dissolution of the Union, and being out-voted, he tendered his resignation as Postmaster General.

In matters of serious import Mr. Lincoln moved with great caution. His mind was reflective and logical rather than executive, and when he had the time to listen to, and weigh facts and arguments presented to him, his judgment was superior to his party associates. He asked Mr. Blair why he maintained the possible relief of Fort Sumter, against the opinion of General Scott and the commander of Fort Sumter. Mr. Blair replied that the same question was before Mr. Buchanan only a short time previous; that a plan of relief was presented by his brother-in-law, Mr. Fox, not now of the Navy, but with eighteen years' naval experience; that this plan was approved then by Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, and General Scott, but refused at the last moment, by President Buchanan, and that the circumstances had not so completely changed as to render it necessary to abandon now at least the attempt upon which so much in the future rested.

This conversation led to my being summoned to Washington. These facts are known; perhaps they have not been stated so sententiously, but two survivors besides myself are alive and can confirm them and give others of importance. Many other statements are necessary to enable posterity to form accurate judgment upon the conduct of those whose purpose at this tremendous crisis of our affairs was first and foremost to preserve this Union of States. Unfortunately those who knew the

facts and helped to make them had not the time, when they were in power, and out of it, have not the inclination to write them. The principal actors in great affairs seldom contribute to history the truths within their knowledge."

MEMORANDUM OF FACTS IN REGARD TO THE ATTEMPT TO PROVISION FORT SUMTER. IN 1861, SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY IN 1865, BY CAPTAIN G. V. FOX, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY DURING THE REBELLION.

On the 5th of January, 1861, being in New York city, I received information that a steamer belonging to the line of which M. O. Roberts was president, was preparing to go to Fort Sumter with troops and supplies. While I was a Lieutenant in the United States Navy I had commanded one of the mail steamers belonging to this company, from which and the navy I resigned to enter civil life. Sharing the feelings of those who urged President Buchanan to hold this fort, and being desirous of employment on such patriotic duty, I called on Mr. Roberts and requested command of the vessel selected. Mr. Roberts expressed his regret that he had not known of my presence in the city and my desire to go, as he would certainly have given me command. Now, he said, it was too late, as the steamer [Star of the West] was on her way there. On the 9th of January, '61, this vessel was fired at by the forts on Sullivan and Morris Islands, acting under the orders of

the authorities of the State of South Carolina, and driven from the harbor. So soon as this fact was known in New York, I called to see George W. Blunt, of that city, whom I knew to be on intimate terms with General Scott, and to him I expressed my views in regard to the practicability of sending in supplies and troops to Fort Sumter, and the dishonor which would be justly merited by the Government unless immediate measures were taken to fulfil this sacred duty. Mr. Blunt asked me to explain my plan, and promised to send it at once to General Scott, in Washington.

I gave it to him in writing, as follows: From the outer edge of the Charleston bar, in a straight line to Fort Sumter, through the swash channel, the distance is four miles, with no shoal spots having less than nine feet at high water. The batteries on Morris and Sullivan Islands are about two thousand six hundred yards apart, and between these, troops and supplies must pass. I proposed to anchor three small men-of-war off the entrance to the swash channel, as a safe base of operations against any naval attack from the enemy. The soldiers and provisions to be carried to the Charleston bar in the Collins steamer Baltic—the provisions and munitions to be put up in small packages, such as one man could handle easily; the Baltic to carry three hundred extra sailors and a sufficient number of armed launches to land all the troops at Fort Sumter in one night.

Three steam-tugs, of not more than six feet draught of water (such as are employed for towing purposes) were to form a part of the expedition, and to be used for carrying in the troops and provisions, in case the weather should be too rough for boats.

With the exception of the men-of-war and tugs, the

whole expedition was to be complete on board the steamer Baltic, and its success depended upon the possibility of running past batteries, at night, which were distant one thousand three hundred yards from the line of entrence. I relied upon the barbette guns of Sumter to keep the channel, between Morris and Sullivan Islands, clear of rebel vessels while entering.

Mr. Blunt and myself discussed this plan over a chart, and he communicated it to Charles H. Marshall and Russell Sturgis. As it met with their approval, Mr. Marshall agreed to furnish and provision the vessels without publicity.

February 4th, Mr. Blunt came to my hotel with a telegram from General Scott, requesting my attendance at Washington. I had been summoned to the capital as soon as Mr. Blunt wrote to General Scott, communicating my plan of relief, but owing to a misdirection of the letter I did not receive it when it was written, near the middle of January. I left Washington February the 5th, and breakfasted with the General the next day. At eleven, A. M., I met at his office Lieutenant J. N. Hall, who had been sent from Fort Sumter by Major Anderson. In the General's presence we discussed the question of succoring the Fort. Lieutenant Hall's plan was to go in with a steamer, protected by a vessel on each side loaded with hay. I objected to it for the following reasons: First, a steamer could not carry vessels lashed alongside, in rough water; secondly, in running up the channel she would be "bows on" to Fort Moultrie, and presenting a large, fixed mark, without protection ahead, would certainly be disabled.

General Scott approved my plan, and on the 7th of February introduced me to Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, to whom I explained the project, and offered my services

to conduct the party to the fort. Mr. Holt agreed to present the matter to President Buchanan that evening.

The next day, the 8th of February, news was received of the establishment of a Provisional Government at Montgomery, Alabama, by the convention of delegates from the seceded States. I called on General Scott, when he intimated to me that probably no effort would be made to relieve Fort Sumter. He expressed great disappointment and astonishment at the change of purpose in President Buchanan, and sharing his feelings, I left Washington the next day for New York.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated and his cabinet appointed, among whom was Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, a graduate of West Point, and connected with me by marriage. While I was urging Mr. Buchanan's administration to hold Fort Sumter, by strengthening its garrison in February, I communicated my plans to Mr. Blair, who sympathized with my objects and warmly seconded my views. At that time he was urging Congress to pass a bill legalizing volunteer military organizations in the Southern States, for the defence of the Union, and having the confidence of General Scott, he had obtained from him important orders in aid of the organizations formed by his brother, for the defence of the Arsenal at St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts"; but when the question of *holding* Fort Sumter was discussed in the cabinet, every member except Mr. Blair, voted to give it up, and General Scott not only shifted his ground and advised the withdrawal of its garrison,

but included also that of Fort Pickens, in Florida, which was not claimed to be under military strain, as was urged in the case of Sumter.

Mr. Seward's policy was, "to let the wayward States go in peace" and seek a "reunion" by means of a convention to be called in pursuance of the constitution. Mr. Blair, a Southern man, opposed to slavery and educated in the traditions and union principles of General Jackson, antagonized Mr. Seward's policy, and urged holding and strengthening the forts still in possession of the United States, and placing arms promptly in the hands of the Union people South, who were in a majority, but unless promptly assisted, would be coerced by their desperate leaders, who held the political organizations and arms. Mr. Seward's policy proposed an abandonment of the forts held by the Government in the South, for the future contingency of a "reunion." Mr. Blair held that their abandonment was a surrender of the Union, and on this view he put his resignation from the cabinet on the issue.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Blair telegraphed me to come to Washington, where I arrived on the 13th. He briefly explained to me the condition of things and the necessity of convincing Mr. Lincoln of the practicability of re-enforcing Fort Sumter, since General Scott and Major Anderson advised that it would require twenty thousand men to relieve it. He took me at once to the White House, where I explained to Mr. Lincoln the plan I had proposed to his predecessor one month before, and which had then met the approval of General Scott. From the President we went to General Scott's office and discussed the subject with him. He took the ground that the batteries erected on both sides of the entrance of Charleston Harbor, since my former visit, made the

plan impossible, whereas I maintained that a naval force propelled by steam, could pass any number of guns there, because the course was at right angles to the line of fire and the distance—thirteen hundred yards—too great for accurate shooting at night. As Mr. Blair seemed to be fighting this battle alone, I thought it would strengthen my arguments and his position if I made a visit to Fort Sumter.

The President agreed to it, if I could obtain the consent of the Secretary of War and General Scott. The latter thought I incurred some personal risk, but at my urgent request, supported by the Secretary of War, he signed the letter annexed, with which I left Washington on the 19th of March, and passing through Richmond and Wilmington reached Charleston the 21st. I travelled the latter part of the way with Mr. Holmes, of California, formerly a member of Congress from South Carolina, in the days of Calhoun. At Florence Station we met Mr. Keitt, a member of Congress from South Carolina when that State passed the ordinance of secession. He welcomed Mr. Holmes warmly, and inquired with great anxiety whether Sumter was to be given up. Mr. Holmes said, "Yes, I know it," which seemed to give Mr. Keitt much satisfaction, but he insisted upon knowing his authority. Mr. Holmes said, "I have the highest authority for what I say," and upon Mr. Keitt again asking, "*Who?*" he leaned towards him, and at that moment the engine-whistle gave a screech for starting, so that the conversation closed, and I lost the name.

At a station near Charleston Mr. Huger, who had been Postmaster of that city, under President Buchanan, got into the cars and held a conversation with Mr. Holmes, during which the same assurances were repeated,

as to the certainty of the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Mr. Huger seemed much depressed with the condition of affairs.

At Charleston I sought an interview with Captain Hartstein, formerly of the United States Navy, to whom I made known my mission to visit Major Anderson. Not finding General Beauregard, he introduced me to Governor Pickens, who asked for the orders under which I acted. After considerable delay he directed Captain Hartstein to take me to Fort Sumter, and while the boat was preparing, I had an interview with General Beauregard. We then went to Fort Sumter, reaching it after dark, and remaining about two hours.

Major Anderson said it was too late to relieve the Fort by any other means than landing an army on Morris Island. He agreed with General Scott, that an entrance from the sea was impossible; but as we looked out on the water from the parapet where we were conversing, it seemed very feasible, demonstrably so, because we heard the oars of a boat near the Fort, and a sentry hailed, but the boat was not seen on account of the darkness until it nearly touched the landing.

I found the garrison getting short of provisions, and we agreed that I should report that the 15th of April, at noon, would be the period beyond which the Fort could not be held unless supplies were furnished.

I made no arrangements with Major Anderson for re-enforcing or supplying the Fort, nor did I inform him of my plan.

On my return to Washington the subject was still under discussion. General Scott's military fame and his great experience would seem to put beyond dispute any opinion of his concerning military affairs; but Mr. Blair convinced the President that he was influenced by politi-

cal grounds, because he advised surrendering Fort Pickens also, while I argued that the question of passing forts at night, with a naval force, was not a military but a naval one, and I compiled for Mr. Lincoln all the cases I could find where ships had passed shore batteries with impunity; notably, the English gunboat squadron which ran the batteries at Kinburn, in the Crimean War. I attended the meetings of the Cabinet very often to assist Mr. Blair and the President in these discussions, and at one of them General Totten, Chief of Engineers, read a paper in which he admitted that my plan of passing batteries at night, under steam, was feasible; but he said that the naval force at the disposal of the authorities at Charleston, would meet us at the entrance of the harbor and defeat its object. I replied that General Totten admitted all I urged, viz: the feasibility of running past shore batteries, and as to a contest of vessels at the entrance of the harbor, that was a naval question. The President told me if there was any naval officer of large experience who would confirm my views, to bring him to the White House; so I took Commodore Stringham, then stationed at the Navy Department. This officer not only supported my plans, but he said that he had held a conversation with the venerable Commodore Stewart that morning, who asserted that Fort Sumter could easily be re-enforced and provisioned with boats at night. As valuable time was being lost by discussions which form no part of this narrative, I represented to the President that an expedition of such importance required time for its preparation, and that if there was any probability of sending it out, preliminary steps should be taken.

On the 30th of March, he sent me to New York with verbal instructions to make ready, but not to incur any binding engagements.

After consultation with George W. Blunt, I met Messrs. William H. Aspinwall and Charles H. Marshall, by previous arrangement, for the purpose of having such an understanding as the President's instructions authorized.

Mr. Marshall declined to aid me, upon the ground that the attempt to relieve Fort Sumter would "kill the proposed loan and bring on civil war, and because the people had made up their minds to abandon Sumter, and make the stand upon Fort Pickens."

On the 2nd of April, I had not received the written authority which I expected from the Government, therefore I returned to Washington.

Delays, which belong to the secret and political history of this period, prevented a decision until the afternoon of the 4th of April, when the President sent for me, and said that he had decided to let the expedition go, and that a messenger would be sent to the authorities of Charleston, before I could possibly get there, to notify them that troops would not be put into Sumter, provided the subsistence for the garrison was allowed to be landed at the Fort peacefully. I told the President that by the time I should arrive at New York I would have but nine days in which to organize the expedition, charter and provision the vessels, and reach the destined point, six hundred and thirty-two miles distant. He replied, "You will best fulfil your duty to your country by making the attempt."

In the Atlantic waters of the United States the Secretary of the Navy had in commission only two small vessels of war, the Pocahontas and Pawnee ; these he placed at my disposal, and also the revenue steamer Harriet Lane, and permitted me to give all the necessary orders. The Powhatan, which had recently returned to

port and gone out of commission, was immediately recommissioned, because it was supposed to be impracticable to put all the sailors and all the launches on board the Baltic, with the army detachment, as I had requested, for I feared a divided expedition. Therefore, the Powhatan with her disciplined crew and large boats became indispensable to success.

I suggested to the Secretary of the Navy to place Commodore Stringham in command of the naval force, but upon consulting with that distinguished officer, he said that it was too late to succeed, and likely to ruin the reputation of the officer who undertook it.

I arrived at New York on the 5th of April; engaged the steamer Baltic through Mr. Aspinwall, who used every possible exertion to get her ready for sea, and delivered confidential orders embracing all my wants, to Colonel H. L. Scott, aid to the General-in-Chief, and Colonel D. D. Tompkins, Quartermaster.

Colonel Scott ridiculed the idea of the Government relieving Fort Sumter, and by his indifference and delay half a day of precious time was lost. The recruits that he finally furnished were raw and undrilled, and therefore totally unfit to be sent to garrison a fort, which by a combination of circumstances had become the spot where the question of maintaining the authority of the Union was to be tested.

I placed the hiring of three tugs in the hands of Russell Sturgis, but he found great difficulty in obtaining from the owners tugs to go to sea for a secret purpose. Finally, three were promised at exorbitant rates, namely: the Yankee (which I fitted to throw hot water), the Uncle Ben and the Freeborn.

The question of supplies introduced me to Major Eaton, of the Commissary Department, who "thanked

God" that an attempt was to be made to relieve Major Anderson's command, and from the energetic and enthusiastic co-operation of this officer the expedition was immediately provisioned as ordered.

The frigate Powhatan, Captain Samuel Mercer, sailed on the 6th of April, 1861; the Pawnee, Commander S. C. Rowan, on the 9th; the Pocahontas, Captain J. P. Gillis, on the 10th; the Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce, on the 8th; the tug Uncle Ben, on the 7th; the tug Yankee, on the 8th, and the Baltic, Captain Fletcher, dropped down to Sandy Hook on the evening of the 8th and went to sea at 8, A. M., of the 9th.

The detachment of recruits, with the following officers of the United States Army, accompanied me on board the latter vessel: First Lieutenant Edward McK. Hudson, First Lieutenant Robert O. Tyler and First Lieutenant C. W. Thomas.

Soon after leaving Sandy Hook, a heavy gale of wind came on from the northward and eastward, which continued during the whole passage. At three, A. M., on the 12th, we reached the rendezvous off Charleston, and communicated with the Harriet Lane, the only vessel which had arrived. At 6, A. M., the Pawnee was seen standing in. I boarded her and acquainted Commander Rowan with my orders from the Secretary of War, and asked him to stand in for the bar with me. He replied, that his orders required him to remain "ten miles east of the light and await the Powhatan," and that he "was not going in there to begin civil war." I then steamed in toward the bar with the Baltic, followed by the Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce, who cheerfully went along me.

As we neared the land, heavy guns were heard and the smoke and the shells from the batteries which had opened their fire upon Sumter, were distinctly visible.

I immediately stood out to apprise Captain Rowan, but met him coming in. He hailed me and asked for a pilot, declaring it to be his intention to run into the harbor and share the fate of his brethren of the army. I went on board and told him that I would answer for it, that the Government did not expect any such gallant sacrifice, having maturely settled upon the policy indicated in the instructions to Captain Mercer and myself. No other naval vessels arrived during this day; but the steamer Nashville, from New York, and a number of merchant vessels reached the bar, and while awaiting the result of the bombardment they gave indications to those inside, of a large naval fleet off the harbor. The weather continued very bad, with a heavy sea; neither the Pawnee nor the Harriet Lane had enough boats, nor of the proper size, to carry in supplies and troops. Feeling sure that the Powhatan would arrive during the night, as she had sailed from New York two days before the Baltic, I steamed out to the appointed rendezvous and made signals all night.

The morning of the 13th was thick and foggy, with a very heavy ground-swell. The Baltic, while steaming slowly in, ran ashore on Rattlesnake Shoal, but was soon got off without damage. On account of the heavy swell she was obliged to anchor in deep water, several miles outside of the Pawnee and Harriet Lane.

Lieutenant Robert O. Tyler, United States Army, an officer of very great zeal and loyalty, although suffering from sea-sickness, like most of the recruits, organized a boat's crew, and exercised them in spite of the heavy sea, for the purpose of having at least one boat, in the absence of the Powhatan's, by which to reach Fort Sumter. At 8, A. M., I took this boat and in company with Lieutenant Hudson, pulled in towards the Pawnee. As we drew

near that vessel, a great volume of black smoke arose from Fort Sumter, through which the flash of Major Anderson's guns could be seen, replying to the rebel batteries. The quarters of the Fort were on fire, but most of our military and naval officers believed that the smoke came from an attempt to drive out the garrison with fire-rafts.

As it was the opinion of the officers that loaded boats could not reach Sumter in such a heavy sea, and as no tug-boats had arrived, a schooner near us, loaded with ice, was taken possession of, and preparations commenced at once to load her to enter the harbor the following night. I now learned for the first time from Captain S. C. Rowan, that he had received a note from Captain Mercer, of the Powhatan, dated at New York, the 6th, the day that vessel sailed, stating that the Powhatan was detached by order of "superior authority," from the duty to which she was assigned off Charleston, and had sailed for another destination. I had left New York two days afterward without receiving information of this fatal change.

At 2, P. M., the Pocahontas arrived, and at half-past two the flag of Fort Sumter was shot away and not again raised.

A flag of truce was sent in by Captain Gillis, and arrangements made to put Major Anderson and his command on board the Baltic for passage to New York.

The Fort was evacuated Sunday, the 14th of April. Monday, the 15th, the steamer Isabel took the garrison to the steamer Baltic, which left that evening for New York, where we arrived on the forenoon of the 18th instant.

In passing Sandy Hook, the Baltic stopped to re-

ceive the telegraphic agent, but Major Anderson was so weak, physically, and so prostrated mentally, that he declined to see him or give him any message. Being appealed to, I suggested a brief report of facts to the Secretary of War, *by telegraph*, and the Major requested me to write what I thought best and he would sign it. Accordingly I wrote the following message, which was telegraphed from Sandy Hook and a copy given to the associated press agent:

STEAMSHIP BALTIC, OFF SANDY HOOK,
April 18, 1861—10.30, A. M., via. New York.

Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burnt, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat; four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard — being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities—and marched out of the Fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major 1st Artillery, Commanding.

HON. SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

My plan for supplying Fort Sumter was plain and practicable, and it called for no means which the limited

resources of the Government did not have at hand. I requested—

First—Three hundred sailors on board the steamer Baltic.

Second—A sufficient number of armed launches to land the recruits and subsistence.

Third—Three light-draft tugs, for use should the sea be too rough for boats.

Fourth—Three small men-of-war to be anchored close in to the entrance of Charleston harbor, for a base of operations.

As already stated, the frigate Powhatan was specially re-commissioned, that she might carry the necessary sailors and launches, and be the flag-ship of the relieving squadron. Captain Samuel Mercer, a loyal South Carolinian, was placed in command, and instructions for his guidance, dated April 5th, were handed to him on the 6th.

On that day, as he was about to sail, Lieutenant D. D. Porter, United States Navy, and Captain M. C. Meigs, United States Army, came on board and gave Captain Mercer two orders. One was dated, "Executive Mansion, Washington, April 1, 1861," addressed to no one, but directing Lieutenant Porter to take command of the Powhatan, and ordering all officers to aid him in getting to sea. It was signed Abraham Lincoln and endorsed, "Recommend, William H. Seward." The other was dated "Washington City, April 2, 1861." It was directed to "Captain Mercer, United States Navy," signed Abraham Lincoln and attested, "True copy, M. C. Meigs, Captain of Engineers, Chief Engineer of Expedition of Colonel Brown." It detached Captain Mercer from the Powhatan in soothing and regretful language. This officer did not yield his important command with-

out great perplexity. He knew that, according to invariable usage, the President exercised his constitutional authority as "Commander in Chief" of the Navy through the Navy Department only, the head of which gave orders as "Secretary of the Navy," which were by law the orders of the President. Captain Mercer held the confidential orders of the Secretary of the Navy, dated April 5th, when those of the President dated the 1st and 2nd were given to him. The orders of the President conflicted with those of his Secretary, but they were of an *older date*, and transmitted by a department charged with diplomatic affairs only. Nevertheless, owing to the high character of the officers who brought the presidential orders, and their strenuous personal representations, he put Lieutenant Porter in command and went on shore.

In this way the Powhatan, with the sailors and launches, the commander of the squadron and the confidential instructions, were withdrawn from the Sumter expedition, and this steamer was sent to Fort Pickens, where a squadron of naval vessels was already anchored, and where she arrived five days after that fort had been re-enforced, in obedience to an order from the Navy Department which Lieutenant John L. Worden, United States Navy, carried overland to Pensacola. The delay in giving orders to fit out and organise the steamer expedition, until its failure in a naval point of view was extremely probable, was due to the political exigencies of that period. The steam tugs, which were a necessary part of my plan in the event of the water being too rough for boats, did not reach their destination. The tug Freeborn was not permitted to leave New York by its owners. The tug Uncle Ben was driven into Wilmington, N. C., and seized by the rebels. The tug Yankee

ran before the gale to the entrance of Savannah, Ga., and re-passed Charleston after the Baltic had left for New York. The naval steamer Pocahontas (one of the three men-of-war that I asked for) arrived as the Fort was about to be surrendered. Therefore all the conditions which I considered indispensable failed, and with them, the relief of Fort Sumter.

On my return the President wrote to me: "You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail, and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result."

While awaiting a summons from the Government, the communications between New York and Washington were severed. I therefore asked Mr. Aspinwall to procure a small steamer with arms and ammunition to enable me to reach Chesapeake Bay, where I believed the most critical situation to be. This gentleman applied to William B. Astor, who patriotically gave him a check for five thousand dollars. With this he procured for me the tug Yankee and pursuaded Commodore Breese, commandant of the New York Navy Yard, to arm and fit her out; and receiving from that officer an appointment as Acting Lieutenant in the Navy, which gave me the right to exercise military authority, I left on the 26th for Hampton Roads, where I consulted first, Commodore Pendergrast of the Cumberland, and then Colonel Dimick, commanding at Fortress Monroe.

The services of the Yankee not being required by either of these officers I went to Annapolis and offered my vessel to General Butler, who was opening communication with Washington by that route. The General gratefully received the steamer and sent me through to

the capital, on the first train, where I reported to the President, who requested me to take an appointment in the Navy Department as Assistant Secretary.

Annexed are copies of orders and letters, relating to the narrative which I have submitted.

Very respectfully yours,

G. V. FOX,
Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Annexed to this narrative are copies of orders and letters relating thereto, fully corroborating the statements made by Captain Fox. The following letter from President Lincoln shows the appreciation in which Captain Fox's efforts were held:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1861.

CAPTAIN G. V. FOX: MY DEAR SIR—

I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test.

By reason of a gale well known in advance to be possible, and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground, while, by an accident, for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly *I*, to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while

the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation.

For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character, you would to-day be the man, of all acquaintances, whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

The Comte de Paris, who wrote a history of the rebellion, says: "Mr. Fox, who was Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the entire period of the war, possessed that peculiar kind of activity and intelligence which rises superior to all obstacles and can turn the least resources to account when all hearts are discouraged. Having visited Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, a plan had been agreed upon between them for re-victualling the garrison, and he proposed to Mr. Lincoln to be himself the instrument for carrying it out."

At a later date he says: "The Federal navy began to prepare for its combined expeditions (among them Hatteras and the Mississippi River) by land and sea in the month of August. The chief merit of their conception and organization was due to Mr. Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who had already distinguished himself at a critical moment by attempting to re-victual Fort Sumter. For four years his ardent mind, practical and full of resources, effectively controlled the Department, and at the expiration of those memorable

four years, he retired without aspiring to any other reward than the satisfaction of having served his country well."

B. J. Lossing, whom we have twice before quoted, says of Captain Fox's efforts to re-enforce Sumter: "As Mr. Fox's orders were imperative, he performed his duty in spite of official detentions, and with that professional skill, untiring industry and indomitable energy, which, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he displayed throughout the entire war that ensued; he fitted out the expedition (having made some previous preparation) within the space of forty-eight hours.

"The judgment and energy displayed by Captain Fox caused him to be appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy. As the Lieutenant of Secretary Wells, invested with wide discretionary powers, he was to the navy what the general-in-chief is to the Army."

General J. G. Barnard, United States Engineer and Chief Engineer Army of the Potomac, in Johnson's New Universal Encyclopædia, says of Captain Fox: "As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he is thus mentioned to the writer by a prominent member of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet: 'Fox was, in my opinion, the really able man in Lincoln's administration. . . . . He planned the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi, and generally the operations of the navy. He had all the responsibility of removing the superannuated and inefficient men he found in charge. . . . . He selected Farragut. . . . . General Grant constantly consulted him. . . . . Not the least meritorious part of his services is, that he sought only to make them useful, claiming neither then nor now the fame due to his services.'"

After the war closed, just as Captain Fox was about to retire to civil pursuits, Congress determined to signify its sense of the services of Alexander II. of Russia to humanity in the abolishment of serfdom by him, and its grateful appreciation of that sovereign's sympathy openly expressed for the preservation of the Union, by sending a formal mission, in a naval squadron, to deliver to him the vote of Congress congratulating him upon having escaped the shot of an assassin. Captain Fox went to Russia in the Monitor Miantonomoh and performed this delicate mission to the satisfaction of Congress and with such an appreciation on the part of the Emperor that his son, the Grand Duke Alexis, made him a visit at Lowell, December 9, 1871.

Hon. Alexander H. Rice, chairman of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives during the war, writes: "I am thoroughly impressed by my observation and intimate knowledge of the inestimable value of Mr. Fox's services, the wisdom of his council, the sagacity of his plans, and the boldness and efficiency with which the Naval Department and service were conducted."

Admiral Porter writes of Mr. Fox: "To his professional knowledge and untiring energy the country is largely indebted for the rapidity with which we built up a powerful navy. To his advocacy of the building of suitable vessels for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, and improvement of Ericsson's system of monitors, was the country in a great measure indebted for an avoidance of war with England and France, which would have been fatal to the Union cause. Mr. Fox has never received due acknowledgment of his services from the country, and it is only by officers of the navy, or his wide circle of friends, that they are fully appreciated."

Admiral Dupont, in his official despatches, acknowledged his indebtedness to the Assistant Secretary, for his professional ability and great zeal, and this was the universal opinion of the officers who led our squadrons to victory.

Senator Grimes, chairman of the Naval Committee in the Senate, confirmed all that the Hon. A. H. Rice said, as to Captain Fox's services and abilities, and after he retired from the Department, at the end of the war, to seek his living in civil life, Mr. Grimes caused the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to be abolished, saying that it was created especially for Captain Fox, to enable the Navy Department to have during the war a person, whose professional knowledge and abilities would give a guarantee of success to the blockade and to naval operations, and whose character commanded the confidence of Congress and the country, and since the war was closed and he had retired to civil life, the office was no longer necessary.

Colonel C. C. Chesney, of the Royal Engineers, who visited this country during the rebellion, and studied the naval and military operations, published his observations on his return to England. Of Mr. Fox he wrote:—"This officer, who had left the navy for private employment before the era of secession, was one of many bold and active spirits who flocked back to the public service of the Union, when its existence was endangered. . . . . An Assistant Secretary of the Navy was one of the first additional offices recommended for the sanction of the new Congress; the appointment was at once conferred on Captain Fox, who held it until the war was brought to a successful end. No better selection could have been

made. The happy combination he possessed of cultivated professional knowledge with close experience of the details of the Northern shipping trade, enabled him, in a degree to which no other man could have attained, to utilize the resources of the latter for the supply of the vast deficiencies existing in the department of which throughout the struggle he held practical charge." Writing of the loss of Norfolk Navy Yard and the conversion of the steam frigate Merrimac acquired thereby into an iron-clad by the rebels, Colonel Chesney writes that they proceeded forthwith to convert this vessel, "into such an invincible iron-clad as might hope to defy all the fleets of the North. To the foresight and activity of Captain Fox it was due that this design was foiled in the end, by the counter-measures adopted at his instance." Reviewing the work of 1861, Colonel Chesney says the one work really accomplished, was the validity of the blockade, and "further, it is evident that the Marine Department of the Union forces had done more during this period of general girding for the strife than the administration of the sister service." Again: "Passing forward another year in our review we find more conspicuous successes obtained by the energy of Mr. Welles' able assistant than perhaps even he had dreamed of, when the mantle of office fell on him in a fortunate hour for the Union."

IV. Cruise of the Monitor Lehigh, by Charles Cowley. Read November 12, 1879.

THE success of the Monitor in her battle with the Confederate Ram Merrimack (or Virginia) induced the Federal Navy Department to contract at once for the building of nine iron-clads of the Monitor pattern, resembling, according to the homely description of one who witnessed the combat in Hampton Roads, "a cheese-box on a raft." One of these was the Lehigh, built at Chester, Pennsylvania, and costing four hundred thousand dollars. The burden of the Lehigh was about eighteen hundred tons, and a description of her will answer, substantially, for each of the other iron-clads of this class.

She was about two hundred and fourteen feet in length over all, forty-five feet in beam and fourteen feet deep. She drew, when in fighting trim, eleven feet of water. The turret, which contained one fifteen-inch and one eleven-inch Dahlgren gun, was twenty feet in diameter. She carried twelve steam engines, two to propel the ship, two for the turret, and eight for various other purposes.

The cruise of the Lehigh began April 15, 1863, and ended with the close of the war.

Her commanders were John C. Howell, now a rear admiral in command of the European squadron; Andrew Bryson, now also a rear admiral in command of the

Brooklyn Navy Yard; Francis M. Bunce; William Gibson, the poet; Andrew J. Johnson and A. A. Semmes.

Her first duty was in the Chickahominy River, where, with the Monitor Sangamon, she co-operated with the Army of the Potomac under General McClellan. For some time she carried the flag of Rear Admiral Lee. At the close of McClellan's campaign, in July, 1863, she was sent to New York, where a branch rebellion was then imminent.

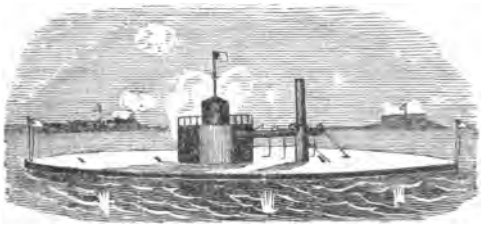
She left New York again on August 25th for the South Atlantic squadron. The passage of Cape Hatteras, which proved fatal to the original Monitor, came near proving fatal to the Lehigh. It was only by the greatest care and vigilance that she was prevented from laying her bones with the bones of hundreds of ill-fated barks over which the light of Cape Hatteras revolves forever. She passed Cape Hatteras Light on the night of the 27th and 28th of August, but no one on board saw that light. The sea broke over her decks without intermission during successive watches. It lifted and carried away her bell. There was one period of about an hour and a half, during which the deck could not be seen at all—the sea rolling over it, often as high as the turret. Captain Bryson expected every moment to go down.

She arrived off Charleston on the 30th of August, spent one day in "coaling ship," and on the two following days engaged, with other Monitors, in bombarding Fort Sumter, passing at once from the perils of the sea to the perils of battle.

Fort Wagner, which the Federal army had twice vainly attempted to capture by storm, was now almost within our grasp, having undergone one of the heaviest and most protracted bombardments recorded in history.

The capture of this famous fortification was finally

consummated by the aid of the "Grant" electric light, the use of which was suggested by John Austin Stevens, the editor of the Magazine of American History.* Be-



THE LEHIGH BOMBARDING BATTERY WAGNER.

ing brought to bear upon this battery, this light made it impossible for the Confederates to repair during the night (as they had previously done), the damages sustained during the day, and also enabled our army and navy to operate effectively, continuously, by night as well as by day.

On the 5th and 6th of September, the Lehigh and the Monitor Weehawken took a position, and maintained it, between two fires, having the Cummings Point Batteries, Wagner and Gregg, on the south, and Fort Sumter on the north, and being also exposed at the same time to the fire of more distant batteries on James Island and on Sullivan Island. By firmly holding this position, these vessels made it impossible for General Beauregard to send any further re-enforcements to Morris Island. The next night General Taliaferro evacuated that island, and General Terry, who was to have led a third assault on Wagner the next morning, entered that famous battery without a shot.

*See Mr. Stevens' kindly review of my "Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore," in his Magazine for June, 1880.

That night her consort, the Weehawken, accidentally got aground near Fort Sumter, and the Confederate artillerists, sighting their guns with the greatest precision of aim, poured upon her a most destructive fire. The Lehigh, meanwhile, with other vessels from below, used every effort to divert the fire of the Confederates from her disabled consort, and finally pulled her off into deeper water. The Weehawken, even while aground, returned the fire of the Confederate batteries with great vigor and effect. One shell which she then threw into Fort Moultrie, created more wide-spread havoc than any other single shot, so far as is known, that was fired during the siege of Charleston. It dismantled and broke the muzzle of an eight-inch Columbiad, then glanced off and exploded behind a mulin. This exploded two caissons, one containing cartridges for the cannon, the other shell. The bursting of these shells exploded several other ammunition chests, and the havoc was general. Eighteen men were killed, and ten wounded. Captain R. Press Smith, who commanded the company serving these guns, was compelled to leap over the parapet into the ditch, in order to save his own life.*

But great as were the losses then inflicted upon the Confederates by the Weehawken, they wholly failed to compensate for the injuries which she herself sustained in consequence of getting aground on that disastrous night; for I have no doubt that it was the overstrain which she suffered while thus lying aground, and keeping her battery going at the same time, which, two

*By the kindness of my friend, Mr. Yates Snowden, of Charleston, S. C., since this paper was read, I have been furnished with letters from Captain Smith (now practising medicine at Santa Rosa, California), Major T. A. Huguenin, who then commanded Battery Beauregard, and Lieutenant J. C. Minott, who then commanded Battery Marion, which enable me to add here several particulars previously unknown to me, and, also, to correct an error into which I had fallen as to the date.

months later, carried her suddenly to the bottom, with more than thirty of her crew.

On September 8, 1863, a picked body of three hundred sailors and marines, assaulted Fort Sumter. During the whole night the Lehigh lay near the Fort, covering with her guns the storming party. The garrison, however, had been strongly re-enforced in anticipation of this attack; the army column, which was to have coöperated with the navy column, failed to come up to our support, and the assault proved disastrous.*

I am aware that Mr. Greeley and Mr. Lossing, writing under the inspiration of General Gillmore, have said that this assault was made without the knowledge of that officer and without any expectation of coöperation from his army; but this is untrue. I myself saw and read the original despatches and telegrams from the General to the Admiral, arranging for a joint assault, and General Gillmore himself suggested the countersign, "Detroit," which was used by both branches of the service on that night. Not the slightest hint of any change of purpose on Gillmore's part was received by the Admiral; but the army column remained in boats in the rear, while the navy column climbed the walls of Sumter unaided, but climbed them only to be captured or killed.

The assault of the army column could not have succeeded, had it been made as planned. For its success depended on taking the enemy by surprise. But the Confederates became apprised of what was coming, by

*Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, of the First Georgia Infantry, who was stationed on James Island at the time, says: "The land forces, about four hundred strong, embarked in their boats in Vincent's Creek. The windings of the creek (between Morris and James Island) probably delayed them, and they had not quite reached the fort when the naval assault was made and repulsed. All hope of a surprise being at an end, the second force retired."

interpreting the signals which passed between the Admiral and the General in relation to the proposed assault during the preceding day. They were thus enabled to obtain re-enforcements, and to prepare thoroughly for the attack.

So, by the help of their knowledge of the mysteries of our signal code, they interpreted the signals which the Admiral and the General exchanged, prior to the terrible assault on Wagner, in the preceding July. Had the Federal commanders suspected that the Confederates knew the key to this code, the entire code would have been reconstructed at once. But no suspicion of this arose until after this assault.

The Confederates learned the key to all our signals early in the war. A Federal officer was captured near Georgetown, S. C., who had this code with him; but he firmly refused to reveal its precious treasures. The book was handed back to him with the remark, "Well, you may keep it; we can't read it; so it is of no use to us." By this conduct the fears of their prisoner, if he had any, were allayed. An adroit Confederate, dressed in the Federal uniform, was then shut up in the same apartment as a fellow prisoner-of-war. While thus confined, he won the confidence of his "chum," who finally taught him how to interpret the code.

During the night of September 8th, the Lehigh engaged Battery Bee at close range, and silenced her guns, but received more than thirty shots herself, and lost her flagstaff, jack-staff and cutter.

On November 16th, the Lehigh got aground between Cummings Point and Fort Sumter. Instantly a furious fire was opened upon her by the Confederates from the Sullivan Island batteries. Several of her officers and crew were wounded—three badly. Admiral Dahlgren

promptly ordered all the other monitors and the New Ironsides* to her assistance, and they did good service by diverting a part of the fire from the Lehigh to themselves. Captain Simpson, now a commodore in command of the naval station at New London, went into the fight with the smoke-stack of his ship (the monitor Passaic) shot through, and with her turret and pilot-house revolving together. The Patapsco's smoke-stack was also shot through. She was then under command of Captain Thomas H. Stephens, recently made a rear admiral. Dr. Longshaw, the surgeon of the Lehigh, with three men, volunteered to carry a hawser to the Nahant, a most daring feat, for which he and the men obtained promotion; but it proved useless, for the hawser was cut by Confederate shot and shell before it could be used. Dr. Longshaw belonged to Cambridge, Mass. He was afterwards killed at Fort Fisher.

Admiral Dahlgren's private journal, which has not yet been published, contains the following entry for November 16, 1863:

"Monday, November 16th. Superb weather. Wind northwest — clear and cool — bar. 30.00. Last night, about 9 or 10, the Confederates very unexpectedly opened a rapid fire from their batteries on Sullivan Island upon our works on Cummings Point. The General telegraphed me to prevent their landing in boats, so I sent orders accordingly to the monitors on picket.

"This morning, at daylight, the Lehigh was reported aground and the Confederates pummelling her. So I signalled the iron-clads to go up and relieve the Lehigh.

*See Captain Belknap's article on the New Ironsides off Charleston, in the first number of the *United Service*.

I went up myself in the Passaic, and finding the Nahant close in, passed to her in my barge. The tide was rising, and the Nahant could approach so as to get a hawser aboard the Lehigh.

"The scene was of great interest. Three times the hawser parted—once shot away. The line carrying it was twice sent to the Lehigh by the surgeon, in a little boat, and once by two seamen. Every effort seemed vain for the whole morning, under a perfect storm of shot and shell from cannon and mortars, under which the men worked well.

"At last I ordered the Nahant's propeller to be started, the Lehigh backed, and the Montauk ahead of us. It was the moment of high water, and, most fortunately, the Lehigh yielded and backed off. Even then the hawser began to give way. Seven men were wounded by pieces of mortar shell. At one time, I ordered the Passaic and Montauk to reply to the batteries, which they did with effect, striking every time and dismounting a gun. The scene was quite a change. I noticed that the shore batteries, for whom we had got into trouble, gave us no help."

While the Lehigh lay aground on this occasion, exposed to instant destruction by the Confederates, Admiral Dahlgren gave a signal proof of his extraordinary personal bravery. Not content with signalling to Captain Bryson to hold on to the ship to the direst extremity, and sending all the others to share her peril and save her from her impending fate, the Admiral boldly exposed his own life by pushing off in his barge from the flagship, pulling through a heavy sea, and personally boarding the monitors, while still under a heavy fire. Reckless of personal danger, the Admiral resolved to save the

ship, at all hazards, if she could be saved, and if she could not be got off, then to put a match to her magazine,

> "And give her to the god of storms,
> The lightning and the gale."

At length, the tide rising, the Lehigh got safely off. Although the Admiral was endowed with extraordinary physical intrepidity, and delighted to recognize and reward any exhibition of it among his officers and men, he never referred to it as a quality of which he was specially proud.

There are two kinds of courage. There is natural courage which men share with the lower animals: that can be hired for twelve dollars a month, with rations and clothing. It is an indispensable trait, but it is not the greatest. It is inferior to professional courage, which is the result of culture and calculation. For example: To push off from a ship during an engagement, and pull over to another in an open boat, and go on board that other when she too is engaged, (as Admiral Dahlgren used to do), seems a most daring adventure; and such indeed it is. But the professional sailor knows that while he is pulling about in a boat away from the vessels engaged, the danger is rather less than it is on board of those vessels, because the boat presents a smaller target to the enemy's artillery. Both natural and professional courage are necessary, and Admiral Dahlgren had both.

Once, when the Admiral, the Fleet Captain, and I, were going from one ship to another during one of the many artillery duels at Charleston, shell after shell from Moultrie exploded so near to the barge that conveyed us, that, though no fragment struck us, we were repeatedly splashed, and once almost deluged with water. I

remarked: "Admiral, Moultrie has trained her guns on your flag," (alluding to the broad, blue pennant which was then the ensign of his rank, and which was flying from the barge's bow). "That can hardly be," the Admiral replied. "In an operation like this, the great point is to get a broad target. The Monitors are small targets compared with the old-fashioned frigates; but they are so much larger than my barge, the rebels are not likely to train their guns on my flag, though they sometimes do, and perhaps they are doing it now." All this was said as coolly as if he had been sitting at his own cabin table, instead of under the fire of half a dozen belching batteries.

The Lehigh was once visited by a French Admiral who dropped anchor off Charleston with a French corvette, while Commodore (now Vice-Admiral) Roan was in command *ad interim*. It was desirable to treat the Frenchman politely; but as our relations with Napoleon the Third were precarious, it was not deemed advisable to show him the interior structure of the Monitors. Just as the Frenchman was coming on board the Lehigh, the Commodore, with that grim humor which is one of his best-known characteristics, suggested to Captain Bryson, "You can appear to show him a great deal and yet not show him much of any thing. A wink is as good as a nod to a blind horse." Captain Bryson governed himself accordingly. His demonstrativeness was astonishing, but the Frenchman left but little wiser than when he came.

The Lehigh did her full share of picket duty, the most irksome duty incident to the war—save only the gathering up of the wreck of battle and the burial of the dead. On December 6, 1863, she had the misfortune to see her consort, the Weehawken, go down off Morris

Island, as before mentioned. On February 17, 1864, another of her consorts, the Housatonic, was blown up and suddenly sent to the bottom by a Confederate torpedo, carrying down with her several of her crew. A few months later (January 15, 1865) still another of her consorts, the Monitor Patapsco was blown up and instantly sunk near Fort Sumter by another torpedo, carrying down, as food for the fishes, eight of her officers and fifty-four of her men.

The Lehigh was sent, once in 1864, and again in 1865, into the Stono River, where she engaged the Confederate batteries which guarded the approach to Charleston on that line. One of these bombardments lasted eight days successively. A Confederate "David" was sent down the Stono expressly to blow her up, and the Pawnee with her, if possible; but she escaped. Many other dangers were encountered and many other services performed by the Lehigh, in addition to the usual picket duty at Charleston, which it would be tedious to record at length here. The facts already related will suffice to indicate something of the life of all the iron-clad blockaders off Charleston.

The interior life of these blockaders corresponded with that on board of other naval vessels, except that our quarters were closer, the air fouler, and the service far more exhausting generally. Though the officers of the vessel came from every quarter of the globe, the service soon became painfully monotonous. Among my companions on board the Lehigh were Captain Bryson, who chased the Confederate steamer Sumter under the walls of Gibraltar; Lieutenant Forrest, who was executive officer of the Keokuk in the attack which Admiral Dupont made upon Fort Sumter, and who narrowly escaped going down with her when she sunk, on the

morning after the battle; Lieutenant Read, who distinguished himself at the capture of New Orleans, and who was attached to the Weehawken when she laid her bones upon the same level as the Keokuk; Dr. Hamilton, who had just chased Captain Semmes 'round the world in the flying squadron of Admiral Wilkes; and several others, whose experiences had been very various and deeply interesting. Forrest died of yellow fever in the West Indies; Read was drowned, with Admiral Bell, of the Asiatic squadron, by the swamping of a boat in China. Others of my old shipmates have passed through various vicissitudes.

It has been said that the life of any man, if truly written, would make an interesting book. There must be many exceptions to this rule; but I am sure there were at least half-a-dozen of my brother officers of the Lehigh whose lives would be far more interesting than this paper, in which I have essayed to sketch only the brief outlines of the history of the ship in which we served together.

About once a week we were visited by a supply steamer, which brought mails from the North. Frequently copies of the Charleston *Courier* were received by our advanced pickets from the advanced pickets of the Confederates, in exchange for the newspapers of New York. The *Courier* always brought recollections of Lowell "in the days of auld lang syne"; for it contained all the letters of the best Confederate army correspondent, F. G. Fontaine, "Personne," who first practised his gift in literary composition in the Lowell High School. It also contained Richard Yeadon's famous advertisement, which no Lowell man could read without laughter, as follows:—

TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD!

($10,000.)

President DAVIS having proclaimed BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of Massachusetts, to be a FELON, deserving of capital punishment, for the deliberate murder of WILLIAM B. MUMFORD, a citizen of the Confederate States, at New Orleans, and having ordered that the said BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, for that and other outrages and atrocities, be considered and treated as an OUTLAW *and* COMMON ENEMY OF MANKIND, and that, in the event of his capture *the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him* TO BE IMMEDIATELY EXECUTED BY HANGING, the undersigned hereby offers a REWARD OF TEN THOUSAND ($10,000) DOLLARS for the capture of the said BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, and his delivery, DEAD OR ALIVE, to any proper CONFEDERATE AUTHORITY.

RICHARD YEADON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., January 1, 1863.

The Lehigh is now at Brandon, Va., with other iron clads, ready to do her part in any future struggles, foreign or domestic.

"There are sailors to-day who would die at their guns,
As the tars of the Cumberland died,
Or with Somers sail through the jaws of death,
On Tripoli's fatal tide."

At present their duties are irksome and monotonous enough. But long may it be before this wearisome monotony is again relieved by the bloody work of war. God grant that the thunder of our iron-clads may never be heard again, save in firing salutes to the starry flag, the honor of which they have so well sustained.

V. *Sketch of the Life of Edward St. Loe Livermore, by C. L. A. Read November 12, 1879.*

EDWARD ST. LOE LIVERMORE, the subject of this sketch, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 5, 1762. He was the son of Samuel Livermore, a former chief justice of New Hampshire, and his wife, Jane, the daughter of the Rev. Arthur Browne, and was of the sixth generation in lineal descent from John Livermore, who emigrated to America in the bark "Frances," which sailed from Ipswich, England, during the year 1634.

John Livermore settled first in Watertown, Massachusetts, where he lived until 1665, when he removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut. From Wethersfield he went to New Haven, where his name appears in the town records as one of the signers of the fundamental agreement of the Colony of New Haven. In 1670 he returned to Watertown, where, after having filled many offices of trust, he died in 1685. His wife, Grace, died and was buried, in 1686, at Chelmsford, where visitors to the old rural graveyard may still see an ancient, moss-covered stone, "erected to her memory by her dutiful children."

Samuel Livermore, the great-grandson of John

NOTE.—The writer of this sketch is indebted for many dates and facts to Bond's "History of Watertown;" "The Collections of the Historical Society of New Hampshire," Sprague's "American Ministers," Hildreth's "History of the United States," and other publications; but it has not been considered necessary, in so short a paper, to indicate in each case the source from which the information was derived.

Livermore, inherited from his uncle, Nathaniel, the homestead in Watertown, now known as the "Lyman Farm" in Waltham. His wife was a daughter of Deacon Brown, of Boston. He was "much trusted in municipal and church affairs," and died at the age of seventy-one years, in 1773, leaving four sons, all of whom became distinguished men.

Samuel Livermore was born in 1732. At the age of twenty he was graduated at Nassau Hall in New Jersey, and afterwards read law with Judge Trowbridge, at Beverly, Massachusetts. Soon after being admitted to the bar he settled in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where in 1759, he married Jane, the daughter of the Rev. Arthur Browne.

Arthur Browne was the first Episcopal minister settled in New Hampshire. He was born in 1699, in Drogheda, Ireland, and was a son of the Rev. John Browne, archdeacon of Elphin, a descendant of the Scottish family of Brownes of Coulstone. He was educated for the ministry at Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained by the Bishop of London. In 1729, under the auspices of the "British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," he was sent as missionary to Providence, Rhode Island. On his way thither he landed at Newport, where he remained about a year in charge of Trinity Church. He then went to Providence, where he was settled for several years as rector of King's—now St. John's—Church. In 1737 he was called to St. John's Church of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, of which he remained rector until a short time before his death, which occurred at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1773, while he was on a visit to his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Winwood Sargent. He was a man of great learning, and of a genial and benevolent dispo-

sition. Upon one occasion, as he was dining at the house of Governor Wentworth, where he was a frequent and welcome guest, he was ordered by the governor to perform the ceremony by which the maid-servant, Patty, became the governor's wife, Lady Wentworth—an incident which has since been celebrated in verse by Longfellow. The silver tankard which the governor took from the table at the conclusion of the ceremony, and gave to Arthur Browne, is still in the possession of his descendants.

Samuel Livermore soon became a successful lawyer, and was appointed attorney-general for the province, and king's advocate in the courts of admiralty. In 1765 he removed to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and in this town was born his son Arthur, who became a justice of the Supreme Court, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire, and member of Congress. About the year 1765 Samuel Livermore began the settlement of Holderness, in Grafton County. Of this place he was one of the original grantees, and he eventually became by purchase the owner of about one half of the township. There, on the banks of the Pemigewasset River, in 1769, he fixed his permanent residence, and lived in almost feudal state until his death. It is said that "he possessed but little less than absolute power over the inhabitants, his superiority of character adding to the influence he could naturally command from the extent of his possessions." The huge house which he built there is still known as the "Old Livermore Mansion," and is now used for the Episcopal Seminary for the diocese of New Hampshire. After the breaking out of the war of the Revolution, he was made State's attorney-general, and was several times a delegate to the Continental Congress. In 1782 he was appointed chief

justice of the State. He was a member of the convocation for the adoption of the Federal Constitution, under which he was a representative in the first Congress, and, later, a senator for nine years. He was for several years president *pro tempore* of the United States Senate. In 1803 he died, and was buried at Holderness, in the shadow of the church which he built, and which he had for many years supported. He and his wife were noted for their loving charities.

Edward St. Loe Livermore received his early education at Londonderry and Holderness, where his father's chaplain, the Rev. Robert Fowle, was his tutor. He studied law at Newburyport in the office of that distinguished jurist, Chief Justice Parsons. Upon being admitted to the bar he began the practice of law at Concord, New Hampshire, where he soon attained to a high position in his profession. Here, while still very young, he married his first wife, Mehitable, the daughter of Robert Harris, Esq. She died at the age of twenty-eight years, in 1793, leaving five children, all of whom are now dead. She was a highly educated, refined, and agreeable woman.

Judge Livermore's eldest son by his first marriage, Samuel, was educated at Harvard College. He was a friend of Captain Lawrence of the "Chesapeake," under whom he served as a volunteer chaplain in the celebrated sea-fight with the British frigate "Shannon," in which he was wounded and taken prisoner. He afterwards practised law in New Orleans, where he amassed a considerable fortune. He was the author of several treatises upon different branches of the law, which are still referred to as authorities. At his death he left to Harvard College his library of some thousand volumes, which was then the richest in America in works relating to the civil

law. His sister, Harriet, was widely known and respected as a traveller in the Holy Land.

Soon after the death of his first wife, Mr. Livermore removed to Portsmouth, where, in a short time, he became distinguished in professional and political life. He was appointed by President Washington, United States district attorney, an office which he held until 1798, when he was made justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. In 1799 he married Sarah Crease, the daughter of William Stackpole, a distinguished merchant of Boston. She has been well described as "a woman of sweet and amiable temper, with an entire absence from her character of envy, hatred, and uncharitableness." Her consistently Christian life and deportment warmly attached to her all who knew her or came within the sphere of her gentle, winning influence. Well might be said of her,

> "None knew thee but to love thee,
> None named thee but to praise."

She survived her husband many years, and died at Lowell, October 5, 1859.

In politics, Judge Livermore was a zealous Federalist, and took an active part in public affairs; but although he lived at a period when party feeling was intensely bitter, his gentlemanly and courteous bearing, and the urbanity of his manners gave him much personal influence even with his political opponents. After a faithful discharge for a few years of his duties as judge, he resigned his position upon the bench and resumed the practice of his profession.

In 1802 he took up his residence in Newburyport, where he soon became a leading citizen and was chosen to represent the town in the General Court of the State.

"His course there was so wise and judicious that he was chosen to represent the North Essex District, then so called, in Congress." On the 22nd of December, 1807, Congress, upon recommendation of President Jefferson, passed the famous Embargo Act, which was intended "to countervail Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in council." Judge Livermore took an active part in the debates of the House upon the passage of this act, and, later, used all his endeavors to have it repealed. Upon this subject he made in particular one very forcible and eloquent speech, which won for him many laurels.

In 1811, after having served for three terms in Congress, he declined a re-election, and soon after removed from Newburyport to Boston, where he lived for some years a quiet life, taking no active part in public affairs. In 1813, at the request of the town authorities of Boston, he delivered the annual oration upon the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This oration was delivered at the height of the war of 1812, and about a month after the sanguinary combat off Boston Light between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" frigates, in which his son Samuel was engaged. The details of this combat being as yet unknown in Boston, there was naturally among the townspeople a feeling of great anxiety to learn the fate of their friends and relatives on board the "Chesapeake," and this feeling was probably not unmixed with bitterness toward those who had involved the country in what many believed a causeless war. It was, therefore, with the apparent sympathy of his hearers that Judge Livermore criticised most severely the action of the American government which led to the war—which he believed unnecessary, and which had brought so much misery and suffering

upon the whole country, but especially upon the New England States—while he paid a deserved tribute of praise to the gallantry and patriotism of the navy whose exploits reflected so much lustre upon the American arms.

Soon after the close of the war of 1812, Judge Livermore caught the so-called "Western fever," and took his large family to Zanesville, Ohio, which was, at that time, looked upon as the "far West," with the intention of settling there. The comforts of civilization had not yet spread through that part of the new world. It was before the days of railways, and the long and tedious journey from the East had to be performed in carriages suited to the rough roads of the country. Judge Livermore and his family could not bring themselves to submit to the many deprivations and hardships necessarily attending a residence in the West at that time, and they therefore soon returned to Boston.

About 1816 Judge Livermore, desirous of passing the rest of his days removed from the bustle of city and political life, bought, far out in the country, in the town of Tewksbury, a quiet home farm of about two hundred acres, called the "Gedney Estate." The mansion house upon this estate was beautifully situated at the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers. Standing at an elevation of from forty to fifty feet above the water, it commanded a distant and lovely view of both the streams. Back of the house, upon the opposite side of the Merrimack, rose Dracut Heights, looming up as if to shield the spot from the north-wind. The house itself was a large, old, rambling building, and the tradition is that all its beams and woodwork were prepared in England, and brought to this country for a Mr. Brown, who bought the estate about the middle of the last century.

However this might be, it was certainly a lovely old mansion, a fit residence for its new owners, who brought to it high culture and breeding. Some of the older residents of the goodly city which has since sprung up about it may still remember the house as it then stood, with the lawn in front bordered on one side by a long avenue of Lombardy poplars—and may also remember the hospitality which made it so well known in the country about.

For many years Judge Livermore had associated with men prominent in letters and in politics, in this and other countries, and had taken an active part in the political transactions of the times, so that, being endowed with a comprehensive memory, he had at his command a large fund of anecdotes, and his conversation was agreeable and instructive to all with whom he came in contact. When he bought the Gedney estate in Tewksbury, he called it "Belvidere"—a most appropriate name for so beautiful a place. Until 1826 the nearest place of public worship was about two miles from "Belvidere," at Pawtucket Falls, where the Rev. Mr. Sears, a Presbyterian minister, preached for many years, and here the Livermore family became constant attendants.

When the Merrimack Manufacturing Company was organized, a church was built for the benefit of Kirk Boott, his family, and other Episcopalians connected with the manufacturing establishment. At the first church meeting of the new parish, a pew was kindly placed at the disposal of Judge Livermore. He, with his family, continued to occupy this pew until his death, and it is still occupied by his eldest daughter, the only member of the family who now lives in Lowell. The first clergyman installed in this church was the Rev. Theodore Edson, the beloved pastor who still fulfils his duties with un-

wearied zeal, not unmindful of the exhortation of St. Paul to "rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep."

Judge Livermore lived to see a large and flourishing city grow up around the lonely spot he had selected for a quiet home, and to gather round his fireside neighbors who would have graced society in any city in the world. He died at "Belvidere" on the 15th of September, 1832, at the age of seventy years, and was buried in the old Granary Burying Ground in Boston. He left seven children by his second marriage, four of whom are still living, viz: Elizabeth Browne Livermore, who lives at Lowell and is unmarried; Caroline, the wife of Hon. J. G. Abbott, of Boston; Sarah Stackpole, wife of John Tatterson, Esq., of Southbridge, Mass.; and Mary Jane, wife of Hon. Daniel Saunders, of Lawrence.

Judge Livermore, although of a quick and hot temper, was a just, hospitable, upright man, with

> "a tear for pity, and a hand
> Open as day for melting charity."

The poor man never turned from his door empty-handed, or the afflicted without sympathy. He died in the sure hope of the resurrection of the dead and a life to come. "The memory of the just lives with the just."

BOSTON, September 14, 1879.

VI. The Wyman Farm and its Owner, by Charles Hovey. Read February 4, 1880.

WERE the legitimacy of the ancestry of the people of this country in any doubt, it would be difficult to trace it by any of the characteristics or habits of their descendants. In the mother country, men and things move slowly. A century in Old England, when measured by results, is scarcely more than a generation in this country.

Our great men come up, as it were, in a night; disappear, and are forgotten about as soon. Our rich men buy land, build houses and call their estates "after their own names," but how fleeting are such names as compared with those of the mother country.

These thoughts are suggested by the title of this paper, which has been written partly for your edification, and partly to supply a link in the chain of events which is to make up the history of our city.

It is only about forty years since the late departed owner of this farm purchased it from a family of modest pretensions, that had held it for about the same length of time, but who had not attained prominence enough to give it a permanent name. The present name is now about to disappear, so that in another forty years there will be but few persons living who ever heard of the "Wyman Farm." All that will then be known of the

locality will be the names now given to the "avenues" and "streets" by the present owner. The children to be born will know Belmont, Shirley, Brandon and Pentucket Avenues, and the names of the streets which will intersect them, but will not be able to realize the fact which is now before *us*, that the places of their nativity were so recently covered with apple trees. It may then be as interesting to them to find in the records of this Old Residents' Association an early history of the locality where they were born, as it is for us to gather the traditions in regard to the Indians who inhabited this region a hundred years ago, or the certain landings of the ferries across Merrimack River before any bridges were built.

Some of the members of this Association will remember William Wyman, as once the postmaster of Lowell. He belonged to a class of men, whose numbers do not exceed one in a thousand, and to whom the world seems indebted for much of the progress that is made in it. His ideas of the future possibilities of Lowell were nearly half a century ahead of those of his neighbors. His actions kept pace with his expectations, and as the rest of the world moved so much slower than he did, it was a disappointment to him which resulted in pecuniary embarassment.

Mr. Wyman was the second postmaster of Lowell, receiving his appointment from President Andrew Jackson in 1829, as successor to Jonathan Morrill. He was an earnest supporter and great admirer of General Jackson, before and during his first presidential term.

At the President's visit to Lowell on a bright day in June, 1833, Captain Wyman was "in his glory." He was an uncommonly handsome man, both in figure and features, and with his flowing locks and elegant mili-

tary dress, a prouder man never "mounted a steed." [An apology is due for using so poetical an expression in so plain a paper as this; but as applied to Captain Wyman it expresses much more than its equivalent, "rode on horseback."] His position as postmaster, together with his impulsive admiration of General Jackson, gave him a prominence in the reception surpassing that of any other politician. He was one of more than thirty assistant marshals, yet the impression made upon the writer, who was then a lad, exceeded that of any other man, not excepting the President of the United States. He was eccentric, and emphatically what is commonly called an independent man; that is, his impulses led him to do whatever he pleased, apparently regardless of consequences or of the opinion of his neighbors. This feature of his character was most prominent in his religious persuasion. He was a leading man in every religious body to which he attached himself. He built two meeting-houses; the first about the time the Second Advent doctrine was preached by Miller, who fixed the end of the world for the year 1843. It was a one-story building on Middle Street, afterwards occupied for ignoble purposes, and more recently for low-classed dwellings. Within the last year it was torn down, and another building erected for merchandizing.

The second was of a more pretentious character and was situated on Merrimack Street, nearly opposite John Street. It rested on *twelve* (the number was intentionally significant) piers, made of rubble-stone from the farm. It was used at different times by various religionists, but was finally occupied by a commercial college. The building was taken down last summer, and has been superseded by Davis Block. The recent destruction of Classic Hall building and the erection of Albion Block in

its place, has, it is believed, removed the last, so that there is now no building in the city which was built by Captain William Wyman.

It was not many months after the President's visit that Captain Wyman had occasion to go to Washington to secure a re-appointment as postmaster, for a second term. He failed in this, and was informed of the appointment of his successor while he was absent from home. It is said that on returning to his house, and before saluting any member of his family, he walked directly to a picture of his old friend, General Jackson, which hung in the parlor, and turned the face to the wall.

His dwelling at that time was the most easterly one of four cottages which stood on the north side of Merrimack Street, and as remembered, the identical locality where this Association is this moment assembled—about midway between Kirk and John Streets, respectively, before either of them was opened as a street. He removed from the cottage to a house on Gorham Street, where he lived a few years, and until he occupied the new buildings at the farm.

The farm was conveyed to him by Clarissa Hunt, the widow of Ebenezer Hunt, by deed dated the last day of the year 1840. It is assumed that her title came by inheritance from her departed husband, whose deed was dated March 4, 1802, conveying the "Lynde Hill Estate." The "consideration" expressed in Captain Wyman's deed is seven thousand dollars. The farm is situated mostly on the easterly side of the hill. It contains a little less than fifty acres, including two purchases of small lots of John and Thomas Nesmith. It is bounded on the north by land of General B. F. Butler, on the east by land of Charles Hovey and the heirs of David Dickey,

and on the south and west by various owners and including the reservoir of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals. At the time of the purchase, it was covered with a heavy growth of timber and wood, which was sold in lots at auction, and soon removed.

Captain Wyman at once erected five houses and barns, not very unlike in appearance, connecting them by a one story passage, making a line of buildings more than two hundred feet in length. From these buildings the land sloped both to the east and west. In describing the beauty of the locality the captain would say—"I can lie in my bed in the morning and see the sun rise; then turn over and see the moon set."

The buildings on the easterly side were all placed exactly on the boundary line between Lowell and Tewksbury. This line was changed a few years ago, and now embraces the larger part of the farm.

Captain Wyman began at once to improve the place, and either planted the stones for or set out not less than a thousand peach trees. In this climate they are very short-lived, and were soon superseded by about the same number of apple trees. What of these have not been removed in making the new streets are now standing on the farm.

After he had occupied the premises a few years, he conceived the idea of erecting an observatory for public use, in which he was to be aided by the subscription of parties whom he might interest in the project. It is not known how much money was collected, but it was generally understood that the name "Appleton Observatory" was a compliment to the largest contributor. The foundation was placed on the highest point of land and still remains on the easterly side of Belmont Avenue, as it is laid out on the new plan. No superstructure has

ever appeared. In reply to a question of one of his family as to the object of the Observatory, he said, in his usual humorous manner, "A great many young men come from New Hampshire to Lowell who have never seen Boston. If they visit the Observatory they can see Boston."

His aspirations did not cease until he ceased to breathe. Late in life his sons deemed it prudent to restrain him from embarking in any new enterprise, and modestly suggested his leaning upon them. The old gentleman was quite indignant, and to give emphasis to his words he widely uncovered one eye with his fingers and looking sharply said — "Anything look like fail there?"

Captain Wyman died in 1864. In the settlement of the estate the farm was sold at public auction and was bid in by the mortgagee for the amount of his claim, which with accumulated interest was understood to be about eighteen thousand dollars.

The present owner, Samuel G. Wyman, of Baltimore, has had it surveyed and laid out with avenues and streets, all fifty feet wide, aggregating more than two and a quarter miles in length, and occupying thirteen acres, or more than a fourth of the whole area of the farm. He has adopted the eminently practical mode of running the avenues north and south and the streets east and west. Some of these are nearly completed, and in the spring next before us will afford one of the most sightly and beautiful rides in this vicinity. There are two hundred and fourteen building lots, averaging about one mile distant from the postoffice. For beauty and healthfulness of location some of them are not excelled in Middlesex County.

Most of the gentlemen present will remember the

very excellent contribution which Ephraim Brown read to us at the annual meeting in May, 1877. It was entitled "Lowell and the Monadnocks," and is printed in the first volume of contributions to this Association. In it he made a most useful suggestion, which has not yet been adopted. As the suggestion will well bear a second reading, it is now quoted. Mr. Brown, after describing in detail the mountains visible from Lowell, says:—

"Here I make a practical and eminently useful suggestion. It is altogether probable that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Lowell do not know the names of these mountains. Some indeed, do know that they are in New Hampshire, but cannot tell the specific name of one; cannot even point out Grand Monadnock, much less Pack Monadnock range. People are here, born upon their sides, who cannot specify from the reservoir the name and direction of the spot that gave them birth, although it is in plain sight, having never made the observation.

"Our school children learn slowly from our school geographies. They get the names; they do not get the places, and like the scholar at one of our public school examinations a few years ago, who had twice a day crossed the mouth of Concord River for many years and could not tell where the mouth of Concord River was, they live in sight of these mountains for years and recite their names at school yet do not know that the name, Grand Monadnock, and the towering pinnacles visible from their own doors belong to the same group.

"Strangers come to Lowell—learned men, scholarly men, teachers. Our citizens are proud to exhibit the works and beauties of our busy city. They go to the Reservoir. . . . . Is it a credit to our existence as a municipality, that visitors not only from our own country,

but from other countries as well, must feast their eyes upon Grand Monadnock and turn away unenlightened from the view, just because the possessors and exhibitors of these sublime and beautiful landscape views did not themselves know?

"There are outline maps of this beautiful region, with the name of every mountain visible from either reservoir in Lowell, placed in juxta-position to the mountain. Let there be an enlarged drawing of these maps by a skilful artist or engineer. Let there be a few additions of positions not now upon them. Let every prominent eminence have its name appended to it. Let this map be placed upon the bank of the reservoir substantially and as a permanent fixture. Make it indestructible. If need be make it in metal—even in bronze. Place another on the top of the gatehouse. Nay: I go farther. Erect stone and metallic pedestals on the western bank of the reservoir—one for every mountain. On each of these pedestals erect the classic arrow—one for every mountain, with its name cast in metal on the feather.

"Let each arrow be immovably fixed upon its pedestal pointing to its mountain—these silent but truthful teachers to stand till time shall be no more and these mountains flee away."

On the plan of the Wyman farm, which hangs in this room for your inspection, there is a vacant space adjoining the reservoir of the Locks and Canals Company, on its easterly side, not large enough for a house lot but abundantly ample to carry out Mr. Brown's suggestion.

It would be a singular coincidence, if after so many years, the accidental laying out of the homestead farm should result in the erection of a structure at once the

literal pinnacle of the owner's ambition, the pride of his family and townsmen, the constant resort of earnest school children and withal a most appropriate monument, both in conception and location, to the memory of WILLIAM WYMAN.

VII. Biography of John Dummer, by James S. Russell. Read November 9, 1880.

In the town of Bishopstoke, Hants County, England, on the present railroad from London to Southampton, about eighty miles southwest from London, and six miles from Southampton, lived a man bearing a name which is familiar to many of those present. John Dummer was born about 1575, somewhat over three hundred years ago. He is presumed to have been a man of wealth and of high consideration in his vicinity, from the character and high position taken by his three sons, who emigrated to this country. They were Richard, Stephen and Thomas. But I am chiefly concerned with Richard, the elder, who was born in England, about 1599, and came by the ship "Whale," arriving May 26, 1632. "He first sat down in Roxbury, where he built a mill in 1633."

He soon removed to Boston, at the desire of his wife, Mary, who probably preferred a metropolitan to a frontier life; but she soon died, and he removed to Ipswich, and thence to Newbury with the early settlers. In May, 1635, the General Court ordered Humphrey, Endicott, Turner and Trask to set out a farm for Mr. Dummer, about the falls of Newbury, not exceeding the quantity of five hundred acres, provided it be not prejudicial to Newbury. At the same time liberty was granted to Richard Dummer and John Spencer to build

a mill and weir at the falls of Newbury, "with such privileges of ground and timber as is expressed between them and the town, to enjoy to them and their heirs forever."

At the same Court (May 1635) it was ordered that Richard Dummer and Mr. Bartholomew shall set out a convenient quantity of land within the bounds of Newbury for the keeping of the sheep and cattle that came over in the Dutch ships this year, and to belong to the owners of said cattle. Richard Saltonstall, Richard Dummer, Henry Sewall, and divers other gentlemen of England. At length Richard Dummer acquired ten hundred and eighty acres of land, four hundred and fifty acres more than Henry Sewall, his nephew by marriage, who stood next highest in amount of land possessed.

Richard Dummer was one of the fathers of Massachusetts, and was chosen a magistrate numerous times. He warmly espoused the cause of Henry Vane, was one of the disarmed adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson; and no man, says Eliot, more deserved the praise of doing well. He was very rich and equally benevolent, contributing greatly to the improvement and growth of that part of Newbury, where he lived.

"May 16, 1640, in consequence of the great loss which Governor Winthrop suffered in his outward estate, through the unfaithfulness of his bailiff, the elders agreed that supply should be sent in from the several towns. The generosity of Richard Dummer is above all praise. His contribution is fifty per cent. above the whole tax of his town, and equal to half the benevolence of the whole metropolis. Yet he had been a sufferer under the mistaken views of Winthrop and other triumphant sound religionists."

The lands upon which the Dummer Academy was

built were his, and were left for the support of this institution. The house in which he lived stood a few rods southeast of the present mansion house.

For his second wife he married Mrs. Frances Burr, the widow of the Rev. Jonathan Burr, of Dorchester, in 1644. His children were Shubael, Jeremiah, Hannah, Richard and William.

Shubael graduated at Harvard College in 1656, and became a clergyman at York, Maine.

Of Jeremiah, the Rev. Dr. Chauncy says, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, 1768: "Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, Mr. John Buckley and Mr. Thomas Walter, of Roxbury, I reckon the first three clergymen, for extent and strength of genius and power, New England has yet produced."

William Dummer, the son of Jeremiah, was perhaps the most distinguished of the Dummer family. In the beginning of the reign of George I. he was appointed our Lieutenant-Governor. Upon the return of Col. Shute to Great Britain, the chief command of the province devolved upon him. In this station, he appeared with distinguished taste. The wise, incorrupt and successful administration of Mr. Dummer, will always be remembered with honor, and considered as a pattern worthy of imitation of all future governors. Douglass always styles it the wise administration of Dummer. He was in the chair from November, 1722, to July, 1728; and again from Gov. Burnet's death, September, 1729, to April, 1730. He died October 10, 1761, leaving no children. By his will he gave his valuable farm and stately mansion house, for the endowment of the Dummer Academy, which was the first incorporated academy in the state.

But Richard, the third son of Richard, and grandson of John, was in the direct line to the John of our ac-

quaintance. He was born January 13, 1650; his mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of John Appleton, of Ipswich. He was made freeman in 1677, was of the Council of Safety, and representative to Court for three sessions. He died October 11, 1695. His children were Hannah, John, Richard, Richard, Elizabeth, Nathaniel and Shubael. Of these Nathaniel is in the line of our consideration. He was born in 1685, married Sarah Moody, in 1719, and had for children Mehitabel, Richard, William, Shubael and Samuel. He was a man of character and substance, dealt largely in real estate, and at his death, February 27, 1767, aged 82, he divided his real estate among his sons, Richard, William and Shubael; his household stuff to his daughter Mehitabel, and to his youngest son, Samuel, £133. 6s. 8d. in money. Samuel was the grandfather of our friend, John Dummer; and had for children by his wife, Eunice Noyes, married May 16, 1765, Sarah, John, Daniel, Mehitabel, Joshua and Samuel. In this generation, so far as I can learn, first appears that vein of oddity so conspicuous in the character of the recent John Dummer. Daniel, of this family, was insane for many years. And John, the next in the line, was peculiar, says Mrs. Kent, his neice, an elderly lady, at present, but who lived in the same house with him. He kept by himself, never went away from home, was silent, never talking with her or other children, as they came about him while working in his garden. This John, the father of the late John, was born about 1769, and married Susannah Duty, May 1789, and had for children Mehitabel, John, Katherine and William. One of the daughters married a blacksmith in Newburyport, said to be an industrious and respectable man. William was drowned at adult age. His brother John had undertaken to train him for a useful mechanic and worthy citizen,

but the premature death of his brother disappointed his generous purpose.

John Dummer, the subject of this biography, was born in 1791. His son Edward, his only surviving child (his other son and two daughters, lying buried in the Lowell Cemetery), writes me: "I thought I could easily get facts concerning the early life of my father; but on looking about I find that all the old people that would know about him, when young, are dead. I have been able to learn simply, that at about eleven years he went to work for a brother of Paul Moody, at farming, and worked there about three years; that he was a faithful worker, and displayed great ingenuity for one of that age. He attracted the attention of Paul Moody, who wished to give him a chance at the millwright business. He had only such school education as he could get in the winter, at a country school.

"One thing I would like to have told you; that he is said to have built the only mill that was ever built in Lowell without Sunday work. Notice was taken of it at the time, in the newspapers. He took the job by contract. It was at a cost to him of five hundred dollars. He often said since, that it was only a question of dollars and cents whether there was Sunday work or otherwise.

"It was said that we had the well giving the purest water in the city; and I remember a piece in the *Journal*, in the poetical vein, acknowledging the fact. That well had a history, as also did our house, since both were built after a contest with the Merrimack Company, who were building a house to be occupied by my father, he objecting to it, because they would persist in putting the well, as he thought, too near the vault."

Now, very many of us remember that well, standing

in Mr. Dummer's front yard, near the street, accessible to the public; and that few minutes in the day was the pump-handle idle. The well is now covered up by a grocery store, annexed to the main house, at the corner of Market and Dummer Streets.

David Moody writes that John Dummer came from Byfield to Waltham, in 1815. "My father knowing him to be such a kind of workman as he wanted, made him foreman of the water-wheel and pattern work, &c. All of the water-wheels and patterns of machinery for the Boston and Waltham Manufacturing Company, up to 1822, were made by him, or others under him. His work was just what was wanted; had it not been for that I doubt he never would have been known. He was extremely odd, reticent; never put confidence in any one. I don't think his wife knew much about him. Twice he left Waltham without giving any notice; and no one knew where he went to. After a time he was heard from at Byfield. Being persuaded to return, he was found at his work one morning, and nothing having been said about his absence, he continued to stay. In 1822, he went to Lowell, then Chelmsford. I never knew of his belonging to any church, society, or anything of a social nature.

"In the year 1822, John Dummer and myself went up the Merrimack River, near Nashua, brought down a raft of logs, to the Stony Brook saw-mill, and there got out the lumber for the first two wheels of the Merrimack mill."

There are some statements in Mr. Moody's letter, that need qualifying. Mr. Dummer may not have been a *bona-fide* church-member; but he, before marriage, attended regularly at St. Anne's Church; and after his marriage he had a pew at St. Anne's; also at the First

Congregational Church, where his wife preferred to worship. In 1834, however, he gave up his pew at St. Anne's and went with his wife. He always took his family to church, he leaving his house last, locking the door after him. His son says; "In looking over my father's papers, I find a parchment certificate as follows: John Dummer admitted to third degree of Masonry, Monitor Lodge, Waltham; signed, January 15, 1822." He also says his father was a member of a military company in Lowell. True, he was not of a social nature. On being over-persuaded to attend a gathering of friends at the Rev. Mr. Blanchard's house, on the opposite side of the street, he was present; but he said to his wife, he must either give up his business, or give up all parties.

Mr. Dummer's wife *did* know him much, even before their marriage, as she had ample opportunity, since they were engaged to each other full thirteen years before their marriage, the ceremony of which was performed in Boston, February 9, 1830, by the Rev. William Jenks, D. D. While they both lived in Waltham, she, an operative in the mill with her younger sister, they were familiar with each other. Many a time John Dummer and Marinda Russell, Thomas Blake and Susan Russell, came from Waltham to Carlisle to visit the young ladies' parents—my uncle and aunt. Their fine horses and chaises were always put up at my father's barn, a half a mile distant, as our accommodations were more ample, we having a larger house and fewer children. Mr. Blake was more gallant and sociable, but Mr. Dummer was considered the greater "catch" for the sisters.

Mr. Dummer was reasonably attentive, during those, to her, long years of waiting. He gave her additional means of education; and she then and always, had a

salutary influence upon him. She knew him well, and adapted herself to his peculiarities. She was a helpmeet indeed. He provided liberally for his family, in that he furnished the money with which a bureau drawer was always supplied, to which Mrs. Dummer resorted freely, for whatever was needed for food, clothes, or other family purposes, without being called to account. He reposed full confidence in her judgment and yielded to her influence, by which he was more of a man and less of a hermit than he otherwise would have been. He was kind and generous to his family and pleased at their happiness, but little demonstrative in showing it. He was tender and humane, even to the lower animals. One time his young boy begged for permission to take home a kitten from a neighbor's house; but was refused. The boy was afterwards employed to throw into the canal a bag loaded with a brick and those kittens. The bag lodged near the edge of the water, and the boy ran away. But not long after the father came that way; and observing one of the kittens proclaiming its peril, he had compassion upon it, took home and cherished the very kitten his boy had desired. He would hold a newspaper for an obtrusive spider to crawl upon, and carefully brush it out of the window; he would not suffer to be shot a mad dog shut into his shed.

Mr. Dummer would supply his children with spending money for innocent amusements, but would scrupulously withhold it from their indulgence in anything of a doubtful character.

Mr. Dummer was generous to benevolent objects. When his son was ready to enter college, the father inquired what college he preferred. The answer was, "Yale." "Why not go to Oberlin?" "Why do you wish me to go to Oberlin?" "Because I have a scholar-

ship there, which you might have the benefit of." The son, however, went to Yale and the scholarship was unselfishly permitted to be enjoyed by strangers.

He was supposed to be the moneyed man of the family, and was urged to purchase a Dummer homestead, to prevent its going out of the family. This he did, and permitted an uncle to occupy the farm and mills, and bring up there a family of boys without ever paying a cent for rent.

He never took a cent of interest money, deeming such act usury. When he built his house on Dummer Street, he had $3000 in his chest, that had gradually accumulated there. He was not an economist; he was too much engrossed in business to take care of his money; with the ordinary care in that regard he might have retired from business with an ample fortune, instead of passing his later days in humble retirement.

When he sold real estate, he would have nothing to do with a mortgage; nothing short of cash down would satisfy him. Hence the purchaser would borrow money and mortgage the property to a third party.

When his son of a dozen years old visited the Byfield farm, he was enamored with a pair of steers, and he persuaded his father to give the steers to him. When it became expedient to sell the steers, the avails were $80. "Well, my son, what will you do with the money?" "Put it at interest." "Let me have it; I will pay you the interest." This was done, and the interest for a time was regularly paid; but at length both interest and principal were forgotten. After Mr. Dummer's death, among his papers were found forty two-dollar bills, new and unruffled. They were presumed to be the identical avails of the steers. They were the issue of a Boston state bank, and the time for their redemption had passed;

but the bank, notwithstanding, redeemed them, as a great curiosity.

Mr. Moody says Mr. Dummer came to Waltham in 1815. He was then twenty-four years old. He went from the farm to his uncle's to serve in learning the joiner's and millwright business. At Newbury Falls, on the Dummer land, was built one of the first cotton mills in this country. Here John Dummer, with his uncle Samuel, both probably under either Paul Moody or his brother, entered upon his life's business.

At Lowell, from 1822, as well as at Waltham before, the responsibility for all the wheel-work, shafting and patterns of machinery devolved upon him; and he was fully adequate to the work, while wooden wheels were in use. But when iron displaced the wood, Mr. Dummer considered his vocation gone, his usefulness at an end. He sold out his property in Lowell and retired to the privacy of his farm in Byfield—his native place—to live over the scenes of his childhood, to reflect upon the vicissitudes of life, and submit to the inevitable. He never would look at a turbine wheel; but yet had the curiosity to depute one of his trusty workmen to report to him how it operated, how the water entered and left the wheel, &c.

In talking with the men who worked with him and for him, I find them enthusiastic in eulogy of his character. He was always kind to his workmen, liberal in the wages he paid, on his own jobs, and an earnest advocate for a like liberality on the part of the companies when working directly for them. On one occasion, when the reduction of wages was becoming common, he resisted its application to his own men, to the extent of taking the work by the job and continuing to his men their usual wages.

On his contract work he did not require his men to work by artificial light; and when he was working directly for the companies he opposed working by lamp-light. Small hand-lamps were provided for his men; but he would go round and raise the wicks till the smoke was suffocating, to increase the light or prove the lamps insufficient. They were thrown aside and the workmen excused. When called to account, why his men did not work evenings, he says: "They have no light." "But you were supplied with lamps." "They were good for nothing," says Dummer. "Well, what do you want?" "I want seventy-five solar lamps!" This was enough to show that it was useless to urge the matter any further.

Men that were faithful to him ever found him their friend. But if one neglected his work, concealed any unfortunate mistakes, as spoiling a timber, or in any way lacked proper honesty and manliness, Mr. Dummer penetrated the affair as if by instinct, and was unsparing in his indignation; or if a workman became dissatisfied and complained that he did not fare as well as somebody else who had been advanced, his answer was a prompt discharge. Such men were afraid of him, and would employ some fellow-workman, who was in better favor with Mr. Dummer, to intercede with him for a restoration. Such negotiation was generally successful. He would leniently say, "Tell him to bring on his chest and go to work," no allusion being made to former difficulties.

Mr. Dummer was excitable, and of a hasty spirit, and would sometimes overdo his censures, but he was placable; though not, perhaps, making a direct apology, he would by extra attention endeavor to do away with the grievance. He could enjoy a joke, and perpetrate one himself. On one occasion of opening a trench for a

penstock, the caving of the bank enclosed a workman up to his middle. Dummer, with a sly wink, says—"Better not dig him out. It won't pay." He directed a certain workman to take a heavy chain to the guard-lock—meaning a place by that name near by. But after a long absence of that man, no one knowing where he was, he returned at last hopping mad at being made a "cart-horse," but only to be laughed at by Dummer and all hands, for his folly and blunder in going off a mile or more, to the guard locks of the great canal, on a tom-fool's errand, with his heavy burden.

Whatever work was done under Mr. Dummer was well done, as much of it that remains in the earlier-built mills, after a half century's constant use, will abundantly testify. No poor timber was allowed to be used. It was promptly condemned, to the grief of the contractors and sometimes to his own grief, as one of his workmen tells me. A large and valuable stick, upon which much work had been performed, was condemned for having an imperfect spot, no bigger or thicker than a man's hand, which might have been cut out and replaced, looking as well and being as strong as ever. And this was at a loss of twenty-five or thirty dollars to his own pocket.

I am informed by one of our most respectable citizens that he was one of the many who visited the first wheel put into the Merrimack Mills. It was an immense and beautiful structure, in all parts smoothed and finished like cabinet work.

Mr. Dummer was authority in his line of business. "Nobody could tell him anything," says one of his workmen. There were only two men to whom he would defer. They were Paul Moody and Patrick T. Jackson. He would receive any suggestion from them, or waive

any opinion of his own in deference to them. Once on showing to Mr. Jackson some contrivance of his, and Mr. Jackson expressing some doubt of its feasibility, Mr. Dummer promptly smashed it to pieces. But had anybody else doubted its success, he would have received it with contempt.

Mr. Moody had favored him and confided in him, and Mr. Dummer was ever grateful and loyal in return. Once a wheel of given dimensions was prepared for a pit, but on trial the pit was found too narrow by three or four inches. Mr. Dummer says—"That pit must be widened." "But you must consider what immense labor and expense it involves, to hew off that amount of stone." "It can be done," says Dummer.

Mr. Boott once came to him with a project. Says Mr. Dummer—"That won't work." "But why will it not work?" "I tell you it won't work." Suffice it to say, it was not insisted upon. Mr. Dummer could not bear to be teased by any suggestions or interference, or oversight of the dignitaries in authority. On another occasion Mr. Boott visited his works with a company of his friends, to gratify their curiosity. Mr. Dummer says to his workmen, "Take your tools and come with me." His work was so necessary to the authorities that they yielded to his arbitrary decisions.

Mr. Dummer was physically only of medium stature, but of great strength for one of his size; and never hesitated in emergencies to "lend a hand." Says one who was a young man at that time, that he and Mr. Dummer made one of three pairs of men to carry a heavy piece of shafting, they on the lead. He knew Dummer's strength and quickness, and was on the lookout to be quick enough to throw the heavier burden upon his mate; and they were quick enough to throw the heavier

burden in the rear, where the men, with bent backs, unable to straighten, were admonished by Mr. Dummer to "Hold it higher; hold it breast-high, and you will carry it easier." Dummer enjoyed his advantage; he liked to show off his strength.

It is thought that the weakness in his back, with which he was troubled in after life, was the result of his over-exertions in lifting and otherwise straining.

Mr. Dummer was an accurate man. When he saw a man marking off his lengths with a coarse pencil, he would say: "That's no way to measure;" and then put the point of his pen-knife at the end of the rule, and hold it there to govern the next length. He would examine the tools of a new hand; and if they were not in good condition, to put them in such condition was the first business. If the saw was dull, he would say—"Take it to that man there. Tell him I sent you!"

If he should make a mistake, which was of rare occurrence, no one was ever the wiser for it. He did not reveal his plans in advance. He would assign a man a limited amount of work, with specific instructions, and would not have him apply for a repetition of them. An application for such would most likely meet with a discharge and "blowing up." He did not exhibit extensive plans and drawings to his workmen. He generally kept them in his own head. It was thought by some that he witheld them to guard against instructing and raising up a rival in his business.

A foot-rule served him on all occasions. With it he would not only take his measurements, but would use it in drawing his illustrations in the sand or snow; and with these simple measurements he would make his minute and accurate calculations while walking the street, or in the retirement of his chamber. His mind was

crowded with his business; he must have his plans ready for each of his numerous workmen as he visited them in his daily rounds. Each man was expected to be at his bench, even if the work assigned him had been completed for hours, or even days before, as was sometimes the case when a long job had been on hand. Such were the times for sharpening the tools. No deduction in wages was ever made for such lost time. "But and if an evil servant shall say in his heart, My Lord delayeth his coming," and should leave his post, "the Lord of that servant shall come in an hour that he is not aware of, and appoint his portion with"—outsiders.

Mr. Dummer was considered odd; but his oddity was that of genius. His mind was so engrossed by his business he had no time for the common trifles and courtesies of social life. He was sufficiently independent to repel by silence any encroachments upon his time when they would interrupt his study. But he had his times of relaxation, when he could enjoy intercourse with a friend. I have been to his house and received from him only a cold recognition; and I have found him at other times affable and ready to converse. I was detained by him one evening till the small hours, conversing upon the sublime science of astronomy. He displayed much thought, and was inclined to draw me out.

Mr. Dummer was an honest man—"true and just in all his dealings." No man could justly say that he dealt unfairly by him.

Mr. Dummer was one of Lowell's most able mechanics. Few people now know to what degree the Lowell manufacturing corporations are indebted to John Dummer for their distinguished success.

The mechanics of Lowell have a noble institution. Its halls are graced with the portraits of their prominent patrons and capitalists. But where are the faces of the prominent mechanics? It would seem that they were entitled to the place of honor. The face of John Dummer was never photographed. His body lies mingling its dust with the earth of the Lowell Cemetery, undistinguished by the simplest headstone! It was at the expense of much time and labor that his grave could be identified, that the body of his honored wife might be laid by his side. The lot having two fronts, inasmuch as the lots on each side fronted in opposite ways, it was not known which corner his body occupied. Recently, on the constructive Fourth of July, under the meridian sun, the bells ringing and the cannon booming, as we may imagine in honor of the reunion of the bodies of that honored couple, as well as the reunion of their sympathetic souls, I was one of only three unofficial witnesses of her burial; and that was more than witnessed the burial of the husband, some fifteen years ago, at the mature age of over seventy-three years and nine months. It is sad that one whose usefulness was so great should be buried in such obscurity, and his memory so soon pass to oblivion.

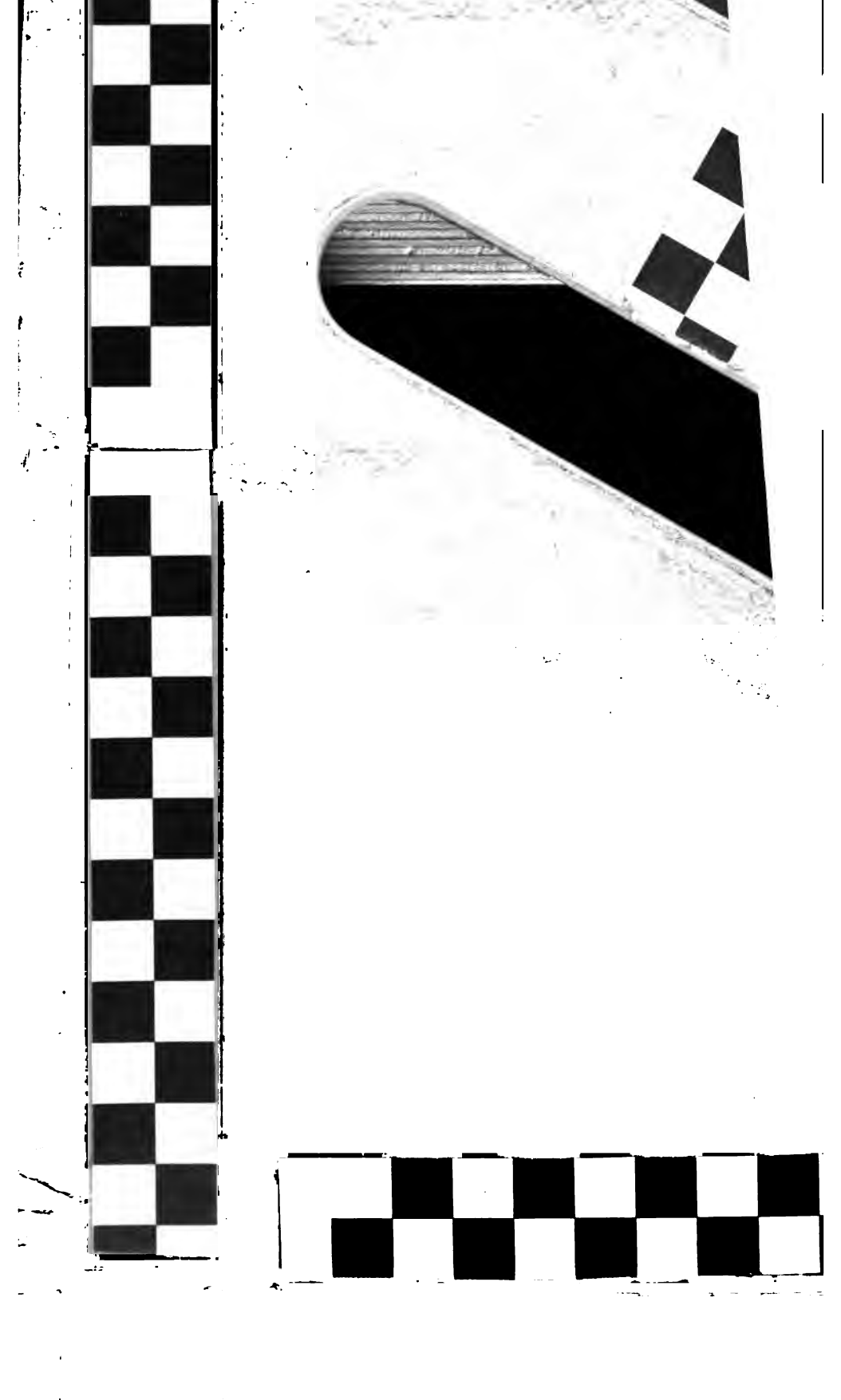
Can the mechanics of Lowell, who were so honored by him, and the corporations of Lowell, who were so benefited by his genius, do less than raise a mausoleum to his memory?

The children of John Dummer, late of Lowell, were Marinda, John, Mehitabel and Edward. The three elder died before adult age, victims of wasting consumption.

Edward is a worthy descendant of a noble family, born in Lowell, February 20, 1842, a graduate of Yale

College, in 1865. He was married March 28, 1879, to Sarah M. Barrows, daughter of Prof. E. P. Barrows, of Oberlin College. He is a gentleman and scholar, a mechanic, inheriting in a good degree the genius, without the other peculiarities, of his father. He is the originator of several useful patents of his own, and a solicitor of patents for other parties. At the age of thirty-eight years he is the happy father of a male descendant of this long line of worthy ancestors, extending back, as I have delineated, from this infant too young to receive a name, through Edward, John, John, Samuel, Nathaniel, Richard, Richard, to John senior, born over three hundred years ago.

The coat of arms of the family, by usage, was Argent, three fleurs-de-lis; Or, on a chief of the second, a demi-lion; Crest, a demi-lion, holding in dexter paw a fleur-de-lis.



CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

No. 1.

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OFFICERS.

JOHN O. GREEN, President.

A. L. BROOKS, Vice-President.

ALFRED GILMAN, Sec'y and Treas.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WARD ONE.

J. W. SMITH, EDWARD TUFTS.

WARD TWO.

JOSHUA MERRILL, DARIUS WHITHED.

WARD THREE.

HAPGOOD WRIGHT, ALFRED GILMAN.

WARD FOUR.

EDWARD F. WATSON, BENJ. WALKER.

WARD FIVE.

J. G. PEABODY, CHARLES MORRILL.

WARD SIX.

WM. KITTREDGE, EDWARD B. HOWE.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be The Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The objects of this Association shall be to collect, arrange, preserve, and perhaps from time to time publish any facts relating to the history of the City of Lowell, as also to gather and keep all printed or written documents, as well as traditional evidence of every description, relating to the City.

ARTICLE III.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected annually.

SECT. 2. There shall also be an Executive Committee, consisting of two from each Ward, whose duty it shall be to attend to the collection, arrangement and transmission to a Recording Secretary (who may be selected by the Committee), of all matters pertaining to the objects of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary to aid them in their duties. In this Committee is vested the power to fill all vacancies that may occur during the year, and to direct the Secretary to call special meetings. They shall also fix the compensation of the Recording Secretary.

ARTICLE IV.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Any person shall be eligible to membership who was a resident of Lowell at the time of the organization of the City Government (May 2, 1836), or prior to that date, or has resided in Lowell twenty-five years, and attained the age of forty-five years.

SECT. 2. It shall be necessary for the applicant for membership to sign the Constitution and pay to the Treasurer the sum of one dollar ($1.00) annually.

ARTICLE V.—MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The annual meeting of the Association for the election of officers shall be held in the first week in May, at such time and place as the President shall appoint, printed notices of which shall be given to members by the Secretary.*

ARTICLE VI.—HONORARY MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Non-residents of Lowell, or persons who formerly resided in the City, may be made Honorary Members by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended at any meeting, previous notice of the same having been given by the Secretary in the call for such meeting.

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* At the annual meeting, May 4th, 1871, it was *voted* that the Association hold quarterly meetings each year, commencing in May.

(No. I.)

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

READ MAY 3, 1869.

Gentlemen:—Allow me to welcome you to the first annual meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association. If I may not congratulate you on the large number present, and if we can boast of but little already accomplished, we can rejoice that a complete organization has been made certain and is in readiness to engage in any appropriate work. Our aims are few, and our history is so short that I may be spared their repetition.

Without any special effort, the names of eighty-five persons have been enrolled,* and at every call our meetings have been fully attended and harmonious throughout. There is a manifest disposition to unite in a sympathetic meeting, engendered by our long, almost life-long, and earnest efforts, each in his own appropriate sphere, however humble, to contribute to the welfare and happiness of our beloved City, this day thirty-three years old. Does any one smile at the boast of such an antiquity, ask him to show a similar fact to this one, that we have gathered a population in that period of forty-five thousand, upon the soil of one of the oldest incorporated towns in Massachusetts, and (excuse the egotism) that the speaker was present at the birth of the first child, a daughter of James Barnes, May 10, 1824, on the oldest corporation, the Merrimack.

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* The whole number Nov., 1873, one hundred and eighty-five.

In the autumn of 1823, I witnessed one of the most singular, and to me, one of the most novel experiments, of planting the acorns of the white oak, suggestive of the foresight and prudence of the founders of this City. A tract of eleven acres, now nearly covered with dwellings, on School and the adjacent streets, was selected, fenced, ploughed and harrowed. Baskets of acorns were brought by a hardy yoeman from Vermont, and planted, under the personal oversight of Ezra Worthen, Esq., in the most careful manner; thus to provide superior white oak timber for the use of the mills in after years. You can easily imagine that such an experiment was looked upon with great incredulity by the farmers around. But it showed the enterprise and spirit of the men who were now beginning the foundations of our City, not to be daunted by obstacles and quite willing to wait. The acorns sprouted, came up, and a few reached the height of a foot or more, but were allowed to wither away, more promising and more urgent work occupying the time and thoughts of their owners. It was not a good financial operation and, I think, has never again been proposed.

I have thus taken you back to our earliest years. Had I time and could I divest myself of the impropriety of thrusting my own personal recollections upon you, hours might be occupied in similar reminiscences, which could be better used by others.

I cannot close, however, without calling up the memories of former associates and citizens, whose toils and duties are ended, and who have gone to their reward. Since the organization of this Association in December last, death has been busy among them.

There have died Ira Thompson, Æ. 62; James Wight, Æ. 76; Abel Carter, Æ. 82; Erastus Douglass, Æ. 67; Daniel C. Eaton, Æ. 53; James G. Carney, Æ. 64; Thomas Atherton, Æ. 69; John Wright, Æ. 71; Rufus Melvin, Æ. 66. One of these was born at the foot of the Falls. Some

of them were present at our former meeting. Each, in his own peculiar sphere, has borne his part in the labors and duties of the City, some in a conspicuous way, and with distinguished usefulness and honor. In these times of what are called "financial irregularities," the record of forty years of service of one of them (James G. Carney), at the head of our oldest Savings Institution, will show not a single dollar lost, of the millions which have passed through his hands, and not a figure requiring to be changed in nineteen ledgers of nearly one thousand pages each. What a commentary upon what passes for *old-fashioned* integrity! Nearly twenty-five years of the life of another (John Wright) were occupied as Agent of one of our large manufacturing companies, together with other public trusts of great responsibility, and with singular fidelity and diligence.

Happy will be for us, when our summons comes, the consciousness that our professions have been practised under the solemn sanctions of Christianity, and their last exercises closed with a reasonable, religious and holy hope.

No. II. Three Letters of Samuel Batchelder, Esq., of Cambridge, to Rev. Dr. Edson. The First Census of Lowell: The Hamilton Manufacturing Company: First Manufacture of the Power-Loom Drilling. Read May 3, 1870.

CAMBRIDGE, March 31, 1870.

DEAR MR. EDSON :—

I enclose a copy of the Census of Lowell in 1828, which was mentioned in our conversation a few evenings since. I believe it is very accurate, as the persons I employed to take it reported that they visited every house.

As you expressed an interest in what I then said respecting the occasion of my first going to Lowell, I recapitulate the particulars. It is well known that Mr. Worthen was first employed by Mr. Boott to superintend the building improvements, and the construction of the canals. Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson were connected with the enterprise from the first, and from their knowledge of the constitution and complaints of Mr. Worthen, they represented to the other parties that there was such a probability of his sudden death, that it would be prudent to have some one prepared to take his place in order to prevent any interruption to this operation. This was communicated to me by Mr. Nathan Appleton; and I accordingly visited the place at his request, the latter [illegible]t of the year 1823.

In the course of the following summer Mr. Worthen's [illegible]th took place, as had been apprehended. Mr. Appleton [illegible]e directly to New Ipswich, and requested me to go

with him to Chelmsford and Boston, in order to consult and determine on further proceedings. It was necessary that some one should take the place without delay, and I was not prepared to close my business at New Ipswich so soon as would be required. It was therefore decided, upon consultation with the principal parties at Boston, that Mr. Moody, who was then at Waltham and had been acquainted with the proceedings at Chelmsford from the beginning, should remove, and take the place of Mr. Worthen, and give me time to close my business, and be prepared to take the management of a new manufacturing company which it was proposed to organize during the following winter.

Accordingly an Act was procured to incorporate "Samuel Batchelder, Benj. Gorham, Wm. Sturgis, Wm. Appleton, John Lowell, Jr., and their associates as the Hamilton Manufacturing Company"; and I took up my residence at Lowell in January, 1825.

I well remember, during my intercourse with the parties in 1824, the *prediction* of Mr. Jackson. He remarked that their purchase of real estate at the Falls comprised about as many acres as was contained in the original territory of Boston, before it was extended by encroachments on the tide waters, and continued—"If our plans succeed, as we have reason to expect, we shall have as large a population on our territory in twenty years, as we had in Boston twenty years ago." This language from a sane, calculating business man appeared almost too extravagant for belief, but his expectations were more than realized. In 1804 the population of Boston was 26,000 (in 1800 by census 24,937), and in 1844 the population of Lowell must have been about 28,000. By the State census in 1845 it was 28,841.

Trifling incidents concerning the early growth of cities become interesting to the inhabitants when most of those are gone who remember anything of them. Some of these particulars were probably unknown to any parties at Lowell

during my residence there, and there seems to be some propriety in making a record of them; and I hope the Club you mentioned will take measures to preserve the history of Lowell before it is too late.

With my best regards,

Truly yours,

SAM. BATCHELDER.

POPULATION OF LOWELL, JANUARY, 1828.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Under 7 years of age	196	217	413
Between 7 and 14 years	138	162	300
Between 14 and 30 years	723	1496	2219
Between 30 and 50 years	258	277	535
Over 50 years	27	38	65
Aggregate	1342	2190	3532

Comprising 373 Families.

CAMBRIDGE, April 9, 1870.

DEAR MR. EDSON:—

I have received your kind letter of the 5th. In relation to the circumstances of my leaving Lowell, I may say that two or three of the first years I was there, besides sickness and mourning in the family, my labors were very severe, and Mr. Jackson, who was the President of the Company, frequently told me I was attempting to do too much, from laying the foundations and building the mills to spinning and manufacturing the goods, and that I ought to have more

assistance; but instead of proposing to me to employ such assistance as would be useful to me, it was thought best to send the Treasurer, Mr. Eben Appleton, to reside at Lowell *to help me.* I have no doubt this was done without being at all aware of the consequences. Mr. Appleton was unacquainted with the business, and the result was that I had to take the responsibility, while somebody else was at the head and had the control of the concern; and any of the subordinates that did not choose to follow my directions, very readily appealed to the Treasurer. This made my position very unpleasant during the few last years I was at Lowell; but I was compelled to submit to it, for the manufacturing business at that time was much depressed, and I could not sell out my interest in the concern without serious loss. As soon as I was able to do this, I made up my mind to resign my position, and at the annual meeting, which was held in Boston, sent to Mr. Jackson my final report, to be laid before the meeting of the proprietors.

The next day Mr. Jackson came to Lowell, and told me that he took the responsibility of not laying my report before the meeting; and Mr. Nathan Appleton said he thought I had mistaken my position—that my relations were *not* with the proprietors but with the Treasurer, to whom I was subordinate.

I then called his attention to the organization of the Company. A subscription paper was drawn up in Boston, substantially in these terms: — "*Whereas, the Merrimac Manufacturing Company* [which was then the owner of the canal and the whole territory] *propose to sell two mill sites for the Hamilton Company, on certain terms; and whereas, Mr. Batchelder agrees to take the agency of the same at a certain salary; therefore, we, the subscribers, agree to take the number of shares annexed to our names.*" It could not be denied that this established my relation with the shareholders instead of the Treasurer.

Both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Appleton urged me to withdraw my resignation, but I saw no prospect for continuing in the position, with any pleasant intercourse with the leading parties. I therefore told them my mind was made up; that I could only remain until they had made such arrangements as they wished, to supply my place, on condition that I should, in the mean time, be at liberty to negotiate for another situation.

A short time after it was known that my engagement at Lowell was terminated, I went to Boston, and going on 'Change, I think in an hour I was offered several situations, with capital to the amount of two or three millions, by such men as Edmund Dwight, Mr. Green, Mr. Fales, and Mr. Lawrence. At that time I was under no engagement. I was solicited to go to Norwich, but shortly received satisfactory proposals to go to Saco. So that I was prepared to begin the world anew, with a prospect of hard work again, with a hard competition with the business I had already established, with what success remained to be determined.

I left without any ill will towards the parties with whom I had been associated, satisfied that it was not worth while for me to have any controversy with gentlemen in their positions, only lamenting that in my new undertaking I was putting myself on a new trial, whether for good or for ill would depend on my own skill and exertions.

In making this communication I have opened the matter more fully than I have ever done before. I was not disposed at the time to make any complaint, or to throw any responsibility upon some of the parties, who, according to what I heard, came under more blame from the shareholders than they deserved.

There was one incident that may be worth mentioning. After it was settled that I was to leave the Hamilton Company, the Treasurer received orders to lock up all the plans of buildings and machinery. This was rather amusing to

some of my friends, as it seemed to indicate an opinion that I should not be able to do again, without their aid, what I had already done very successfully.

You see I am growing tedious, as is apt to be the case when you get an old man talking about old times.

Very sincerely yours,

S. BATCHELDER.

CAMBRIDGE, June 7, 1870.

MR. EDSON,

DEAR SIR:—Among the incidents that may be interesting to your Club, and worth remembering in relation to the history of Lowell, is the first manufacture of the *Power-Loom Drilling*, which has since become such an important article both for home consumption and for export. This manufacture was commenced in one of the mills of the Hamilton Company in 1827, and the first that was put upon the market was at one of the semi-annual sales of the New England Society, in August, 1827. It was entirely a new article upon the market, nothing of the kind having previously been imported or manufactured in this country, or anywhere else to my knowledge. It proved to be so well adapted for strong and serviceable use for various purposes, that what was offered at the sale was readily sold at nineteen and a quarter cents per yard; and the Treasurer of the Company very soon after made a contract for all we could make for six months, at sixteen cents. At this price the profits were so much beyond the

profits on any other article of brown cotton goods, that an effort was at once made to increase the supply, by other Companies.

The Appleton Company had then commenced the manufacture of their heavy sheetings, which have since become such a popular article for use at home and for exportation. These goods were made of yarn of the same number, of the same weight, and there was very little difference in the cost of production, but the Drillings, for a long time, continued to sell for a much higher price. The very next day after the sale mentioned above, Mr. Jackson, who was Treasurer of the Appleton Company, came to Lowell to ascertain the cost of changing the Appleton mills, and adapting them to the manufacture of Drilling; but on consultation it was found that this would occasion so much expense, and cause so much delay, that instead of doing this it would be better for all concerned to get up another Company, to build new mills expressly for the manufacture of Drilling. This was the origin of the *Suffolk Company*, the stock for the purpose being subscribed without delay.

Other mills were soon built for the purpose at Manchester, Springfield, Nashua, Fall River, and other manufacturing places. With all the extension of this manufacture which has since taken place, scarce any change has been made in the fabric of the goods, which are still made of the same width, the same number of yarn, the same number of threads in the warp, and the same standard weight, viz: 2.75 to 2.80 yards to the pound.

This article has proved so serviceable and acceptable, abroad and at home, that the exports of *domestics* to China alone, up to the commencement of the southern rebellion, had reached in 1860, for that year, 32,676,600, more than *three-quarters* of which was Drilling.

The increase for the few preceding years had been as follows:

In 1855	the	export	was . . .	7,700,000	yards.
1856	"	"	" . . .	16,593,600	"
1857	"	"	" . . .	15,538,200	"
1858	"	"	" . . .	28,661,400	"
1859	"	"	" . . .	31,108,800	"
1860	"	"	" . . .	31,576,600	"
And in 1862	the	export	had fallen to	60,000	"

The sale of the article soon became of so much importance in various foreign countries, that British manufacturers began making it, in imitation of the American goods, with inferior cotton from India, and copying the American marks; but the American Drilling still has a preference in foreign markets, and when cotton is not too high, continues to be a considerable article of export.

These particulars may seem to be rather foreign to your taste and feelings, but some of your friends at Lowell may feel an interest in such facts as relate to the early history and the causes of the growth of the City.

I remain most sincerely yours,

SAM. BATCHELDER.

No. III. Reminiscences of John Waugh, by Rev. Dr. Edson. Read May 4, 1871.

Our esteemed citizen, Mr. John Waugh, is one of the few persons remaining who have been connected with Lowell from its rise, and is part of its entire history. He is a native of the town of Jedburgh, the capital of Roxburgshire, in Scotland The town is said to be pleasantly situated on the river Jed, on a declivity sloping to the water and protected behind by a semi-circle of hills. It is a royal burgh of great antiquity, but brought into recent notice in connection with Sir Walter Scott and the vicinity of Abbotsford.

Waugh was born in Jedburgh, 1796, just at the time when Scott at the age of twenty-five was coming into active life and notice. His earliest publication was of that same year. What has been called the brilliant period of Scott's literary career commenced when Waugh was about six years old, and culminated not till the latter's settlement in Lowell.

It was during Waugh's youth and early manhood that Scott was distinguishing himself by his poetical writings, and was coming to be so much thought of in all the region about Jedburgh, his own neighborhood. "Waverley" was published in 1814, when Waugh was nineteen. The next year came out "The Field of Waterloo." Then followed "The Lord of the Isles," "The Tales of the Crusaders." "The Antiquary," and the Great Unknown was well known in the neighborhood of Jedburgh when Waugh came of age in 1816. Two years later, at the age of twenty-three (the

same year that "Rob Roy" and "Tales of my Landlord" and their sprightly creations of imagination were conceived and matured in the vicinity of Jedburgh, and were exciting the deep interest of the reading world from that centre to the farthest limit of the English tongue), he was married to Helen Mather, the woman of his early choice, with whom he lived in most perfect harmony for more than fifty years.

Mrs. Waugh was a remarkable woman, of some very strong points of character. She was of vigorous physical constitution, of active habits and good common sense. She was bred to family duties, and being almost entirely exempt from sickness through a long life-time, she was able to take the whole care of her own household till her last sickness and within a few days of her death. Her friends and neighbors of forty years (the few that survive her) will not easily forget the fidelity of her tongue to her native dialect —the expressions and accent of her unaffected Scotch.

She was born and brought up near to Abbotsford, just at the time when Scott's poetical works were giving a charm to the Scotch dialect and when the burghers of the Jed were more and more proud of their Gaelic. It was not the time nor the place for broad Scotch to lose the marked features of its character. Her early life was near the English border, where she had opportunities enough to perceive the difference of speaking; yet it does not appear that she had any fancy at all, even after she came to this country, to adopt either the English or Yankee modes of expression, so as to displace in any degree her own proper tongue. The last time she received me at her door it was with her accustomed salutation, "Com ben."

Mr. Waugh had served an apprenticeship at the business of slating, and when he was out of his time and had wrought about two years at his trade, in 1818, they were married. In June of the same year they left home—he and his wife—for America. They sailed from Leith, the port of Edinburgh,

and after the usual vicissitudes of a sailing voyage they landed at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was seeking employment at the business of his trade. Not finding it readily, agreeably to his wishes, they embarked again in the autumn and came to Boston, where he fell in with a countryman of his, Mr. Galbraith, of the same trade as himself, with whom he wrought for a time. There was also another Scotchman in Boston who was carrying on the business of slating roofs to some extent, viz: Mr. James Wilson.

In the year 1822 the Merrimack Company's mill, No. 1, was in process of erection, and Mr. Wilson had the job of slating it, with a fair prospect of a considerable business of slating for the corporations as the enterprise proceeded and the building went on. Mr. Wilson let out his job to Mr. Waugh; and confiding in his skill and ability, sent him up here to East Chelmsford from Boston to manage the work and to put it through.

He came on the 30th of October, 1822, and did up his job satisfactorily to all parties concerned, viz: the Merrimack Company, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Waugh. He had his family—wife and two children—in Boston, and he himself boarded here, to see to the work and finish the job which he had taken of Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Boott was a close and intelligent observer of all parts of the work as it was going on. The quickness of his perceptions and the soundness of his judgment, in regard to the application of labor in producing results, were certainly remarkable. He was very quick to discern his man and was for the most part happy in his discriminations. He soon perceived the ability and qualifications of Mr. Waugh for his business, and that he was just the man to do the Company's slating. Of course Mr. Boott knew that Waugh was working for Wilson.

One day as Waugh was passing through the counting-room, Mr. Boott called to him and asked: "Wouldn't you

like to take the jobs of slating of the Company? You would then have the profits yourself, and what there is to be made of it would be your own." Waugh said: "I haven't the money to buy the slates and to pay expenses." "We will furnish you with money if you will do our work satisfactorily," was the reply. Mr. Waugh said: "I must see Mr. Wilson before I can make any agreement with the Company." Mr. Boott was not one to be displeased with a fair and upright way of doing business, so he rejoined: "Well, you talk with Mr. Wilson, and I will see you again."

Mr. Waugh went to his friend and laid the whole matter before him. Wilson saw the advantage that would accrue to his young friend and acceded readily to the proposed arrangement. So Mr. Boott furnished Waugh with what money he needed, which was soon faithfully disbursed; and Waugh did the Company's slating for more than forty years.

Early in 1824 he moved his family to East Chelmsford. He succeeded in obtaining the occupancy of a part of the cottage on Central Street belonging to Capt. Fletcher, nearly opposite to where was subsequently Scripture's Bakery. This arrangement of having his family with him was a comfort which he had not enjoyed for most of the two preceding years.

In 1824 St. Anne's Church was built by the Merrimack Company. Mr. H—— put in the foundation, Mr. Charles Nichols did the masonry, Mr. Hills the carpenter's work, Mr. Joseph M. Dodge the roofing, and Mr. Waugh the slating. While the corporation's building was going on rapidly, the slating was no small department of labor, and his care and responsibility were at times very considerable.

In the cottage on Central Street, in 1827, his third child died—the first Archibald.

By the time that Mr. Waugh was quite settled with his family in the incorporated town of Lowell, Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford, in the vicinage of Jedburg, was in the zenith

of his successful career, pouring forth volume after volume for the greedy perusal of the intensely interested reading world.

In 1831 Mr. Waugh joined with Mr. Thomas Dodge and others in putting up a block of tenements in Market Street, on land owned and leased by Jonathan Tyler. One of these he owned and occupied with his increasing and growing family for twenty-one years.

When the Merrimack Company set up divine worship here as a general provision for the employees, it was in the Episcopal form, as that which was likely to accommodate a larger number than any one other. Mr. Waugh was one of the members of that "religious society" and was a very constant attendant on the worship in St. Anne's Church. But after the Unitarian Society was formed he attended on that mode of ministration. He was, as is believed, one of the proprietors of what was Lee Street Church; but it is doubted whether he ever frequented public worship with equal constancy after he left the congregation of St. Anne's as during his connection therewith.

The same year in which Sir Walter Scott finished his conspicuous, fame-lit course (1832), Mr. Waugh—still in the prime of life—had attained to easy, independent circumstances, and was sustaining the activities of extensive business engagements. It was the year of our Common School struggle and revolution. The same year died the Hon. Edward St. Loe Livermore; Mr. Moody departed the year before; Mr. Colburn the year after. Waugh took no prominent part in the contest for the school-houses. He was employed by the City to slate the roofs. Nobody else would have been thought of then. Mr. Boott died in 1837 in the vigor of age, two years short of fifty. Mr. Waugh was forty at that time. Mr. Boott was his early friend and patron. But at that time he was sustained by his own reputation. Upon the death of Mr. Roswell Douglas, in

1868, Mr. Waugh purchased his house on Worthen Street, into which he soon moved his family and made that his subsequent domicile, after having lived twenty-one years on Market Street. It was here in his family that young Atkinson, his son-in-law, declined and died.

When St. Anne's was built, the plan was drawn by Mr. Boott with a view to putting on some thirty feet to the length of it should the addition be found needful. Upon the treacherous relinquishment of the enterprise of St. Luke's, more room seemed to be requisite in St. Anne's, and the time for the contemplated addition was thought to have arrived. That addition was successfully made in the rear in 1848, and Mr. Waugh, who slated the old, slated also the new part.

His business engagements continued and rather seemed to press upon him, as cotemporaries were passing away and the direction of affairs was coming into the hands of those younger than he. He had sons that were capable; and at length, about the year 1866, he began to retire from the weighty cares and burdens of active life.

His eldest son, John Waugh, Jr., found himself in declining health, and January, 1868, died at the age of 44 1-2, after a lingering and painful sickness. It was a heavy affliction and bore with great weight upon his father's heart. The latter had already given up for the most part personal attention to the details of his business and cast off its burdens, so that he had not that diversion of his mind for relief. But he had his wife to countenance, encourage and cheer him, and in 1868, previous to her death, while his son William was slating the beautiful chapel of St. Anne's, he assisted in laying the slates on its roof, as he had upon the church.

But within two years after, Mrs. Waugh departed suddenly (November, 1869), and left him alone, so to speak, though with his affectionate children. It was to his feelings

the greatest affliction of his life. Her sickness was pneumonia, which she met bravely at the beginning but which overcame her at last. She illustrated strongly that "in the midst of life we are in death." To her husband it was a terrible blow. The light of his house was extinguished. She was to him so much that nothing earthly could supply the loss. His health suffered from the violence of the sudden shock.

[Mr. Waugh died suddenly on Thursday, September 5th, 1872, aged 77, and was buried from his own house on Worthen Street. The funeral obsequies were by the Rev. Henry Blanchard, Pastor of the First Unitarian Congregation, and were attended by a large number of citizens and friends.]

No. IV. School District No. 5 and my Connection with it, by Joshua Merrill, Esq. Read February 12, 1872.

The town of Lowell was incorporated in the winter of 1826, and at the first town meeting, held March 6th, a general superintending school committee was chosen, consisting of Rev. Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, Samuel Batchelder, John O. Green, and Elisha Huntington.

At the same meeting a committee was chosen, consisting of Oliver M. Whipple, Warren Colburn, Henry Coburn, Jr., Nathaniel Wright and John Fiske, to divide the town into school and highway districts.

This committee reported at a meeting held April 3rd. They divided the town into five districts. The school-houses were located as follows: District No. 1, where the new Green School-house now stands; No. 2, at the Falls, near the Lowell Hospital; No. 3, near the Pound; No. 4, near Hale's Mills, called "the Red School-house"; and No. 5, on Central Street, south of Hurd Street. In March, 1827, this last district was divided — the portion east of Central Street made District No. 6; and that portion on the west, including four blocks belonging to the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, the Agent's house (then occupied by Samuel Batchelder, and subsequently by John Avery), and an old farm-house which stood near the north-west corner of the South Common, comprised the Fifth District.

On the 17th of May, 1827, Samuel Batchelder, I. A. Beard and W. F. J. Damon petitioned the Selectmen to issue

a warrant for a meeting of the inhabitants of District No. 5. On the same day a warrant was granted, signed by Nathaniel Wright and Joshua Swan, two of the Selectmen of Lowell. A meeting was held May 28th. Silas Dean was chosen moderator; I. A. Beard, clerk; I. A. Beard, Wm. Stewart and Silas Dean a prudential committee.

In June a school was opened under the instruction of Miss Anna W. Hartwell, of Littleton. She received $34.75 for teaching eighteen weeks—$1.93 per week. Mr. Crane received $1.50 a week for her board. Miss Hartwell and I had formerly been schoolmates at Mr. Beard's private school in Littleton. She was a very amiable and highly accomplished young lady. Soon after leaving school she married J. S. C. Knowlton, a member of the School Committee and editor of the Lowell Journal. About forty years ago he removed to Worcester, where he has been honored by his fellow-citizens by being elected State Senator, Mayor of the City and Sheriff of the County, which office he held at the time of his death, which took place a few months since, he leaving a widow and seven children.

November 1st, 1826—more than a year before I came to Lowell—I received a letter from Mr. Beard requesting me to come to Lowell and take the school in District No. 5. I had previously engaged a school for the winter in Littleton; consequently I could not comply with his request.

In February, 1827, I received another letter from Mr. Beard, urging me to come to Lowell and open a private school. I came, but did not deem it expedient to start a school. Mr. Beard was persistent in his efforts to induce me to come to Lowell; for on October 16th I received the following letter:

Friend Merrill—If you will call and see me very soon I can help you to a school in this place—wages decent—time about three months. If you cannot come I wish you

would send me an answer by next mail, for it will be but a short time before the school must commence.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

I. A. BEARD.

I readily responded to this call, arriving in Lowell the next day, before noon, walking most of the way from Milford, N. H. Calling on Mr. Beard he informed me that Benj. Walker, Esq., had requested him to procure a teacher for his district (No. 2) at the Falls. Mr. Beard gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. Walker, but requested me not to engage myself, as there was to be a school-meeting in his district (No. 5) that evening, and they might want me there, as Miss Hartwell had left on account of illness.

I called on Mr. Walker, but as requested by Mr. Beard made no engagement. Mr. Walker then lived in a cottage house near Pawtucket Bridge, on a lot now enclosed in Frederick Ayer's garden. An old saw mill stood between the house and river.

After the district meeting that evening in No. 5, the prudential committee called on me, and the following agreement was made and recorded by the district clerk:

LOWELL, October 22nd, 1827.

The committee agreed with Joshua Merrill to teach school 13 weeks, 5 days in each week (omitting Saturday), and to pay his own board, for eighty dollars. He is also to be at the expense of coming and returning. The school to commence on the first Monday in November.

Attest: I. A. BEARD, District Clerk.

The next morning I engaged board with Capt. John Bassett, whose brother, Alfred V. Bassett, was teacher of the Merrimack School, District No. 1, and boarded with his brother John. Capt. Bassett was a distinguished

master-builder, then erecting the Appleton Mills. Josiah G. Peabody, now his Honor Mayor Peabody, was his apprentice, and with him I then commenced an intimate acquaintance and friendship, which has continued uninterruptedly for more than forty-four years—very pleasant, at least, on my part.

I then went to see the school-house where I was to labor for three months. It was a neat little building, standing at the corner of Middlesex and Elliott Streets. It had formerly been the Hamilton counting-room. Some thirty years ago, when the brick school-house was to be erected on the same location, it was moved on to the back part of the school yard. After remaining there several years, occupied by a primary school, it was sold and moved on to the lot next east of the engine house on Middlesex Street. An addition has been made to it, and a brick basement, but the outlines of what was the first counting-room of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, the first school-house in District No. 5, and the first High School-house in Lowell, are plainly to be seen.

In the afternoon I returned to New Hampshire. As I could not go by car or stage, I walked.

On Monday, November 5th, I commenced my school, with about 75 scholars, whose ages ranged from three to twenty years. The second day I received a formal visit from the superintending committee, which in 1827 consisted of Theodore Edson, Warren Colburn, John O. Green, I. A. Beard and J. S. C. Knowlton. I recollect distinctly that Messrs. Edson, Colburn and Green came in, and I think Mr. Knowlton. Mr. Beard could not come, but sent me a long letter, making many suggestions in regard to the government and general management of the school. Mr. Colburn inquired if I was familiar with the use of his First Lessons. I informed him I was not, never having used it in school. He was then requested, I think by Mr. Edson, to exercise a

class in it, for my benefit, which he did. After giving me a few words of advice in regard to my school they left. What their impressions were of the teacher I never knew. From that day I date my long and very pleasant acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Edson, and the honored President of this Association, and the short but equally pleasant one with Mr. Colburn.

The next day I received a letter from Mr. Colburn, which is now in my possession, giving me some instruction in regard to conducting the school.

During the winter a very serious difficulty originated between the superintending and prudential committees in several of the school districts, in regard to the books required to be used in the schools; but fortunately my school was not disturbed in the least. A very full and interesting account of this controversy may be found in the admirable address delivered by Dr. Edson at the dedication of the Colburn School-house, December 13th, 1848.

At the close of the three months the committee examined the school, and expressed their satisfaction with the progress.

The town appropriation for schools in 1827 was $1000; of this sum $120 was allotted to this district. More than that had been expended, the balance being paid by the Hamilton Company.

A new engagement was now made, as follows:—"By order of the agent of the Hamilton Company, agreed with Joshua Merrill to teach the school eight weeks, commencing February 4th, 1828, for fifty-two dollars, including his board. Agreed to keep five and a half days in a week. Attest: I. A. Beard, clerk." Accordingly I kept eight weeks at the expense of the Hamilton Company, the school being under direction of Mr. Beard, then paymaster of that Company.

During the five months I had 91 different scholars. Of this number I am not aware that more than four now reside

in Lowell, viz: J. G. Peabody, A. D. Puffer, Edwin T. Wilson and Mary A. Beard, the latter a teacher in one of our primary schools since 1844.

At the annual town meeting in March an entire new board of superintending school committee was chosen, consisting of Rev. Abraham D. Merrill, Wm. Gardner, Jr., Jonathan C. Morrill, John Johnson and Dr. Harlin Pillsbury. None of these gentlemen have served on the committee since, except Rev. Mr. Merrill, who was elected the next year.

March 29th, 1828, a school meeting was held in District No. 5, and Capt. Daniel Balch, Capt. John Bassett and Mr. David Cook were chosen prudential committee.

April 4th, 1828, the committee agreed with me to teach school three months, to commence on the first Monday in October, 1828, for $28 per month, board included.

Miss Field taught the school from April 17th to September 27th, at $3.25 per week, board included.

In 1828 the town appropriated $1200 for schools; of this, District No. 5 received $150.

The first Monday in October I commenced school again, and was visited by the superintending committee, and soon after received a letter of instruction from the secretary of the board.

During the summer of 1828, the Appleton Mills were put in operation, and their boarding-houses filled with tenants, and a few houses were built on Appleton Street; consequently my school was very much larger than it was the previous winter—numbering, in 1828, 169 scholars.

At the close of the town school I agreed with the agent of the Hamilton Company to continue the school at the expense of the Company on the same terms, until such time as some other arrangement should be made.

At the town meeting in March, 1829, Rev. E. W. Freeman, Rev. E. Case, Rev. A. Blanchard, Rev. A. D. Merrill and Dr. Elisha Bartlett were chosen school committee.

April 22nd, 1829, John Avery, I. A. Beard and Jonathan Morse were elected prudential committee in District No. 5.

The next day the following formal contract was made and recorded by the clerk of the District:—"The prudential committee, with the advice and consent of the agent of the Hamilton Company and superintendent of the Appleton Company, have agreed with Joshua Merrill to teach the school in District No. 5, from and after the fourth day of May next, at the rate of $300 per year; the school year to consist of four quarters, of twelve weeks each, or to that amount in the course of the year. And it is further agreed, that either party shall have the right to relinquish this contract, by giving one month's notice of such intention."

In the summer of 1829 the Free Chapel building was erected by the Hamilton and Appleton Manufacturing Companies for a school-house; and in November my school was moved into the North room of the lower story of that building. I was now relieved of the small children, as a primary school was opened in the old house, November 16th, under the instruction of Miss Hannah Rogers, of Littleton, another pupil of Mr. Beard's. She received $3.50 per week, board included. Miss Rogers resigned on account of ill health, and died shortly after. Miss Nancy Green, daughter of Benj. Green, Esq., who was a member of the school committee in 1841, succeeded her.

In December, 1831, Miss Green's school was moved into the south room in the Free Chapel building, to make room for the High School, which was opened in the old house, December 19th, 1831. Miss Green was subsequently a teacher in the Green Grammar School. She died in 1853.

In 1829 this District received $283 of the town appropriation.

The interior of the new school-house (now the Free Chapel) was finished under the direction of Mr. Beard, who was an original genius, always inclined to get up something

new; and this time he succeeded admirably. Each seat and desk was made for two scholars. The seats had very high board backs. The scholars were seated with their backs towards the teacher's desk; the reason given for this arrangement was that they could not see the teacher without looking around. When I stood upon the floor I could just see the heads of my largest scholars above the back of their seats; but to compensate for this the teacher's desk was elevated similarly to the pulpits we sometimes see in the old churches. All the wood-work was painted and sanded with very coarse sand, to prevent the scholars from cutting it. In two or three weeks the sand had made such havoc with the children's clothing, that Mr. Beard was glad to make peace with their mothers by rubbing off as much of the sand as possible and repainting. The windows were put very high so that the children could not look out. The heating apparatus, too, I think must have been original. It was called a furnace. It was built of brick in the south-east corner of the cellar. The chimney, to convey the heat to the school-rooms above, was built on the bottom of the cellar, some forty feet, and then up on one side of the school-room. About two feet from the floor an opening six or eight inches square was made, to admit the hot air to warm the room, but it never came. There was always a strong current of air from the school-room into the chimney —making an excellent ventilator. After running the furnace day and night for some time, without any effect, a wood stove was substituted. Nothing more was said about the furnace.

In 1829 I had 237 different scholars.

At the town meeting in March, 1830, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Rev. E. Case, Rev. E. W. Freeman, Dr. Josiah Crosby and John A. Knowles, Esq., were chosen superintending school committee. At a district school meeting, held April 9th, I. A. Beard was chosen clerk; Samuel Batchelder, John

Avery and Eliab Richardson, prudential committee. During this year (1830) no changes were made in the school, which I found much more pleasant after the opening of the primary department. I was receiving a salary of $300 per year, giving general satisfaction; and I felt very well satisfied—so much so that I took a small tenement on the Hamilton Corporation and commenced housekeeping.

In February, 1831, I met Rev. Mr. Edson, who said he had had a conversation, a few days before, with Mr. Colburn, during which a wish was expressed by them that they should like me in the Merrimack School. I told him they could have me; I could leave my school any time by giving one month's notice. Mr. Edson replied: "We don't want to get you away from the Hamilton, but if you should be at liberty at any time, we should be very glad to employ you. We pay our teacher $30 per month." I was receiving $25.

I thought I understood Messrs. Edson and Colburn perfectly well, and I still think so. Five dollars a month—sixty dollars a year—added to my salary of $300 was quite an item, as I had just commenced housekeeping. I was not now so perfectly satisfied as I had been. The prospects of receiving $60 a year more made me decidedly uneasy. I thought if I should leave the Hamilton, where I was giving good satisfaction, and should not be successful at the Merrimack School, it would be a serious disappointment. When or where could I expect to get another yearly school with such a generous salary—$300 per year?

After thinking the matter over and over, as though my temporal salvation, at least, depended upon the decision, I went to Mr. Avery, agent of the Hamilton Company and one of the prudential committee, and gave him notice that I should leave in one month, telling him frankly what my object was. He said he wished I would withdraw the notice until he could see Patrick T. Jackson and Mr. Appleton. In a few days Mr. Avery informed me he wished me to

continue, and the following agreement was made with the Hamilton and Appleton Companies and the prudential committee: —

"LOWELL, February 22nd, 1831.

"Joshua Merrill agrees to keep the Hamilton and Appleton School, commencing on the first day of March, 1831, and is to be allowed therefor at the rate of thirty dollars per month, of four weeks, for all the time he may keep. The vacations in the course of the year to be left to his discretion, but not to exceed one month. Three months' notice to be given if either party desires to terminate the present agreement.

[Signed.] JOHN AVERY,
ELIAB RICHARDSON,
JOSHUA MERRILL.

A true copy. Attest:

I. A. BEARD, District Clerk."

As the vacations were left to me, I kept all the time, making thirteen months to the year. I have always felt grateful to Messrs. Edson and Colburn for that timely conversation, which proved a material benefit to me of $90 a year.

The superintending committee chosen in March, 1831, was Rev. Mr. Edson, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Rev. E. W. Freeman, Dr. Elisha Huntington and Seth Ames, Esq. March 9th, a District meeting was held. Joshua Merrill was chosen clerk, and John Avery, Esq., prudential committee.

In December of this year (1831) a teachers' association was formed. It was not confined to teachers, but embraced many of our most prominent citizens. I have the original signatures of its members, many of whom have passed "over the river." The first address delivered before the association was by Joseph W. Mansur, Esq. Its officers

were Warren Colburn, president; T. Edson, vice president; Reuben Hills, secretary; Joshua Merrill, treasurer. The association lived and flourished two or three years.

December 19th, 1831, the High School was organized, and opened in the same house that I commenced in, four years previously. Thirty-six scholars (thirteen males and twenty-three females) entered the High School from mine, the first year. Forty years have passed and brought many changes to these thirty-six scholars. Some have died, and the living are scattered in all directions. Two only, I think, are now living in this city—one female, and our distinguished fellow-citizen, Gustavus V. Fox. I believe that class have been more distinguished than any class that ever entered the High School.

In March, 1832, Rev. Mr. Edson, Rev. Wm. Twining, Rev. Calvin Gardner, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Dr. Elisha Huntington and Dr. Gilman Kimball were elected superintending committee. March 19th, 1832, District No. 5 held its last meeting; Joshua Merrill was chosen clerk, and John Avery prudential committee. In the warrant for the March meeting of 1832 an article was inserted, "To see if the town will take measures for the improvement of the public schools." The subject was referred to a committee of seven, to report at an adjourned meeting in April. The committee consisted of Theodore Edson, Nathaniel Wright, Eliphalet Case, John C. Dalton and John O. Green.

At the adjourned meeting in April the committee made a report, which was accepted; and a committee, consisting of the superintending school committee and the selectmen, were authorized to purchase land and build as many school-houses as they deemed expedient, at the expense of the town.

The district system was now given up. The salaries of the teachers were, for the first time, fixed by the superintending committee—the male teachers receiving $500 per year. Rev. Wm. Twining was appointed my sub-committee,

It was during the fall of this year that the famous contest between the citizens took place, concerning the propriety of building the North and South School-houses, now the Edson and Bartlett. Any one not familiar with the details of this controversy would be interested by reading Dr. Edson's address at the dedication of the Colburn School-house, before alluded to.

In September, 1832, Abner H. Brown, then a pupil in the High School, was employed two hours a day as an assistant in my school.

February 23rd, 1833, my school and a school taught by Moses F. Eaton in the basement of the First Universalist Church, then standing on Chapel Street at the head of Centre Street, were united and moved into the lower room of what is now the Edson School-house.

The High School occupied the upper room. My assistants were Moses F. Eaton and Mary Sawyer. In a short time Francis D. Randall, of Deerfield, N. H., was elected Writing-Master, and Martha B. Dow was elected an additional assistant.

The opponents of the new school-houses contended that three or four hundred scholars in one school could not be managed to advantage, and that such a system would be very injurious to their morals.

After getting well settled in the new house an invitation was given by the committee to the citizens, to visit the school on a certain day. So much had been said for and against the system that a very large number availed themselves of the opportunity. I think they were generally well pleased with the appearance of the school, although many disapproved of the plan, and would have been glad had it proved a failure.

A little incident which happened the same afternoon will show the feeling of those that were opposed to the proceedings of the committee. The door-bell rang. I went to the

door. There stood a stranger to me, although an old citizen. Holding up his whip, he said: "Is your name Merrill?" "It is," I responded. "You are not very large," said he, "neither am I; but I 'll horse-whip you. What did you punish my boy so for?" This speech was mingled with terrible oaths, which I will not name. I inquired his boy's name, and then told him I had punished his boy for disobeying the rules of the school, made by the school committee, and that I should certainly do the same again under like circumstances. "If you are dissatisfied," I said, "go to the committee with your complaints." After bestowing a very liberal amount of curses upon the committee and myself, he left, and I escaped the promised whipping. After this interview this man (I won't say *gentleman*) always treated me with the greatest kindness and respect. I usually referred similar cases to the committee, and generally with the same result. The disaffected received but little consolation by going to the committee with their troubles.

Dr. Edson, who was chairman of the school committee and the leading advocate for building the new school-houses, was naturally very anxious that the school should be a success. He came in very often and rendered me all the assistance in his power. I don't think he had any doubt about the system, but he may have had some doubt about my succeeding. He came in one day and said to me, with a good deal of earnestness: "Well, Mr. Merrill, what do you think? Can you manage the school?" I replied, unhesitatingly: "I can, if I have good health and a good school committee to back me up." He said: "The committee you shall have."

I found his words true. During the eighteen years I was in charge of the school, I was always sustained by the committee in the discipline and general management of the school. And here permit me to say, what

little success I had as a teacher was, in a great measure, owing to the counsel, advice and co-operation of Dr. Edson, Dr. Green, Warren Colburn, Dr. Blanchard, and other members of the committee.

At the town meeting in March, 1833, Dr. Huntington was the only candidate elected on the school committee. At the adjourned meeting in April, a union ticket, from the two political parties, was elected, consisting of Rev. Theodore Edson, Rev. James Barnaby, Rev. Eliphalet Case, Wm. T. Heydock, Esq., Dr. John W. Graves and Joshua Merrill. At the organization of the committee, Dr. Edson was elected chairman, and Dr. Graves secretary. After considerable discussion Joshua Merrill was appointed sub-committee of my school, which was now in successful operation, notwithstanding its opponents had persistently contended it would be a failure.

In June the North (now the Bartlett) Grammar School-house was finished, and the Merrimack School moved into it; it was under the instruction of Reuben Hills.

In October, 1833, Henry Clay, His Excellency Gov. Lincoln, His Honor Lieut. Gov. Armstrong, and other distinguished persons visited Lowell, and in company with Kirk Boott, Luther Lawrence and other citizens, came into my school. Messrs. Boott and Lawrence were proud to show these distinguished guests the school-house and school, which, within a few months, they had opposed to the extent of their ability. Mr. Lawrence subsequently became a firm supporter of the school and a strong personal friend of mine. All the interest I ever knew Mr. Boott to take in our schools, after this, was to use his influence to cut down the school appropriation.

The school was prosperous during the year, the opposition continually becoming less. Forty-two scholars entered the High School (sixteen males and twenty-six females)—a

greater number than has ever entered in one year from any school since. The whole number of scholars during the year was about five hundred.

At the town meeting in March, 1834, Rev. T. Edson, Rev. James Barnaby, Rev. Eliphalet Case, Dr. J. W. Graves, Wm. Austin, Samuel Haven and Joshua Merrill were elected school committee. The committee organized by electing as chairman and secretary the same gentlemen as the year before, and I was again appointed sub-committee of my own school

In the spring of this year Belvidere was annexed to Lowell, and the children from that locality came into my school, making it so full that it was found necessary to remove the third Grammar School, which had been opened in the North School-house, to the South, and took about 100 of my scholars.

The High School had been closed in January, and my school then removed into the upper room, where it has remained until the present time without any important changes except the reconstruction of the house.

I resigned as principal of the school in October, 1845, and was succeeded by Mr. Perley Balch.

This school was first known as District No. 5; afterwards as the Hamilton School, the South Grammar School, the First Grammar School, and for the last twenty-five years it has been known by the very appropriate name given it by the school committee, "The Edson School," in honor of the Rev. Dr. Edson.

But few of the citizens of Lowell are aware of the debt of gratitude they owe Dr. Edson for the noble stand he took and the many sacrifices he made for the cause of education, and that the success of our schools, in the past, has been in a great degree owing to his unwearied labors. Unaided and alone he could do but little, but he had a noble band of co-workers, who were ever ready to second his efforts. Of

these Warren Colburn, Elisha Bartlett, Nathaniel Wright, Elisha Huntington, Eliphalet Case, Amos Blanchard, I. A. Beard and many others have gone to their reward. Their example and the fruit of their faithful labors still live. One is yet with us—our honored president—who, for many long years, has been a faithful co-worker with Dr. Edson.

Long may they live to enjoy the fruit of their labors; and when, in the Providence of God, they too shall pass away, their names, with those of Colburn, Bartlett and Huntington, shall be held in grateful remembrance on Lowell's page, long after the structures honored by their names shall have crumbled into dust.

The following is the letter received by me from Mr. Warren Colburn, which is referred to on page 29:—

MR. MERRILL, INSTRUCTOR IN
SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 5.

SIR,—The School Committee after visiting your school ordered:

That all the classes be required to stand out upon the floor to read and spell, and for all other exercises;

That all who read in reading be exercised at each reading lesson in spelling words from the reading lesson, and in defining words from the same;

That the classes use the following books for reading books, viz: the first class use No. 3, the second No. 2, and the third No. 1, and the 4th No. 1 [of Mrs. Edgeworth's series];

That all the classes be exercised each day in spelling from Cummings' Spelling Book or from a Dictionary;

That all the four first classes be exercised twice each day in Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic. (N. B.—This exercise must be required whether the scholars have books or not.)

It is recommended to the older scholars to be furnished with Dictionaries. Walker's is preferred.

A set of the books approved by the Committee have been or will be furnished for your use, which you are expected to return to the School Agent in good order. No other books are to be used in school without the consent of the Committee.

The Committee request you to keep a list of the names and ages of the scholars, the time of entering, and, if any leave, the time of leaving as nearly as it can be ascertained, and give a copy of the same to the Committee at the close of the school.

Any other information with regard to the attendance, behaviour, progress, &c., will be acceptable.

Agreeably to a vote of the town, a report will be made by the Committee at the town meeting in March next of the state of the school, the progress made, &c., together with the name of the Instructor.

Yours, &c.,

WARREN COLBURN,
Secretary of the School Committee.

LOWELL, Nov. 6th, 1827.

No. V. Biography of Benjamin Green, by Rev. Lewis Green. Read May 3, 1872.

Benjamin Green was born in the town of Warwick, Rhode Island, November 14th, 1784. His father, Caleb Green, son of Stukely Green, was a shoemaker, a respectable but poor man. Benjamin, one of a family of eleven children, at the age of nine years was apprenticed to Mr. Samuel Slater, the distinguished cotton manufacturer, who introduced the business into America, and whose name is still held in high and deserved honor among American manufacturers. His first apprentice in this country, to manufacturing and machine-making, was the subject of this sketch. He commenced his apprenticeship in the "old factory" in Pawtucket, living in Mr. Slater's family. Mr. Wilkinson was associated in business with Mr. Slater, and out of his benevolent regard for the good of the young people in their employ, a school was opened for their instruction on Sundays and evenings, in the elementary branches of reading, writing and arithmetic. This was the only school ever attended by Mr. Green; yet by his own exertions he afterwards obtained a very respectable education.

By the time of the expiration of his apprenticeship, at the age of twenty-one, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the business. He afterwards took charge of cotton factories in Pomfret, Ct., and Oxford, now Webster, Mass., for Mr. Slater and others associated with him. Subsequently he commenced business for himself, in connection with some other parties, in Killingly, Ct.; but in consequence of the

depression in manufactures after the War of 1812, he lost the little he had accumulated, in amount about three thousand dollars.

In 1815 he removed with his family to Hartford, White River Village, Vermont, where he became superintendent and manager of a cotton factory owned by Justin and Elias Lyman. He remained in this position till the dissolution of the partnership between the Brothers Lyman, in 1829, in consequence of a lawsuit, which resulted in the sale of their real estate at auction and the breaking up of the manufacturing business at White River Village. To state this matter more accurately, the lawsuit was *subsequent* to the dissolution, and the business was carried on for several years by Elias and Lewis Lyman, when, in 1829, it was brought to a close, by the sale ordered by the Court of Chancery.

After two years, during which Mr. Green was engaged in manufacturing lead aqueduct-pipe, in Norwich, Vt., he removed with his family, now consisting of his wife and five children, to Lowell, to take charge of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company's Repair Shop.

While in Vermont he had conducted the business with which he was entrusted successfully, building a new brick factory and the machinery therefor, and introducing power-looms for the manufacture of cloth, in place of cotton yarn, which alone had been the product of the old mill. It was here that Mr. Green, who was of an inventive mind, applied himself to contrive a method by which to facilitate the grinding of spindles. This was formerly a slow and tedious process, effected by holding the spindles, by hand, on a grindstone, grooved for the purpose. The work was, in this way, slowly and imperfectly done. The slenderness of the spindle would not permit its being turned in a lathe; but Mr. Green invented a machine, which did the work very much more rapidly, and in far higher perfection than the former process. He obtained a patent-right for his invention

which he entitled a "Machine for Grinding and Polishing Hard and Soft Metallic Substances," dated the 27th day of March, 1827. The writer of this sketch well remembers the first machine and the beautiful miniature model sent to the Patent Office, in Washington, and also the wonderful shower of sparks from the wheel coated with emery, as it revolved just in contact with the article subjected to its operation. "Every kind of wheel or grindstone made use of in grinding or polishing metallic substances," in the language of the specification, was intended to be employed.

The machine wrought a revolution in the method of finishing spindles, and was also profitably employed in grinding cards, and doubtless for other purposes. To this day it is used, as is supposed by the writer, in these processes. Millions on millions of spindles have been thus ground; and there is little doubt that millions of dollars have been thereby saved to manufacturers and to the country. But the invention never profited Mr. Green a single dollar. He could *invent*, but the faculty of making money by his invention was by no means strong in his character. He was of too shy or modest a nature to push his claims. There was in him, even to old age, what might be called a bashfulness, which put him to great disadvantage among such as have strong confidence in themselves, and which required time and familiarity to greatly modify. His confidence in the word and honor of men almost amounted to credulity, and made him trust that at length justice would be done him. His was an almost childish simplicity, which led him to hope for compensation from the generous or just impulses of those who had been benefited by the productions of his inventive genius. He allowed his invention to be introduced at Lowell, in the expectation that, when once in use, and its great value recognized, he should be fairly remunerated. But he was destined to bitter disappointment. On whom, individually, the responsibility of

the failure rested, it might be difficult to determine. It is not the first instance where the fruits of one man's genius have enriched others, who have failed to acknowledge the service, or to requite it. For the sake of his family, Mr. Green ardently desired to secure the just profits of his invention. These would have made him independent, and have enabled him to follow out the exceedingly generous impulses of his character.

At the time of his removal to Lowell, Kirk Boott, Esq., was agent of the Merrimack and the Locks and Canals Companies, and Warren Colburn, Esq., was superintendent of the Merrimack Company's Mills. Major Moody, superintendent of the Machine Shop, had lately died. Lowell was rapidly advancing in business and population. The Suffolk and Tremont Mills were going up, and ground was broken for the Lawrence Corporation, at about this time. From the Merrimack Company's works to Concord River, north of Merrimack Street, there were only St. Anne's Church, Rectory and Sunday-school House, and a few low wood buildings on this street, the large house occupied by Mr. Boott; and, below Bridge Street, the Mansion House, where are now the Massachusetts Mills. Woodcock were hunted where the Boott Mills now stand.

The next year after his removal to Lowell Mr. Green lost, by death, a daughter of great promise, aged sixteen. He was tenderly attached to his family, and this affliction depressed him exceedingly, and he never afterward could, without great unwillingness, bear an allusion to her death. The loss of his place as overseer of the Repair Shop followed, of which it is only needful now to say, that he always believed it to have been brought about most unjustly, and through intrigue and misrepresentation. The ill health of his wife, and the straitened circumstances to which his family were now reduced, combined with grief and disappointment, weighed heavily upon his

spirits. A period of severe struggles followed, such as leave deep lines on the character, never to be effaced. He obtained a place in the Machine Shop, where he worked by the day. Sickness came again to his family, and his two eldest remaining children, one a daughter teaching school, were violently attacked by scarlet fever. Anxious watching by night over their sick beds, hard labor by day for the means of their support, and the pressure of needful expenses, difficult to meet, formed a trial which could not fail to make it evident of what manner of spirit he was.

He had always been upright in conduct, and of irreproachable morals; but he had been inclined, if not to scepticism, yet to a distrust of much that was commonly taught as Christian doctrine. At about this period a new faith was implanted or awakened in him. His children were restored from dangerous, in the case of one of them, from desperate illness, and he thankfully recognized the hand of Divine Providence in this. He became a regular attendant at St. Anne's Church, and learned to value greatly the privilege of divine worship in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer. He was a devout worshipper, and lived a faithful Christian life. The teachings of God's good providence, with the ministrations of the Rev. Dr. Edson, whom he deservedly loved and honored as a devoted and able spiritual pastor, wrought effectually with him, by the divine blessing. He was baptized and confirmed, and became a communicant, and thenceforth his faith never wavered.

In the Machine Shop, at that time, a sceptical spirit on religious subjects largely prevailed, and infidelity was bold and outspoken. Men of intelligence and faith were needed —men not afraid to meet scoffers at the Bible and opponents of its doctrines, and who were able to see through and expose the flimsy, and superficial, and frequently uncandid objections to the divine revelation in Scripture. Mr. Green had some taste for controversy on topics of a religious and

metaphysical kind. He gradually settled into his place, and acquired confidence by constant contact with his fellow-workmen. His character for integrity, fairness and benevolence won respect, and he became, in his position and degree, a defender of the faith. Assaults and objections, such as seldom directly meet the religious teacher, and whose refutation of them, when met, is unheard or disregarded, encountered the young or timid Christian, at his work-bench or lathe, and too often served to silence or at least confuse him. From these Mr. Green did not shrink. He became, in some sense, a champion of the Christian faith, in the Machine Shop. There were others ready to join in this contest, and a breakwater was formed, which is believed to have saved some from shipwreck. Mere loud assertion lost something in its power, and pretended reasoning was brought oftener to the test of truth. It would be claiming too much, to say that this was owing wholly to the influence of one man. The name of John Houston, known as "Deacon Houston," should be remembered with honor, as of one who, in word and daily life, was no mean example of a true, religious man, and a faithful follower of the Divine Master. There were others, too, deserving honorable mention. But it may, perhaps, be affirmed with truth, that the cause of true religion and morality did receive an accession of strength in the Machine Shop, among the workmen there, through the character and influence of Mr. Green. Nor was this influence confined to the Shop, nor can it be supposed to have soon died away. One man, though in a subordinate position, may, even unconsciously, do much for the good of a city. While distrustful in himself, and even timid among strangers and those whom he supposed to be superior in mind or acquirements, yet, with his associates, to whom he felt that he was equal, he was not accustomed to let go unchallenged what he believed to be false and pernicious sentiments. Men resorted to him for information, or

arguments, or to try conclusions with him; and he bore himself in a way to command their respect for the depth and extent of his knowledge, the strength of his intellect, and the consistency and uprightness of his character. In truth, his reading, for a workingman, had been extensive. He had acquired a very considerable knowledge of history, and he greatly enjoyed the productions of some of our best writers. He was familiar with Shakspeare and Scott, who were favorite authors with him. Few persons were more familiar with the Bible. His acquaintance with science was remarkable. His was an inquiring mind, and his own observation supplemented the knowledge obtained from his reading. Practical chemistry was not unknown to him, although, of course, he was not familiar with the nicer processes of the laboratory. An early recollection of the writer is of an experiment by which he (*i. e.*, Mr. Green) produced inflammable gas, which he lighted as it issued from the spout of a tea kettle. He was, for his opportunities, an excellent mathematician, by his own efforts acquiring a knowledge of processes which were not familiar to men who had not had the advantage of thorough instruction. He recognized at once the great value of Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic, and about the year 1825, on a visit to Boston from Vermont, he obtained a copy of the book. He esteemed the exercises in fractions, contained in that Arithmetic, as most valuable in giving one who mastered them a command of numbers in their most important relations, and he was enthusiastic in his commendation of the work—an enthusiasm which its merits fully justify.

He was always the friend of popular education, and he earnestly supported by his vote and influence the earnest and efficient measures of the Rev. Dr. Edson to establish the educational system of Lowell on a broad and deeply-laid foundation; and he appreciated the sacrifices made by that tried friend of the cause, to secure for all the advan-

tages of the best schools. At a later period he was, for several years, a member of the city school committee; and although his education was by no means a finished one, yet he is believed to have been an efficient and enlightened officer in this position.

He served one term as Representative in the State Legislature; but he was generally averse to holding public office. He was a member of the Government of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, in which he was greatly interested, and was also one of the Vestry of St. Anne's Church, for some years.

In the year 1852, being much worn by hard labor, continued through many years, and weighed down by the loss of one member after another of his family, he left Lowell with his only surviving daughter, to reside with his son in Berkshire County. Here, relieved from severe and continued labor, enjoying the freedom of the country and the pleasures of family life, enlivened by the presence of children, he spent some happy years. His wife, the beloved companion of almost thirty-seven years, died in 1848, after years of infirmity and broken health. His eldest daughter, long a faithful teacher in the public schools, and worn down by her devotion to both public and domestic duties, had declined to the grave, soon after the death of a married sister.

He was tenderly attached to his family, and he grieved deeply over their removal from earth. But his faith was his support, and his cheerful spirit became again, as it had been of old, a bright light in the household.

Of this world's goods he possessed but little, after his many years of faithful and intelligent toil.

He died in the town of Great Barrington, Housatonic Village, July 30, 1863, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, of paralysis. His remains were taken to Lowell and buried in the Cemetery, after services in St. Anne's Church, conducted by his dear old pastor, who had administered to him

the rite of Holy Baptism, had received him to the communion of the Church, and had performed so many of its offices for the members of his family.

He was of a humble origin, yet the family had in England, before their emigration to this country, its coat of arms.

His opportunities for mental culture were limited, and he lacked somewhat, it may be, of that Yankee energy and thrift, which is apt to secure and maintain a position in the foremost ranks. But he well improved the privileges and opportunities that he had, and his education and acquirements were remarkable, for one who had been mostly self-taught. He was eminently an honest man. He was faithful to his duty. For his employers he did his work thoroughly and well, and, by the exercise of his active and inventive mind, he contributed not a little to the improvements of methods of work, both in his own department and in others also.

In the Machine Shop he was engaged, for a great portion of his time on locomotive steam engines—the wheels and axles, steam cylinders and steam chests comprising a large share of his "job." He never applied for a second patent-right, although he was often engaged in experimental inquiries and in seeking mechanical improvements.

The benevolence and liberality which characterized him deserve commemoration. His sympathies were large, and his hand was open to relieve distress. His contributions to benevolent and religious objects were generous, but generally so bestowed as to attract the least attention to the giver.

There was in his character a rich vein of humor, shown in a geniality and playfulness of manner, and by his keen enjoyment of writers of wit and humor.

To conclude this sketch—while it might be presumptuous to institute a comparison between him and men who may well be styled benefactors of the city of Lowell, still, a meed of praise is certainly due to those who did their

duty with fidelity, as mechanics, as citizens and as Christians, and helped to establish on a firm and lasting basis her most valuable institutions; and who, as the most efficient means to this end, presented to her view, year after year, the aspect of honest, upright, intelligent and Christian characters. Let there be a place for the record of such men in her annals. Such a place may there be for the subject of this sketch!

No. VI. Carpet-Weaving and the Lowell Manufacturing Company, by Samuel Fay, Esq. Read August 8, 1872.

Carpets are now used in the United States to a greater extent than in any other country; but they were seldom seen here before the Revolution, and for many years after their use was confined mainly to the cities and larger towns. Some families of the more wealthy farmers indulged a taste for display by covering the floor of the parlor with a carpet which, in its coloring and manufacture, represented the industry and skill of the ladies of the house. A few, and only a few, were possessors of imported carpets. House floors were then in this country, as now in some localities in England, more generally made attractive in appearance by the use of white sand applied after a faithful cleaning of the floor, which, by aid of broom or brush in the hands of the skillful lady of the house, was made to exhibit scrolls and figures in which she displayed a degree of pride that would now ill-become the possessor of the most elegant and costly carpet. It had not then been learned that scouring and ornamenting floors, by the use of sand, required time and strength that could better be devoted to other purposes, and that true economy pointed to a general use of carpets.

As early as 1791 a carpet manufactury was established in Philadelphia—an enterprise which attracted such attention as to induce Mr. Secretary Hamilton, in his report on manufactures made in that year, to recommend an additional duty on imported carpets as an encouragement to home industry.

In the year 1800, a Frenchman named Jacquard invented a machine which has since been known by the name of the inventor. This machine was first attached to looms for weaving silks and muslins, and was found of great value in the fabrication of figured goods, though imperfect in construction as compared with the machine now known by that name.

A Mr. Morton, an ingenious Scotchman, soon after applied it to a carpet loom, and with its aid was able to produce figures with such a degree of perfection and ease, as to soon bring the invention into general use in his country.

In the course of a few years, there were several small establishments started in the United States for the manufacture of carpets. One of them was located at Medway, in this State, and was at first owned by a Mr. Henry Burdett and the late Mr. Alexander Wright, who was the manager of the same.

In 1825 Mr. Wright attempted to gain information concerning the processes of manufacture, by visiting a small establishment then located in Philadelphia; but failing to gain admittance, or to learn anything of the mysteries of the art, he afterwards went to Scotland, where he purchased looms with which he returned to this country in 1826, accompanied by Glaude and William Wilson, who were employed by him to aid in operating the machinery. Narnowly escaping shipwreck as they approached the shores of New England, Mr. Wright soon had the satisfaction of seeing his looms at work in Medway, with reasonable success. It was soon found, however, that the location of the works was not favorable for extension, and the amount of business that could be done there not sufficient to offer inducements to remain in ownership; so Mr. Wright sold his interest to Mr. Burdett, who very soon after made sale

of the property to Mr. Frederick Cabot and the late Mr. Patrick T. Jackson.

At about this time, and while the manufacture of carpets in this country was quite in its infancy, a charter was granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts, under which the Lowell Manufacturing Company was organized.

The meeting of the proprietors for organization was held at the house of Mr. P. T. Jackson, Winter Street, Boston, the twenty-second of February, 1828, at six o'clock, P. M. At this meeting articles of agreement were signed, and officers chosen.

It is a noticeable fact, that the meetings of the Directors, which were frequent, were for a time held at seven o'clock, P. M.—an hour that would now be regarded as extremely inconvenient, or at any rate, unusual, and if customary might lead to legislative interference.

The first of March, 1828, an arrangement was made with the firm of Whitney, Cabot & Co., to superintend the affairs of the Company, erect buildings, purchase machinery, employ persons to carry on the same when finished, and make all sales of the Company. Messrs. Cabot and Jackson sold the mill and machinery at Medway to the new company.

Buildings were erected in Lowell as expeditiously as practicable, and provision made for the manufacture of carpets and cotton goods. The carpet machinery in the mean time was kept in operation at Medway, under the superintendence of Mr. Wright.

The Hon Peter Lawson, now and for so long a time known as a resident of Lowell, was in charge of the designing department at Medway, and continued that relation to the Company for many years after the business of manufacturing was established in Lowell.

The records of the Company furnish abundant proof that the manufacture of carpets was regarded as an experiment for some years after being started in this city, and doubts were raised whether the demand would continue to justify paying for the requisite skill. The looms were of the most approved construction then known, operated by hand, and much less perfect than the hand looms used at a later day.

Mr. Glaude Wilson, who has been mentioned as having come to this country with Mr. Wright in 1826, and who was so long known as a resident in Lowell, was an able mechanic, and made important improvements in the Jacquard machine —simplifying the construction and making it more reliable in its operation.

The use of hand looms by the Company was continued until 1846; only a few, however, were worked after the introduction of the power-loom. Fifty of the latter were completed and put to work in 1843 and 1844.

Mr. E. B. Bigelow, who was previously known as the inventor of important improvements in machinery and had established a reputation as a man of great ability, turned his attention to carpet-weaving in 1839; and feeling confident of his ability to succeed, applied in vain to several parties engaged in the manufacture of carpets for the pecuniary aid necessary for the costly trials of weaving ingrain carpets by power-looms. It was a great undertaking, and no one sufficiently appreciated the advantages that would follow success, until the matter was brought to the notice of Mr. Geo. W. Lyman, then the Treasurer of the Lowell Company, whose keen foresight and shrewd business capacity had from the first been devoted, in a measure, to the interests of the Company. He having given it his attention, aided by the suggestions and advice of Mr. Wright, made the bold move which led to the abandonment of the use of

hand looms, with their attendant Monday morning and Fourth of July headaches.

Many of the members of this Association will remember that the attempt of Mr. Bigelow to produce a power-loom for weaving carpets was regarded as visionary, and none were more confident that he would fail in his efforts than the most intelligent persons then employed in weaving, and who best understood the nature of obstacles to be overcome. For a time prejudice did its perfect work, and freely suggested doubts as to the quality of the fabric produced by the power-loom, it not then being as well understood as now, that where the use of power machinery is practicable, a more uniform and desirable result is attained than is possible with machinery that is worked by hand.

Mr. Bigelow has gained an enviable reputation—not confined to this country—by his inventions for cheapening the cost of production, and improving the quality of the leading varieties of carpets. His inventions have completely revolutionized the weaving department, and in some degree worked important changes in other machinery.

Had Mr. Lyman been advised by one less practical in his ideas of mechanics, or less zealous in introducing improvements, than Mr. Wright, a high degree of perfection in the art of carpet-weaving would doubtless have been long delayed, and the Lowell Company would have aided in originating one less of the greatest mechanical developments of the age.

Persons who knew Mr. Wright socially, and were reckoned among his most intimate friends, but who had no business relations with him, could have entertained no just conception of the mental strain occasioned him by the change in the organization of mills and machinery that necessarily followed the introduction of Mr. Bigelow's improvements. The leading ideas, in remodelling the works,

originated with Mr. Bigelow; but much in the detail in practical adaptations were worked out by Mr. Wright, and the strain upon the nervous system was such as to cause it to prematurely yield.

While he was Superintendent, the Lowell Company, from a small beginning, took its position as one of the important manufacturing establishments of this city, and in its appointments and mechanical arrangements, was second to no ingrain carpet manufactory in the world. Its machinery, in the main, represented skill developed in the course of its regular business, or such as was brought to its aid by special appropriations of its money. The circumstances have been such from the start, as have made it necessary for this Company to rely mainly upon its own efforts for progress in perfecting machinery specially adapted to its use. Not unfrequently large sums of money have been expended in experimental tests, some of which, as might be expected, resulted in failure, while success has followed others and secured great advantages to the Company. Had carpet establishments been as numerous and extensive as those engaged in other branches of manufacture, the expenses attending advancement in its mechanical arrangements would doubtless have been shared with others, and its works would then have in a greater degree represented skill of those elsewhere employed.

Mr. Wright was so long known as a prominent citizen of Lowell, it is proper that allusion should be made to circumstances in his history having no connection with this Company. He was born in Renfrewshire, Scotland, in the year 1800; first attended school in Paisley, afterwards at a place near Glasgow, where he was represented as the most prominent scholar, and always at the head of his class. When fifteen years of age he came to this country, his father having come over some years earlier, and was employed as a bleacher at Smithfield, R. I.

Young Wright worked with his father in that place and at Waltham, in this State, until twenty-one years of age, when he commenced the manufacture of coach lace on his own account, which he continued until his attention was directed to the manufacture of carpets. Soon after the removal of the carpet machinery from Medway to Lowell, he became a resident here. On the 7th of June, 1852, he was suddenly removed by death, and his remains now rest at Mount Auburn.

Mr. Wright was eminently social and intelligent—was ever deeply interested in new developments in the arts and sciences—was public-spirited, but without the prominence of many less-gifted persons, who possessed an ability which he was accustomed to say he lacked, viz: "the ability to express his thoughts when on his feet." Naturally modest and retiring, it was to him less the occasion of regret that he could not speak in public than a misfortune to our city, that one so intelligent should be unable to express his views publicly when occasion required. He never desired office, but in 1835 was chosen Representative to our Legislature; an Alderman in 1836; a member of the School Committee some years later; and was often urged to allow his name used as a candidate for the office of Mayor, which he as often positively declined. His name is worthy of record, as one to whom our city is much indebted for early efforts in behalf of her educational and industrial interests.

From the date of the organization of the Lowell Company to that of his decease, he superintended the carpet department of the Company, and with the exception of a short period of time in which Mr. David Moody was employed, had charge of the cotton manufacturing department also, covering a period of twenty-four years.

The writer of this paper succeeded Mr. Wright as Superintendent, and in his management has endeavored to maintain the high position of the Company, keeping pace as nearly

as possible with the improvements in other branches of manufacture, that have appeared in the twenty years and more that he has occupied the position. He has also added machinery, thereby very materially increasing the productive capacity of the mills.

This Company, has from the earliest day of its existence, been favored with the services of very able men as Directors, some of whom have held office for many years. One (Mr. Geo. W. Lyman) served the Company as Treasurer or Director from the day of its organization until January, 1872, when because of age and infirmity he positively declined a re-election.

It has also been equally fortunate in its selection of Treasurers, one of whom it is proper to mention here particularly, because of his having been for a short time a resident of Lowell. I refer to the late Mr. Israel Whitney, who was the Agent of the Tremont Mills at the time they were started and until they were in successful operation. He was first chosen Treasurer of the Lowell Company in January, 1848, and continued in office until January, 1863, when he declined a re-election. From that date to the day of his decease, November 12th, 1871, he was one of the Board of Directors. He was deeply interested in the affairs of our city, and entertained a special regard for many of its citizens, with whom he became acquainted at the time he resided here and in later years. Some of the members of this Association knew him personally, and will ever cherish a pleasing recollection of him as genial and strong in his personal attachments, with marked ability in transacting business, and ever entertaining a sense of mercantile honor that allowed no departure from the course of strict integrity. The value of his services to the Lowell Company cannot well be over-estimated. Commencing with it in the darkest days of its history, he imparted to it a life and vigor that surmounted all difficulties; and years before his decease, he

had the satisfaction of seeing that his efforts had been crowned with a good degree of success.

This Company having commenced business with a branch of manufacture as its leading object, about which but little was then known—with a prospect of only a limited demand for its products, and in a comparatively early period in its history subjected to the losses and risks attending a radical change in machinery—it may well be thought remarkable, that it should have at no time failed to promptly meet all just claims. It has had occasion to struggle in overcoming obstacles not within its control, and there have been times when its stock has been looked upon with distrust; but if less fortunate than some parties engaged in other branches of manufacture, the average results of its history of forty-four years to January, 1872, may be regarded with a measure of satisfaction.

It commenced business with a capital of $300,000, adding to it from time to time as occasion required until it reached $2,000,000—a sum which has represented its capital for more than twenty years. The average of its capital for the forty-four years of its existence is $1,278,400; and its dividends have amounted in all to the sum of $5,467,000—an annual average of $124,250, or 9.72 per cent. It should be noticed that, in averaging dividends, the time is included in which the works were originally constructed, and also the longer and more embarrassing time during which the change was made that became necessary in adopting the use of the power-loom, and the great increase of machinery that soon followed.

The business of the Company has required more than ordinary mechanical ability—a demand which has been met by a long list of worthy names. In late years, many of these men have been known elsewhere as prominent and successful mechanics and manufacturers. Some are now in our city and in various parts of the country, respected as

citizens—as men of business, to whom important official trusts are confided, and whose pecuniary circumstances are such as only intelligence and industry could have secured.

The future of the Company cannot be predicted with safety; but it is now presumed to have elements of success far in advance of any previous date.

No. VII. Reminiscences of Joel Lewis, by Joshua Merrill, Esq. Read November 6, 1872.

In the spring of 1824 the Merrimack Manufacturing Company erected a school-house and opened a school on the spot now occupied by the Green Grammar School-house, for the education of the children of those in their employ.

In May, 1825, Mr. Joel Lewis was employed as teacher. Mr. Lewis was born in Canton, Mass., November 5th, 1800. He was the only son of Laban Lewis, a farmer. His opportunities for an education were very limited, but in addition to the district school, he received such instruction as an intelligent and affectionate father had leisure to bestow. Before the age of twelve he was deprived of the instruction and counsel of a kind and affectionate mother, but she left her impress upon his mind and heart.

He remained at home, attending school and working on the farm, until about seventeen years of age, when he left the paternal roof, and for a time followed the occupation of carpenter; but having a strong desire to acquire a more thorough education than his opportunities had enabled him to do, he left his business and devoted some time to study.

About this time the late Warren Colburn taught school in Canton, and it was young Lewis' good fortune to attend his school. Here a strong attachment commenced between teacher and pupil, which terminated only by death.

At the age of eighteen he taught the winter school in Braintree, and subsequently he taught in Franklin, Canton and Dedham. In 1822 he was an assistant in Mr. Colburn's school in Boston.

He was an enthusiast in the various branches of Mathematics and Astronomy. Many a night, "when the busy world was locked in sleep," Mr. Colburn and he were engaged in their favorite occupation — observing the heavenly bodies.

In May, 1825, Mr. Lewis came to Lowell, on the recommendation of Mr. Colburn, and was appointed teacher in the Merrimack School.

As a teacher, I have understood, he was very successful, securing the love and respect of parents and pupils. I think he taught the Merrimack School but about one year, when he resigned, that he might enter the employ of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River.

He was very much interested in the success of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, and was one of its most active and useful members. To the building of Mechanics' Hall he devoted the last active labors of his life.

He died November 11th, 1834, aged thirty-four years. In an obituary notice of his death a writer says:—

"For many years Mr. Lewis was the sole surveyor of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals, and in the superintendence of their various works and laying out their lands he invariably evinced uncommon skill and accuracy. His mathematical acquirements were of a high order, which, joined with his habits of careful and close observation, would in a few years have secured him the rare reputation of an accomplished civil engineer. With all these varied attainments, the result of his own unaided efforts, he was singu-

larly modest and unpretending—ever ready to give his time and assistance, when required, to promote every benevolent or useful institution."

His life, though short, was very useful and furnishes a valuable example to the young of what may be accomplished, even under the most disadvantageous circumstances, by persistent industry and perseverance.

No. VIII. Life and Character of Hon. Joseph Locke, by Hon. John A. Knowles. Read May 3, 1872.

Joseph Locke, late Judge of the Police Court for the District of Lowell, departed this life November 10, 1853, at the ripe age of 81 1-2 years. I have not time in this place to do full justice to his memory; but I deem it of much value to the present and coming generations to preserve enough of his biography to show that learning, ability and true merit will be rewarded by public favor without all that office-seeking so prevalent at the present day.

Judge Locke was born at Fitzwilliam, N. H., in 1772, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1797, at the age of twenty-five years. He studied law with the eminent jurist, Timothy Bigelow, and was admitted to the bar in 1800. In 1801 he commenced practice in Billerica, where he resided thirty-two years, when he moved to Lowell where he lived twenty years. To name the places of honor and trust held by him is enough to indicate his high reputation for intelligence, integrity and probity. These honors were bestowed on him, not only by the people of his own town, but throughout the Commonwealth.

He eight years presided over the old Court of Sessions; was an elector of President of the United States in 1816; a member of a convention to revise our statutes in 1820; and a member of the Governor's Council in 1821 and 1822; was eight years a representative to the General Court from Billerica, and one year he represented the city of Lowell. He was thirteen years Chief Justice of the Police Court of

Lowell, during which period very few of his opinions were overruled by the higher court.

Few of our fellow-citizens have enjoyed so much of public confidence, and by none have such trusts been more faithfully performed. All who knew Judge Locke are aware that he never sought office, nor could he ever be induced in a political election to cast a vote for himself, believing, as he declared, that a man could not be candidate and constituent at the same time. He was possessed of a fine legal mind, a keen discrimination, judgment and dignity of character sufficient to enable him to preside with credit on the bench of the highest judicial court in our Commonwealth.

He retained his office in the Police Court until he was seventy-five years old; and no one ever discovered any signs of weakness or want of mental vigor, although he requested his legal friends, with whom he was intimate, to inform him if they perceived any weakness incident to old age.

Judge Locke was a firm friend of public schools and of religious worship. It was the custom, when he was first elected a representative, for the member-elect to treat his constituents. But when the vote was declared he rose and thanked the people for his election, and said: "I shall not conform to the custom of treating my constituents to intoxicating liquor, as I do not approve of it; but to convince you that it is not to save the few small grains of gold the liquor would cost, I will give the amount usually expended on such occasions, for the purchase of school-books for poor children." This course was more commendable at that time, as it was then more popular with moral and religious people to drink than it is now to abstain. In fact, it was considered a virtue to drink enough. Clergymen drank at funerals, ordinations, conventions, dedications, and all places of business and amusement, as freely as their people. But in those days liquors were more free from adulteration and poisonous drugs than they now are.

Judge Locke was an accurate scholar, as thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, Shakespeare and English authors generally, as with books of common law. To fully appreciate the character of Judge Locke it was necessary to know him well, and it was cheering in the extreme, to those who were honored by his friendship, to witness the firm but loyal spirit in which he resigned himself at last to the will of Heaven.

He was quick to resent any moral wrong, but exceedingly firm when he had made up his mind; took much pains in the early part of his judicial administration, to learn whether or not his court could issue papers of naturalization to foreigners; and after the most mature deliberation, and not until the authorities at Washington had decided that his court was a court of record, did he admit one. And then, he took no fee, but allowed his clerk to receive the fees for this business; alleging that as the admission of men to citizenship was the highest duty in his judicial office, he would have no pecuniary inducement held out to bias his judgment in favor of admitting any one to the privilege of franchise without the most positive evidence of his legal right thereto.

It was, then, as you may be well aware, a severe shock to his sensibilities, when in 1842 or 1843 a learned Justice of the Court of Common Pleas ruled that letters of naturalization from the Lowell Police Court were worthless. Judge Locke was then 70 years of age, and in delicate health, and to add to his embarrassment, he was informed that an attorney had been consulted, and had advised that suits be commenced against the Judge for the fees of every man who had received naturalization papers from said court. Besides, the Mayor struck their names from the list of voters. Under these circumstances the Judge consulted me. I told him I believed the Judge of the Common Pleas was wrong and that I would submit the case to the Supreme Judicial

Court. I accordingly took the primary papers of an alien taken from this Court and petitioned the Supreme Judicial Court that he might be admitted as a citizen. Judge Shaw said he would submit the case to the whole Court, but a few weeks after informed me that they had taken up the case but could not agree, and advised me to argue the point. I came home and spent two or three weeks looking up the law, wrote out an argument and sent it to Judge Shaw, and at the next Court they agreed, sustaining Judge Locke.

When I informed him that the Supreme Judicial Court had sustained his court, he seemed highly gratified, and although I charged him nothing, as it was pecuniarily more for my interest than his, he insisted upon my accepting seventy-five dollars as part compensation for my services.

Judge Locke was a firm believer in liberal Christianity, as preached and promulgated by the elder Ripley, Channing, Lowell and others—was in fact an old school Unitarian. But all who knew him, know that he never imposed his opinion upon any one aggressively.

The only brother of Judge Locke was John Locke, some years older than himself, but not of so much ability. He was a representative in Congress some forty-five or forty-six years ago. He was father of John G. Locke and Albert Locke, and was many years a citizen of Ashby, but died a few years ago at Boston.

No. IX. Autobiography of Daniel Knapp. Read February 12, 1872.

I propose to give some reason for commencing so early in life in the manufacturing business; also what caused me to select it as a life business; which brought me to Lowell.

In the spring of 1814 my parents were young laboring people, with five small children, the oldest not eleven years old. We had cotton brought to our house by the bale, to pick to pieces and get out the seeds and dirt. We children had to pick so many pounds per day as a stint. We had a whipping machine made four-square; and about three feet from the floor was a bed-cord run across from knob to knob, near together, on which we put a parcel of cotton, and with two whip-sticks we lightened it up and got out the dirt and made it ready for the card.

My mother was carrying on the bleaching business at this time. There was no chemical process of bleaching in the country at this date. She put loops in the selvage on both sides and stayed the cloth down on the green grass with sticks, so the wind should not blow it about. When she had a quarter of an acre spread out she would take her watering-pot and sprinkle the whole, and as soon as she got through the lot the first was ready for another sprinkling. The bright sun drying up the water did the bleaching. This was the mode of bleaching at this time.

In the summer of this year my father came home from church, one Sunday, and told my mother that he was drafted into the army and must go to the war. She fell her whole length like a log of wood upon the floor, and had twenty-four convulsion fits before we could stop them with any means that

we had for that purpose. It injured her very much, but she rallied again and did all she could to save us from starving. My father had some rye in the field reapt and shocked to dry; and mother had to go into the field and bring that rye home on her back. Then she took her bed out of the room, and whipped out the rye on the floor, and carried it to the mill and home again on her back, to get bread for us little children.

My father was gone three months, with a promise of $8 per month. When he came home and saw what a condition we were in, he hired a substitute and gave him $21 per month, with his uniform, to go and take his place. Then my father went to the Norton Cotton Mill, in our native place, which was built in 1811, and found work for all of us in the mill, and we moved there.

In the morning of the 20th day of November, 1814, I went into the mill to work as a regular employee, at $1 per week, with my two older brothers and my sister—for I was the fourth in the family, six and a half years old. My work was to tend one 18-inch breaker. We weighed a certain number of ounces of cotton, and put it in a wooden can, and then spread it evenly on a revolving apron, which conveyed it to the rolls; and as it passed through the card it wound on to a cylinder, as batting is made now. When the whole of the cotton was run through, the lap was the proper thickness for the finisher; and we had to keep putting up those short laps, one after the other, which must necessarily make uneven yarn. The finisher produced a sliver which went to the drawing-frame with a front and back roll, with but little doubling. Our roving-frame was quite a curiosity. The sliver from the drawing-frame passed through a set of rolls and down into a sort of copper jug-nose into a revolving tin can, which stood perpendicular and revolved to put a twist into the roving. The can was about six inches in diameter at the top, and eight inches at the bottom, with a door nearly the whole length to take out the roving. The door was kept closed by a leather

belt nicely fitted around the can. This roving was placed on the floor and wound on to a bobbin by hand, for the spinning-frame; and as one winder would hold the roving tighter and wind the bobbin harder than another, there was a difference in the size of the thread. And as we had no means of regulating our numbers by the machinery, the yarn was all reeled, and each skein was numbered on a pair of balances, which told what number of yarn it was. Sixteen skeins would make a pound of No. 16 yarn, and twenty skeins of No. 20 yarn would make a pound.

From 1821 to 1827 I worked in the mill about half of the time, and the rest on a farm. In the fall of 1827, all of 1828, and the spring of 1829, I was travelling all the time, while Lowell was growing very fast; and when I heard Esquire Knowles make his statements to this Association, some months since, about the influence which the building up of Lowell had on the community about Lowell, it put me in mind of the influence that it had upon the people where I was travelling at that time. I was told by those who believed it, that the help were driven into and out of the yard the same as cattle are into the pound, and that they could not communicate with their friends except through the counting-room, and many other things of the same character; and the growth of Lowell under such circumstances was thought to be a great calamity in a New England community. But the result has proved otherwise.

Notwithstanding all I had heard for and against Lowell, I made up my mind that it would be a good place for me, as I was about twenty-one years old and had got to take care of myself. I came and engaged work of the late John Avery, on the Appleton Corporation, with ex-Mayor Bancroft for an overseer, in No. 2 Mill, and commenced work on the ninth day of April, 1829.

I had been at work but a few hours when a young man came to me and wanted me to pay my "entrance." I did

not know what he meant, but I gave him some kind of an answer and let him go. Pretty soon another came on the same errand, and I let him go in the same way. Then I went and asked my brother, who worked there, what it meant, and he told me. He asked me if I had any money. I told him I had—fifty-two cents was all I had in the world; and he said I had better let them have it, or they would be likely to trouble me about it. Soon the third one came, and I let him have the fifty cents, and I began life with two cents! And they went out and bought some rum and brandy and sugar, and brought it into the room, and drank it, and had a good time; but I resolved then and there that if ever I found the place where I could have any influence I would stop that practice. So when I took charge of No. 1 Card Room, on the Lawrence Corporation, I told my men if ever I knew them doing anything of the kind, our connection would be dissolved at once. From that day it has not been practised unless by individuals out of the mills.

I mention one circumstance to show the advance in manufacturing. When I was at work on the Appleton, I was required to make some varnish for loom harnesses, under the direction of Maj. Moody; and amongst other things put into it was a quantity of pulverized soap-stone, and I was to stir it from morning until night, to keep it up; but when night came it went to the bottom as quickly as shot would. They don't make varnish that way now.

When the Suffolk Mills were about to start I went over and helped to start both of those card rooms as second-hand; and when the Lawrence Mills were about ready to start, I took charge of No. 1 Card Room as first overseer. To-day there is not a man, woman or child on that corporation who was there when I commenced work in April, 1833. Since that time my associates are as well informed of the changes that have taken place in Lowell as I; so that there exists no need for me to write more.

CONTRIBUTIONS

—OF—

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

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OFFICERS.

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A. L. BROOKS, Vice-President.

ALFRED GILMAN, Secretary.

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WARD THREE.

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WARD FOUR.

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WARD FIVE.

J. G. PEABODY, Ch. CHARLES MORRILL.

WARD SIX.

WILLIAM KITTREDGE, EDW. B. HOWE, Sec'y.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The figures in the first column indicate date of birth; those in the second column, date of arrival in Lowell.

Abbott, Hermon	1811	1827
Adams, Smith	1809	1833
Ames, Jacob	1816	1833
Atkinson, J. V. (died 1874)	1787	1824
Allen, Otis	1808	1828
Abbott, Ziba	1800	1830
Ayer, James C.	1819	1836
Adams, John	1805	1821
Bancroft, Jefferson	1803	1824
Bancroft, Selwin (died 1871)	1805	1826
Battles, Charles F. (died 1870)	1818	1832
Bedlow, Joseph	1795	1826
Bellows, S. M.	1810	1830
Bennett, W. S.	1814	1830
Bennett, Wilder	1813	1832
Brooks, A. L.	1803	1832
Brabrook, J. A.	1806	1832
Brown, William	1799	1826
Brownell, George (died 1872)	1793	1824
Bullens, J. M.	1804	1829
Bowers, James (died 1873)	1787	1787
Bailey, Manasseh (died 1872)	1792	1827
Barnes, Henry H.	1815	1829
Batchelder, Samuel, Cambridge (honorary),	——	——
Bragdon, George	1800	1825
Butcher, John	1803	1828
Buttrick, J. A.	1813	1839
Bradt, Garritt J. (died 1876)	1810	1827
Brown, D. C.	1814	1836
Brown, Leonard	1821	1842

Brown, Willard	1794	1834
Brown, Willard A.	1828	1834
Bullard, Otis	1809	1831
Barnard, B. F.	1824	1843
Brown, Ephraim	1819	1845
Beck, Samuel	1821	1838
Brigham, Danforth P. (died 1875)	1803	1829
Brown, William (died 1875)	1802	1840
Butterfield, Ralph	1818	1818
Baron, George	1825	1826
Bartlett, D. B.	1822	1846
Boyden, Erastus	1821	1846
Batchelder, Asahel G.	1820	1845
Berry, Charles R.	1819	1838
Billings, John	1808	1825
Coburn, Franklin	1817	1817
Collins, David M.	1816	1829
Cushing, Stephen (died 1861)	1797	1823
Clark, Jeremiah	1815	1834
Chesley, John T. (died 1872)	1817	1835
Currier, John	1810	1830
Cushing, Daniel	1806	1835
Chase, John K.	1813	1834
Clark, Dustin	1810	1827
Cook, James	1794	1830
Conant, Abel E.	1829	1834
Clifford, Weare (died 1872)	1816	1834
Clough, Nathan	1812	1832
Chambers, Cyrus (died 1875)	1796	1796
Converse, Samuel	1808	1826
Cooper, Isaac	1806	1835
Conant, Abel (died 1875)	1784	1820
Crane, J. E. (died 1876)	1821	1841
Currier, Jacob B.	1829	1848
Crosby, Sylvester (died 1877)	1804	1832
Chase, Warren E.	1830	1830
Coburn, Charles B.	1813	1813
Dillingham, Artemas	1805	1829
Davis, Sidney	1815	1815
Davis, Elisha	1799	1799

Deming, Isaac	1805	1827
Davis, Elisha L. (died 1876)	1810	1832
Deming, C. W. (died 1876)	1839	1839
Edson, Theodore	1793	1824
Edwards, Jabez	1815	1834
Emery, Henry	1814	1845
Elliott, G. M	1839	1839
Fifield, Edward	1809	1832
Fellows, J. K	1809	1827
Farrington, Daniel	1801	1822
Fay, Samuel	1817	1833
Fiske, William	1806	1828
French, J. B. (died 1876)	1799	1824
Freeman, S. J	1814	1836
Fiske, George W	1812	1833
Fitts, Isaac N	1808	1828
French, Thomas T	1814	1827
Fox, Jesse (died 1870)	1786	1823
Fox, Gustavus V	1821	1823
Favor, Nathaniel B	1806	1829
Fernald, Mark (died 1873)	1803	1840
Fletcher, Horatio	1796	1841
Francis, James B	1815	1834
Frye, Frederick	1824	1838
French, Amos B	1812	1824
French, Abram	1803	1835
Fisher, Samuel S	1801	1824
Fielding, H. A	1828	1832
Fletcher, Warren	1821	1837
Fletcher, William	1791	1791
Fletcher, Edmund D	1824	1838
Gates, Josiah	1805	1823
Green, John O	1799	1822
Graves, John W. (died 1873)	1810	1826
Gray, William C	1808	1829
Greenleaf, D. G	1808	1829
Gove, David	1802	1826
Gilman, Alfred	1812	1829
Green, Amos	1799	1825
Goodale, William	1813	1840

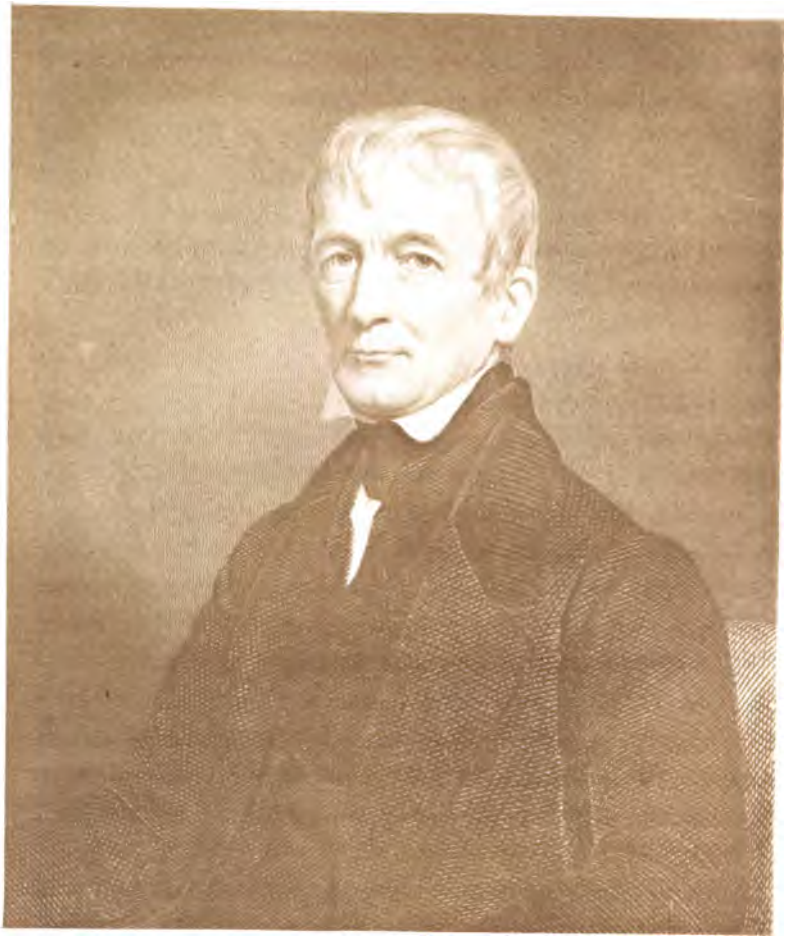
Gage, James U	1824	1830
Goodspeed, Calvin	1806	1829
Gibby, Samuel J	1821	1831
Griffith, John	1814	1845
Howe, E. B	1816	1826
Hovey, Charles	1817	1832
Horn, Samuel	1806	1828
Hopkins, James	1806	1832
Hatch, G. S	1819	1834
Hunt, E. S	1815	1833
Hulme, James (died 1871)	1813	1833
Hodge, J. A	1815	1835
Hovey, William	1802	1834
Howe, Jeroboam	1800	1821
Hale, B. S	1808	1808
Hadley, John (died 1876)	1804	1825
Hill, Benjamin C	1820	1834
Hapgood, Ephraim (died 1874)	1812	1833
Holton, Frederick	1815	1840
Howes, Samuel P	1809	1838
Hobson, George	1826	1833
Hedrick, George	1809	1831
Howe, James M	1811	1831
Howe, Lorenzo G	1810	1832
Hazeltine, G. W	1810	1841
Hancock, Levi	1814	1837
Hovey, Cyrus	1813	1844
Howe, Augustus J	1836	1836
Holt, Joseph S	1811	1827
Hutchinson, Reuben M	1807	1825
Huse, Jesse	1802	1845
Jewett, J. P. (died 1870)	1808	1833
Jaques, John S	1812	1832
Kittredge, William	1810	1822
Knowles, J. A	1800	1827
Knapp, Daniel (died 1876)	1808	1829
Kimball, John F	1824	1824
Kent, James (died 1876)	1800	1835
Kimball, Gilman	1805	1830
Kittredge, Jeduthan (died 1875)	1800	1840

Kimball, Durrell	1810	1831
Kittredge, Daniel	1806	1833
Kidder, Samuel	1821	1843
Kittredge, Abner	1807	1831
Kidder, John	1805	1823
Lawson, Peter	1813	1827
Lesure, A. P.	1812	1831
Lawson, Thomas B	1807	1842
Lawrence, Samuel	1823	1841
Lawrence, Samuel, Stockbridge (honorary)	——	——
Libbey, Isaac M	1808	1835
Merrill, Joshua	1802	1827
Mathews, Abraham	1804	1829
Morrill, Charles	1818	1823
McAlvin, J. B.	1800	1834
McEvoy, Hugh	1808	1828
McArthur, William	1825	1829
Moar, Stephen (died 1876)	1810	1831
Manahan, Samuel T	1805	1845
Morrison, J. G	1822	1840
Munroe, Charles	1800	1845
Mack, Sewall G	1813	1840
Morse, J. N.	1820	1842
Morrill, N. W	1821	1839
Marshall, Bradley	1817	1836
Mitchell, Daniel F. (died 1877)	1823	1845
Morse, W. W	1819	1834
Motley, George	1808	1827
McFarlin, Luke	1810	1810
Manahan, Mark	1809	1832
McKissock, Robert	1818	1852
Mallard, Albert	1807	1833
Nichols, C. C.	1809	1829
Nichols, William	1818	1828
Nesmith, Thomas (died 1870)	1788	1833
Nowell, Foster	1814	1833
Nichols, Alanson (died 1874)	1815	1836
Nash, James W	1823	1848
Nute, Andrew T	1805	1832

Nichols, Jacob	1814	1832
Nichols, Gilman N.	1803	1829
Norris, G. W	1819	1837
Orange, H. S.	1815	1834
Ordway, H. M.	1825	1825
Pillsbury, Harlin (died 1877)	1797	1827
Pearl, F. F.	1812	1833
Place, Isaac (died 1872)	1810	1834
Patch, E. B.	1806	1831
Peabody, J. G.	1808	1824
Parkhurst, Matthias (died 1877)	1795	1823
Parmenter, Horace	1808	1832
Perkins, M. G.	1819	1836
Page, Jonathan	1809	1823
Pratt, Thomas	1805	1832
Peabody, James M. (died 1873)	1818	1832
Paul, Thomas (died 1876)	1821	1827
Parks, George	1813	1834
Powers, Joel	1803	1842
Pearson, George W.	1825	1825
Piper, Isaac B.	1814	1832
Read, E. M.	1800	1828
Richardson, E. G.	1809	1830
Russell, J. S.	1807	1835
Roby, A. B.	1809	1830
Roper, George W. (died 1877)	1813	1830
Richardson, Daniel L. (died 1875)	1809	1828
Richardson, O. A.	1809	1832
Richardson, Luther	1811	1835
Rand, James H.	1813	1830
Raynes, Joseph	1814	1831
Rand, Enoch S.	1818	1835
Read, Henry	1804	1834
Rugg, S. P.	1807	1832
Rice, Jonathan (died 1876)	1818	1839
Richards, John	1808	1835
Simonds, S. B.	1806	1831
Sherman, E. F. (died 1872)	1821	1824

Spalding, Joel	1820	1820
Sawtell, J. A.	1823	1830
Smith, J. W.	1816	1835
Stevens, Levi B.	1815	1833
Stearns, Erastus	1807	1830
Spalding, Weld	1798	1822
Sprague, Levi	1810	1827
Staples, Nathaniel T.	1815	1835
Stevens, Solon	1801	1825
Sanborn, Page	1798	1836
Snell, Orlando	1825	1847
Stone, Zina E.	1824	1842
Short, Josiah E.	1809	1827
Streeter, Holland	1811	1832
Smith, William M.	1803	1836
Sargent, E. M.	1820	1833
Stanley, George W.	1811	1832
Shattuck, Horace B.	1825	1826
Swan, Albert G.	1826	1826
Stacy, Lucien P.	1821	1844
Sheldon, Abiel W.	1820	1838
Spofford, Frederic A.	1818	1845
Savory, C. A.	1813	1849
Shattuck, George W.	1822	1825
Scadding, Aaron	1804	1829
Stott, Charles	1799	1835
Southwick, John R.	1818	1839
Sanborn, E. A.	1820	1846
Scott, James	1817	1841
Smith, John (died 1877)	1805	1831
Tower, James	1796	1826
Tufts, Edward (died 1875)	1806	1828
Tuck, Edward	1806	1828
Tyler, Silas (died 1875)	1793	1793
Tyler, Jonathan	1790	1790
Tyler, Artemas S.	1824	1824
Tripp, John	1807	1825
Trueworthy, James B.	1828	1848
Thompson, J. P.	1830	1848
Varnum, Atkinson C.	1828	1828

Wilkins, George	1818	1839
Winslow, George	1804	1829
Wright, Hapgood	1811	1828
Webster, William P. (died 1877)	1818	1823
Waugh, John (died 1872)	1795	1822
Watson, E. F	1807	1832
Whittier, Moses	1795	1829
Whithed, Darius	1809	1831
Welch, W. C	1814	1830
Webber, J. P. (died 1875)	1801	1828
Walker, Benjamin	1822	1826
Wheeler, Albert (died 1876)	1813	1823
Wood, Samuel (died 1874)	1786	1823
Williams, S. M	1794	1824
Watson, James	1818	1835
Wood, Samuel N	1821	1822
Wood, William	1819	1819
Whipple, Oliver M. (died 1872)	1794	1818
Washburn, J. M. (died 1875)	1812	1829
Winn, Parker (died 1877)	1800	1824
Wright, A. C	1819	1833
Welch, Charles A	1824	1834
Worthen, George W	1815	1833
Worcester, Leonard	1813	1846
Wood, Robert	1820	1842
Wiggin, Andrew J	1815	1836
Wood, Charles	1817	1836
Wright, Nathan M	1815	1831
Wilder, Charles H	1805	1832
Ward, S. L	1826	1843
Webster, George	1810	1825
Wright, John F	1818	1831
Wilson, Edwin T	1812	1826
Watson, Shepard	1815	1831
Willoughby, B. L	1807	1841
Wing, True	1816	1841
Wallace, D. R	1823	1847



XV. Patrick T. Jackson (with Likeness), by Hon. John A. Lowell.

THE rapid development of the natural resources of the United States, within the last half century; the material, intellectual, and, in some points of view, the moral progress witnessed throughout our land, have attracted the attention of the philosophers of Europe, and given rise to many ingenious, and some profound disquisitions. The nature of our institutions has been differently viewed, according to the partiality of the observers. With some, what was admitted to be good, has been attributed to a happy chance; while a great preponderance of evil, inseparable from republican institutions, has been supposed to be lurking in the background, ready, at some not very distant day, to neutralize or overpower all these apparent advantages. With others, the inherent energy of free institutions has been the assumed explanation of all that was admirable in our progress, and a future of still increasing prosperity fondly predicted.

To those of us who are accustomed to regard man less as a mere machine, the plaything of external circumstances; who view him as a being of strong powers and high responsibilities, the solution will be different. We shall recur to the history of New England, and trace, in the stern energy of the virtues of its founders, the cause, at once, of our institutions and of our success.

Not all the constitutions of the Abbe Sieyes could in-

spire the French people with a love of genuine liberty. The degraded descendants of the heroic Spaniards will crouch under military despotism, or bow to a foreign invader, in spite of the best-worded "pronunciamentos" of a Santa Anna, or a Bolivar.

These views, confirmed by all history, are full of hope and of warning—of hope, in the future destiny of our race, depending, as it thus does, on our own moral and intellectual exertions, and not on the varying phases of external condition; of warning, that we do not, in blind reliance upon the advantages of our position, relax our vigilance and our efforts.

In this point of view, we may contemplate with advantage the personal history of those men, who, by their talents, their high standard of honor, their unwearied industry, have contributed to the material prosperity of our country in their own time, and have pointed out to those who came after them that the true path to success lies in an undeviating adherence to the purest and noblest principles of action.

These reflections are immediately suggested by the recent loss of one among us, who, in an eminent degree, united all these qualities. To a Bostonian, it will hardly be necessary to say that I refer to Patrick T. Jackson; so associated is his very name with public enterprise, purity of purpose, vigor of resolution, and kindliness of feeling. To those who have not enjoyed with us the privilege of his society and his example, a short account of his personal history may not be unacceptable.

Patrick Tracy Jackson was born at Newburyport, on the 14th of August, 1780. He was the youngest son of the Hon. Jonathan Jackson, a member of the Continental Congress in 1782, Marshal of the District of Massachusetts under Washington, first Inspector, and afterward Super-

visor of the Internal Revenue, Treasurer of the Commonwealth for five years, and, at the period of his death, Treasurer of Harvard College; a man distinguished among the old-fashioned gentlemen of that day for the dignity and grace of his deportment, but much more so for his intelligence, and the fearless, almost Roman inflexibility of his principles.

His maternal grandfather, from whom he derived his name, was Patrick Tracy, an opulent merchant of Newburyport—an Irishman by birth, who, coming to this country at an early age, poor and friendless, had raised himself, by his own exertions, to a position which his character, universally esteemed by his fellow-citizens, enabled him adequately to sustain.

The subject of this memoir received his early education at the public schools of his native town, and afterward at Dunmore Academy. When about fifteen years old, he was apprenticed to the late William Bartlett, then the most enterprising and richest merchant of Newburyport, and since well known for his munificent endowment of the institution at Andover. In this new position, which, with the aristocratic notions of that day, might have been regarded by some youth as derogatory, young Patrick took especial pains to prove to his master that he had not been educated to view anything as disgraceful which it was his duty to do. He took pride in throwing himself into the midst of the labor and reponsibility of the business. In so doing he gratified a love of activity and usefulness, which belonged to his character, at the same time that he satisfied his sense of duty. And yet, while thus ready to work, he did not lose his keen relish for the enjoyments of youth; and would often, after a day of intense bodily labor, be foremost in the amusements of the social circle in the evening.

He soon secured the esteem and confidence of Mr. Bartlett, who intrusted to him, when under twenty years of age, a cargo of merchandise for St. Thomas, with authority to take the command of the vessel from the captain, if he should see occasion.

After his return from this voyage, which he successfully conducted, an opportunity offered for a more extended enterprise. His brother, Captain Henry Jackson, who was about six years older than himself, and to whom he was warmly attached, was on the point of sailing for Madras and Calcutta, and offered to take Patrick with him as captain's clerk. The offer was a tempting one. It would open to him a branch of commerce in which his master, Bartlett, had not been engaged, but which was, at that time, one of great profit to the enterprising merchants of this country. The English government then found it for their interest to give us great advantages in the Bengal trade; while our neutral position, during the long wars of the French revolution, enabled us to monopolize the business of supplying the continent of Europe with the cotton and other products of British India. An obstacle, however, interposed—our young apprentice was not of age; and the indentures gave to his master the use of his services till that period should be completed. With great liberality, Mr. Bartlett, on being informed of the circumstances, relinquished his claim.

It was very nearly the first day of the present century, when Mr. Jackson commenced his career as a free man. Already familiar with many things pertaining to a sea life, he occupied his time on board ship in acquiring a knowledge of navigation and of seamanship. His brother, who delighted in his profession, and was a man of warm and generous affections, was well qualified and ready to instruct him. These studies, with his previous mercantile experience, justified him, on his return from India, in offering to

take charge of a ship and cargo in the same trade. This he did, with complete success, for three successive voyages, and established his reputation for enterprise and correctness in business.

On the last of these occasions, he happened to be at the Cape of Good Hope when that place was taken from the Dutch by the English, under Sir David Baird, in January, 1806. This circumstance caused a derangement in his mercantile operations, involving a detention of about a year at the Cape, and leading him subsequently to embark in some new adventures; and he did not reach home until 1808, after an absence of four years.

Having now established his reputation, and acquired some capital, he relinquished the sea, and entered into commercial pursuits at Boston. His long acquaintance with the India trade eminently fitted him for that branch of business; and he had the support and invaluable counsels of his brother-in-law, the late Francis C. Lowell. He entered largely into this business, both as an importer and speculator. The same remarkable union of boldness and sound judgment, which characterized him in later days, contributed to his success, and his credit soon became unbounded. In 1811, at a moment when his engagements were very large, and when the state of the country was such, in its foreign relations, as to call for the greatest circumspection, a sudden check was given to his credit by the failure of a house in the same branch of business, with whom he was known to be extensively connected. His creditors became alarmed, and there were not wanting those who said that he ought instantly to fail. Mr. Jackson acted, under this emergency, with his usual promptness and resolution. He called upon some of his principal creditors, made a most lucid exposition of the state of his affairs, and showed that, if allowed to manage them in his own way,

his means were abundantly sufficient; while, so great was the amount of his liabilities, that, under the charge of assignees, not only might all his hard earnings be swept away, but the creditors themselves be the sufferers. So admirably had his accounts been kept, and so completely did he show himself to be master of his business, that the appeal was irresistible. He was allowed to go on unmolested, and the event justified the confidence reposed in him. One of his largest creditors, the late William Pratt, Esq., was so pleased with his deportment on this occasion, that he not only cheerfully acquiesced in the decision, but offered him any pecuniary aid he might require. This was no trifling proof of confidence, when the amount of his liabilities, compared to his capital, at this dark and troublesome period, is taken into view. In the end, he gained reputation and public confidence by the circumstances that had threatened to destroy them. Within a year, all the embarrassments that had menaced him had passed away, and he continued largely engaged in the India and Havana trades, till the breaking out of the war in 1812. At this period, circumstances led him into a new branch of business, which influenced his whole future life.

Mr. Lowell had just returned to this country, after a long visit to England and Scotland. While abroad, he had conceived the idea that the cotton manufacture, then almost monopolized by Great Britain, might be advantageously prosecuted here. The use of machinery was daily superseding the former manual operations; and it was known that power-looms had recently been introduced, though the mode of constructing them was kept secret. The cheapness of labor, and abundance of capital, were advantages in favor of the English manufacturer—they had skill and reputation. On the other hand, they were burdened with the taxes of a prolonged war. We could obtain the raw mate-

rial cheaper, and had a great superiority in the abundant water-power, then unemployed, in every part of New England. It was also the belief of Mr. Lowell, that the character of our population, educated, moral, and enterprising as it then was, could not fail to secure success, when brought into competition with their European rivals; and it is no small evidence of the far-reaching views of this extraordinary man, and his early colleagues, that their very first measures were such as should secure that attention to education and morals among the manufacturing population, which they believed to be the corner-stone of any permanent success.

Impressed with these views, Mr. Lowell determined to bring them to the test of experiment. So confident was he in his calculations, that he thought he could in no way so effectually assist the fortunes of his relative, Mr. Jackson, as by offering him a share in the enterprise. Great were the difficulties that beset the new undertaking. The state of war prevented any communication with England. Not even books and designs, much less models, could be procured. The structure of the machinery, the materials to be used in the construction, the very tools of the machine-shop, the arrangement of the mill, and the size of its various apartments—all these were to be, as it were, re-invented. But Mr. Jackson's was not a spirit to be appalled by obstacles. He entered at once into the project, and devoted to it, from that moment, all the time that could be spared from his mercantile pursuits.

The first object to be accomplished, was to procure a power-loom. To obtain one from England was, of course, impracticable; and, although there were many patents for such machines in our Patent Office, not one had yet exhibited sufficient merit to be adopted into use. Under these circumstances, but one resource remained—to invent one

themselves; and this these earnest men at once set about. Unacquainted as they were with machinery, in practice, they dared, nevertheless, to attempt the solution of a problem that had baffled the most ingenious mechanicians. In England the power-loom had been invented by a clergyman, and why not here by a merchant? After numerous experiments and failures, they at last succeeded, in the autumn of 1812, in producing a model which they thought so well of as to be willing to make preparations for putting up a mill, for the weaving of cotton cloth. It was now necessary to procure the assistance of a practical mechanic, to aid in the construction of the machinery; and the friends had the good fortune to secure the services of Mr. Paul Moody, afterward so well known as the head of the machine-shop at Lowell.

They found, as might naturally be expected, many defects in their model loom; but these were gradually remedied. The project hitherto had been exclusively for a weaving-mill, to do by power what had before been done by hand-looms. But it was ascertained, on inquiry, that it would be more economical to spin the twist, rather than to buy it; and they put up a mill for about one thousand seven hundred spindles, which was completed late in 1813. It will probably strike the reader with some astonishment to be told that this mill, still in operation at Waltham, was probably the first in the world that combined all the operations necessary for converting the raw cotton into finished cloth. Such, however, is the fact, as far as we are informed on the subject. The mills in this country—Slater's, for example, in Rhode Island—were spinning-mills only; and in England, though the power-loom had been introduced, it was used in separate establishments, by persons who bought, as the hand-weavers had always done, their twist of the spinners.

Great difficulty was at first experienced at Waltham, for the want of a proper preparation (sizing) of the warps. They procured from England a drawing of Horrock's dressing-machine, which, with some essential improvements, they adopted, producing the dresser now in use at Lowell and elsewhere. No method was, however, indicated in this drawing for winding the threads from the bobbins on the beam; and to supply this deficiency, Mr. Moody invented the very ingenious machine called the warper. Having obtained these, there was no further difficulty in weaving by power-looms.

There was still greater deficiency in the preparation for spinning. They had obtained from England a description of what was then called a bobbin and fly, or jack-frame, for spinning roving; from this Mr. Moody and Mr. Lowell produced our present double-speeder. The motions of this machine were very complicated, and required nice mathematical calculations. Without them, Mr. Moody's ingenuity, great as it was, would have been at fault. These were supplied by Mr. Lowell. Many years afterward, and after the death of Mr. Lowell, when the patent for the speeder had been infringed, the late Dr. Bowditch was requested to examine them, that he might appear as a witness at the trial. He expressed to Mr. Jackson his admiration of the mathematical power they evinced; adding, that there were some corrections introduced that he had not supposed any man in America familiar with but himself.

There was also great waste and expense in winding the thread for filling or weft from the bobbin on to the quills, for the shuttle. To obviate this, Mr. Moody invented the machine known here as the filling-throstle.

It will be seen, by this rapid sketch, how much there was at this early period to be done, and how well it was accomplished. The machines introduced then, are those

still in use in New England—brought, of course, to greater perfection in detail, and attaining a much higher rate of speed, but still substantially the same.

Associating with themselves some of the most intelligent merchants of Boston, they procured, in February, 1813, a charter, under the name of the Boston Manufacturing Company, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. Success crowned their efforts, and the business was gradually extended to the limit of the capacity of their water-power.

Mr. Lowell died in 1817, at the age of forty-two; satisfied that he had succeeded in his object, and that the extension of the cotton manufacture would form a permanent basis of the prosperity of New England. He had been mainly instrumental in procuring from Congress, in 1816, the establishment of the minimum duty on cotton cloth; an idea which originated with him, and one of great value, not only as affording a certain and easy collected revenue, but as preventing the exaction of a higher and higher duty, just as the advance in the cost abroad renders it more difficult for the consumer to procure his necessary supplies.

It is not surprising that Mr. Lowell should have felt great satisfaction at the result of his labors. In the establishment of the cotton manufacture, in its present form, he and his early colleagues have done a service not only to New England, but to the whole country, which perhaps will never be fully appreciated. Not by the successful establishment of this branch of industry—that would sooner or later have been accomplished; not by any of the present material results that have flowed from it, great as they unquestionably are; but by the introduction of a system which has rendered our manufacturing population the wonder of the world. Elsewhere, vice and poverty have followed in the train of manufactures; an indissoluble bond of union seemed to

exist between them. Philanthropists have prophesied the like result here, and demagogues have re-echoed the prediction. Those wise and patriotic men, the founders of Waltham, foresaw and guarded against the evil.

By the erection of boarding-houses at the expense and under the control of the factory; putting at the head of them matrons of tried character, and allowing no boarders to be received except the female operatives of the mill; by stringent regulations for the government of these houses; by all these precautions they gained the confidence of the rural population, who were now no longer afraid to trust their daughters in a manufacturing town. A supply was thus obtained of respectable girls; and these, from pride of character, as well as principle, have taken especial care to exclude all others. It was soon found that an apprenticeship in a factory entailed no degradation of character, and was no impediment to a reputable connection in marriage. A factory-girl was no longer condemned to pursue that vocation for life; she would retire, in her turn, to assume the higher and more appropriate responsibilities of her sex; and it soon came to be considered that a few years in a mill was an honorable mode of securing a dower. The business could thus be conducted without any permanent manufacturing population. The operatives no longer form a separate caste, pursuing a sedentary employment, from parent to child, in the heated rooms of a factory; but are recruited, in a circulating current, from the healthy and virtuous population of the country.

By these means, and a careful selection of men of principle and purity of life as agents and overseers, a great moral good has been obtained. Another result has followed, which, if foreseen, as no doubt it was, does great credit to the sagacity of these remarkable men. The class of operatives employed in our mills have proved to be as superior

in intelligence and efficiency to the degraded population elsewhere employed in manufactures, as they are in morals. They are selected from a more educated class—from among persons in more easy circumstances, where the mental and physical powers have met with fuller development. This connection between morals and intellectual efficiency, has never been sufficiently studied. The result is certain, and may be destined, in its consequences, to decide the question of our rivalry with England, in the manufacture of cotton.

Although the first suggestions, and many of the early plans of the new business, had been furnished, as we have seen, by Mr. Lowell, Mr. Jackson devoted the most time and labor in conducting it. He spent much of his time, in the early years, at Waltham, separated from his family. It gradually engrossed his whole thoughts, and, abandoning his mercantile business in 1815, he gave himself up to that of the company.

At the erection of each successive mill, many prudent men, even among the proprietors, had feared that the business would be overdone—that no demand would be found for such increased quantities of the same fabric. Mr. Jackson, with the spirit and sagacity that so eminently distinguished him, took a different view of the matter. He not only maintained that cotton cloth was so much cheaper than any other material, that it must gradually establish itself in universal consumption at home, but entertained the bolder idea, that the time would come when the improvements in machinery, and the increase of skill and capital, would enable us successfully to compete with Great Britain in the supply of foreign markets. Whether he ever anticipated the rapidity and extent of the developments which he lived to witness, may perhaps be doubted; it is certain that his expectations were, at that time, thought visionary by many of the most sagacious of his friends.

Ever prompt to act, whenever his judgment was convinced, he began, as early as 1820, to look around for some locality where the business might be extended, after the limited capabilities of Charles River should be exhausted.

In 1821, Mr. Ezra Worthen, who had formerly been a partner with Mr. Moody, and who had applied to Mr. Jackson for employment, suggested that the Pawtucket Canal, at Chelmsford, would afford a fine location for large manufacturing establishments, and that probably a privilege might be purchased of its proprietors. To Mr. Jackson's mind, the hint suggested a much more stupendous project—nothing less than to possess himself of the whole power of the Merrimack River at that place. Aware of the necessity of secrecy of action to secure this property at any reasonable price, he undertook it single-handed. It was necessary to purchase not only the stock in the canal, but all the farms on both sides of the river, which controlled the water-power, or which might be necessary for the future extension of the business. No long series of years had tested the extent and profit of such enterprises; the great capitalists of our land had not yet become converts to the safety of such investments. Relying on his own talents and resolution, without even consulting his confidential advisers, he set about this task at his own individual risk; and it was not until he had accomplished all that was material for his purpose, that he offered a share in the project to a few of his former colleagues. Such was the beginning of Lowell—a city which he lived to see, as it were, completed. If all honor is to be paid to the enterprise and sagacity of those men who, in our day, with the advantage of great capital and longer experience, have bid a new city spring up from the forest on the borders of the same stream, accomplishing almost in a day what is in the course of nature the slow growth of centuries, what shall we say of the forecast and

energy of that man who could contemplate and execute the same gigantic task at that early period and alone ?

The property thus purchased, and to which extensive additions were subsequently made, was offered to the proprietors of the Waltham Company, and to other persons whom it was thought desirable to interest in the scheme. These offers were eagerly accepted, and a new company was established, under the name of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the immediate charge of which was confided to the late Kirk Boott, Esq.

Having succeeded in establishing the cotton manufacture on a permanent basis, and possessed of a fortune, the result of his own exertions, quite adequate to his wants, Mr. Jackson now thought of retiring from the labor and responsibility of business. He resigned the agency of the factory at Waltham, still remaining a director both in that company and the new one at Lowell, and was personally consulted on every occasion of doubt or difficulty. This life of comparative leisure was not of long duration. His spirit was too active to allow him to be happy in retirement. He was made for a working man, and had long been accustomed to plan and conduct great enterprises; the excitement was necessary for his well-being. His spirits flagged, his health failed; till, satisfied at last that he had mistaken his vocation, he plunged once more into the cares and perplexities of business.

Mr. Moody had recently introduced some important improvements in machinery, and was satisfied that great saving might be made, and a higher rate of speed advantageously adopted. Mr. Jackson proposed to establish a company at Lowell, to be called the Appleton Company, and adopt the new machinery. The stock was soon subscribed for, and Mr. Jackson appointed the treasurer and agent. Two large mills were built, and conducted by him

for several years, till success had fully justified his anticipations. Meanwhile, his presence at Lowell was of great advantage to the new city. All men there, as among the stockholders in Boston, looked up to him as the founder and guardian genius of the place, and were ready to receive from him advice or rebuke, and to refer to him all questions of doubt or controversy. As new companies were formed, and claims became conflicting, the advantages became more apparent of having a man of such sound judgment, impartial integrity, and nice discrimination, to appeal to, and who occupied an historical position to which no one else could pretend.

In 1830, the interests of Lowell induced Mr. Jackson to enter into a business new to himself and others. This was the building of the Boston and Lowell Railroad. For some years, the practicability of constructing roads in which the friction should be materially lessened by laying down iron-bars, or trams, had engaged the attention of practical engineers in England. At first, it was contemplated that the service of such roads should be performed by horses; and it was not until the brilliant experiments of Mr. Stephenson, on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, that the possibility of using locomotive engines was fully established. It will be well remembered that all the first estimates for railroads in this country were based upon a road-track adapted to horse-power, and horses were actually used on all the earlier roads. The necessity of a better communication between Boston and Lowell had been the subject of frequent conversation between Mr. Boott and Mr. Jackson. Estimates had been made, and a line surveyed for a macadamized road. The travel between the two places was rapidly increasing; and the transportation of merchandise, slowly performed in summer by the Middlesex

Canal, was done at great cost, and over bad roads, in winter, by wagons.

At this moment, the success of Mr. Stephenson's experiments decided Mr. Jackson. He saw, at once, the prodigious revolution that the introduction of steam would make in the business of internal communication. Men were, as yet, incredulous. The cost and the danger attending the use of the new machines were exaggerated; and even if feasible in England, with a city of one hundred and fifty thousand souls at each of the termini, such a project, it was argued, was Quixotical here, with our more limited means and sparser population. Mr. Jackson took a different view of the matter; and when, after much delay and difficulty, the stock of the road was subscribed for, he undertook to superintend its construction, with the especial object that it might be in every way adapted to the use of steam-power, and to that increase of travel and transportation which few, like him, had the sagacity to anticipate.

Mr. Jackson was not an engineer; but full of confidence in his own energy, and in the power he always possessed of eliciting and directing the talent of others, he entered on the task, so new to every one in this country, with the same boldness that he had evinced twenty years before, in the erection of the first weaving-mill.

The moment was an anxious one. He was not accustomed to waste time in any of his undertakings. The public looked with eagerness for the road, and he was anxious to begin and to finish it. But he was too wise a man to allow his own impatience, or that of others, to hurry him into action before his plans should be maturely digested. There were, indeed, many points to be attended to, and many preliminary steps to be taken. A charter was to be obtained, and, as yet, no charter for a railroad had been

granted in New England. The terms of the charter, and its conditions, were to be carefully considered. The experiment was deemed to be so desirable, and, at the same time, so hazardous, that the legislature were prepared to grant almost any terms that should be asked for. Mr. Jackson, on the other hand, whose faith in the success of the new mode of locomotion never faltered, was not disposed to ask for any privileges that would not be deemed moderate after the fullest success had been obtained; at the same time, the recent example of the Charles River Bridge showed the necessity of guarding, by careful provisions, the chartered rights of the stockholders.

With respect to the road itself, nearly everything was to be learned. Mr. Jackson established a correspondence with the most distinguished engineers of this country and of Europe; and it was not until he had deliberately and satisfactorily solved all the doubts that arose in his own mind, or were suggested by others, that he would allow any step to be decided on. In this way, although more time was consumed than on other roads, a more satisfactory result was obtained. The road was graded for a double track; the grades reduced to a level of ten feet to the mile; all curves, but those of very large radius, avoided; and every part constructed with a degree of strength nowhere else, at that time, considered necessary. A distinguished foreigner, Mr. Charles Chevalier, has spoken of the work on this road as truly "Cyclopean." Every measure adopted shows conclusively how clearly Mr. Jackson foresaw the extension and capabilities of the railroad.

It required no small degree of moral firmness to conceive and carry out these plans. Few persons realized the difficulties of the undertaking, or the magnitude of the results. The shareholders were restless under increased

assessments and delayed income. It is not too much to say that no one but Mr. Jackson in Boston could, at that time, have commanded the confidence necessary to enable him to pursue his work so deliberately and so thoroughly.

The road was opened for travel in 1835, and experience soon justified the wisdom of his anticipations. Its completion and successful operation were a great relief to Mr. Jackson. For several years it had engrossed his time and attention, and at times deprived him of sleep. He felt it to be a public trust, the responsibility of which was of a nature quite different from that which had attended his previous enterprises.

One difficulty that he had encountered in the prosecution of this work led him into a new undertaking, the completion of which occupied him a year or two longer. He felt the great advantage of making the terminus of the road in Boston, and not, as was done in other instances, on the other side of the river. The obstacles appeared, at first sight, insurmountable. No land was to be procured in that densely populated part of the city except at very high prices; and it was not then the public policy to allow the passage of trains through the streets. A mere site for a passenger depot could, indeed, be obtained; and this seemed, to most persons, all that was essential. Such narrow policy did not suit Mr. Jackson's anticipations. It occurred to him that, by an extensive purchase of the flats, then unoccupied, the object might be obtained. The excavations making by the railroad at Winter Hill, and elsewhere, within a few miles of Boston, much exceeded the embankments, and would supply the gravel necessary to fill up these flats. Such a speculation not being within the powers of the corporation, a new company was created for the purpose. The land was made, to the extent of about ten acres;

and what was not needed for depots, was sold at advantageous prices. It has since been found that even the large provision made by Mr. Jackson is inadequate to the daily increasing business of the railroad.

Mr. Jackson was now fifty-seven years of age. Released once more from his engagements, he might rationally look forward to a life of dignified retirement, in which he would be followed by the respect of the community and the gratitude of the many families that owed their well-being to his exertions. But a cloud had come over his private fortunes. While laboring for others, he had allowed himself to be involved in some speculations, to which he had not leisure to devote his personal attention. The unfortunate issue of these deprived him of a large portion of his property.

Uniformly prosperous hitherto, the touchstone of adversity was wanting to elicit, perhaps even to create, some of the most admirable points in his character. He had long been affluent, and with his generous and hospitable feelings, had adopted a style of living fully commensurate with his position. The cheerful dignity with which he met his reverses; the promptness with which he accommodated his expenses to his altered circumstances; and the almost youthful alacrity with which he once more put on the harness, were themes of daily comment to his friends, and afforded to the world an example of the truest philosophy. He had always been highly respected; the respect was now more blended with love and veneration.

The death of his friend, Mr. Boott, in the spring of 1837, had proved a severe blow to the prosperity of Lowell. At the head of that company (the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals), which controlled the land and water-power and manufactured all the machinery used in the mills, the posi-

tion he had occupied led him into daily intercourse with the managers of the several companies. The supervision he had exercised, and the influence of his example, had been felt in all the ramifications of the complicated business of the place. Even where no tangible evidence existed of benefits specifically conferred, men were not slow to find out, after his death, that a change had come over the whole. The Locks and Canals Company being under his immediate charge, was, of course the first to suffer. Their property rapidly declined, both intrinsically and in public estimation. The shares, which for many years had been worth $1,000 each, were now sold for $700, and even less. No one appeared so able to apply the remedy as Mr. Jackson. Familiar, from the first, with the history of the company, of which he had always been a director, and the confidential adviser of Mr. Boott, he alone, perhaps, was fully capable of supplying that gentleman's place. He was solicited to accept the office, and tempted by the offer of a higher salary than had, perhaps, ever been paid in this country. He assumed the trust; and, during the seven years of his management, the proprietors had every reason to congratulate themselves upon the wisdom of their choice. The property was brought into the best condition; extensive and lucrative contracts were made and executed; the annual dividends were large; and when at last it was thought expedient to close the affairs of the corporation, the stockholders received of capital nearly $1,600 a share.

The brilliant issue of this business enhanced Mr. Jackson's previous reputation. He was constantly solicited to aid, by service and counsel, wherever doubt or intricacy existed. No great public enterprises were brought forward till they had received the sanction of his opinion.

During the last few years of his life, he was the treas-

urer and agent of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company at Somersworth; a corporation that had for many years been doing an unprofitable business at a great expense of capital. When this charge was offered to him, he visited the spot, and became convinced that it had great capabilities, but that everything, from the beginning, had been done wrong: to reform it, would require an outlay nearly equal to the original investment. The dam should be taken down and rebuilt; one mill, injudiciously located, be removed, and a larger one erected in a better spot; the machinery entirely discarded, and replaced by some of a more modern and perfect construction. Few men would have had the hardihood to propose such changes to proprietors discouraged by the prestige of repeated disappointments; still fewer, the influence to carry his measures into effect. That Mr. Jackson did this, and with results quite satisfactory to the proprietors and to himself, is almost a corollary from his previous history. His private fortune had, in the mean while, been restored to a point that relieved him from anxiety, and he was not ambitious of increasing it.

For some time after he assumed the duties of the agency at Somersworth, the labor and responsibility attending it were very severe; yet he seemed to his friends to have all the vigor and elasticity of middle life. It may be, however, that the exertion was beyond his physical strength; certainly, after a year or two, he began to exhibit symptoms of a gradual prostration; and, when attacked by dysentery in the summer of 1847, his constitution had no longer the power of resistance, and he sank under the disease on the 12th of September, at his sea-side residence at Beverly.

It had not been generally known in Boston that he was unwell. The news of his death was received as a public calamity. The expressions that spontaneously burst forth

from every mouth, were a most touching testimonial to his virtues, as much as to his ability.

Reviewing the career of Mr. Jackson, one can not but be struck with the multifarious and complicated nature of the business he undertook, the energy and promptness of his resolution, the sagacity and patience with which he mastered details, the grasp of mind that reached far beyond the exigencies of the moment. Yet these qualities, however pre-eminent, will not alone account for his uniform success, or the great influence he exercised. He had endowments morally, as well as intellectually, of a high order. The loftiest principles—not merely of integrity, but of honor—governed him in every transaction; and, superadded to these, was a kindliness of feeling that led him to ready sympathy with all who approached him. It was often said of him, that while no one made a sharper bargain than he did, yet no one put so liberal a construction upon it, when made. His sense of honor was so nice, that a mere misgiving was enough to decide him against his own interest. With his extensive business and strength of character, he necessarily had collisions with many; yet he had few enemies, and to such as felt inimical toward him, he harbored no resentment. Prompt in the expression of his feelings, he was equally so in the forgiveness of injuries. His quick sympathies led him to be foremost in all works of public spirit, or of charity. He was fearless in the expression of his opinions, and never swerved from the support of the right and the true, from any considerations of policy or favor. He felt it to be the part of real dignity to enlighten, not to follow, the general opinion.

In private, he was distinguished by a cheerfulness and benevolence that beamed upon his countenance and seemed to invite every one to be happy with him. His position

enabled him to indulge his love of doing good by providing employment for many meritorious persons; and this patronage, once extended, was never capriciously withdrawn.

The life of such a man is a public benefaction. Were it only to point out to the young and enterprising that the way to success is by the path of honor—not half-way, conventional honor, but honor enlightened by religion and guarded by conscience—were it only for this, a truth but imperfectly appreciated even by moralists, the memory of such men should be hallowed by posterity.—[*From Hunt's Lives of American Merchants.*

XVI. Lowell and Newburyport, by T. B. Lawson. Read May 2, 1876.

NEWBURYPORT — For her early introduction of woolen manufactures at Newbury Falls, on the Parker River; for the construction of the first locks and canal on the banks of the Merrimack River, and as the birth-place of a large number of the original founders of Lowell, deserves to be placed upon record by this Association. I shall not trench upon the work of my predecessors, by giving biographies already well given, but shall give a very brief history of the two enterprises named, with some ancestral and biographical facts concerning Paul Moody and his ancestors, which I believe have never been given in any paper read before this association. I shall also make one or two digressions from the manufacturing interest that I trust may interest you. In bringing together facts and incidents bearing upon the subjects in hand, I shall use any authority within my reach, and shall quote largely from all, without scruple. The authorities used are Mrs. E. V. Smith's History of Newburyport; B. Perley Poore's paper upon the early woolen mills of North Essex; and the early records of the old Locks and Canals Company of Newburyport, kindly placed at my disposal by J. B. Francis, Esq., the present Agent. All dates and facts concerning the old canal, contracts, purchases of land, and transfers of the same, are transcribed directly from the original records.

At the close of the war of the revolution in 1783, when the rich prizes taken from English commerce had

ceased entering the mouth of the Merrimack, the merchants and capitalists of Newburyport began to look about for some new methods of increasing and creating traffic with the interior. Various projects were discussed, money raised, and surveys made, all tending to increase facilities of communication with the back country. The trade with Vermont and New Hampshire was already large in the winter, when sleighing was good. Within my recollection I have known more than thirty double teams from the interior to pass down High Street in a day, laden with "*pork and produce.*" But this trade ceased with the sleighing. The problem to solve was the means of continuing this traffic through the milder seasons. Among the various surveys of this period was one made by Nicholas Pike and Captain Stephen Holland, a finely executed map, from the mouth of the Merrimack to the northwestern boundary of the town of Dracut, made with special reference to the construction of a canal. This map came into my hands from the grandson of Nicholas Pike, and now remains carefully preserved by the Locks and Canals Company of Lowell. Finally the project for a canal around Pawtucket Falls was adopted, and a charter applied for, which was granted June 25th, 1792. The original directors were Hon. Jona. Jackson, President; Hon. Dudley A. Tyng, Vice-President; Joseph Tyler, Nicholas Johnson, John O'Brien, Joshua Carter and Wm. Smith; Joseph Cutler, Treasurer.

After many preliminary meetings for the settlement of many minor details, and the consumption of many good dinners at Davenport's tavern, I find a resolution for a meeting to be holden August 13th, 1792, at the house of Joseph Varnum, of Dracut, then and there to determine upon the most feasible point for the construction of a canal around Pawtucket Falls. August 23rd, I find a resolve, "That a canal be cut at Pawtucket Falls on the side of Chelmsford,

beginning near the 'Great Landing Place,' thence running to 'Lily Pond,' from thence by 'Speen's Brook' to Concord River." September 13th, Hon. D. A. Tyng was authorized to purchase of James Parkhurst the tract of land owned by him, through which the canal is to pass, and to pay for the same one hundred pounds lawful. March 11th, 1793, a contract was agreed upon, and signed with good and sufficient bonds March 16th, 1793, with Joseph Tyler, for the completion of the canal, for the sum of four thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds lawful, of which sum one thousand pounds is to be paid on or before the 25th day of April, 1793. June 14th, a resolution was passed to ascertain how much money will be necessary to clear "Hunt's Falls," also to take measures to clear the falls of "Wickasic," near "Wickasic Island." July 27th, 1795, "That Colonel James Varnum be authorized to employ men, and to superintend operations below Pawtucket Falls, and to expend all necessary sums not exceeding one thousand two hundred dollars; and for his services to receive two dollars and fifty cents per day." January 25th, 1796, Joseph Tyler failing to complete the canal, it was voted that "Thomas March Clark, of Newburyport, be, and hereby is, appointed superintendent of the operations to be performed at Pawtucket Falls the ensuing season, and that he be paid three dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per day, for every day that he shall be actually employed in the service of the proprietors, together with his board and necessary travelling expenses. He is also authorized to employ men, purchase tools, &c." October 1st, 1796, the directors report, that Mr. Thomas M. Clark, their superintendent, by his unremitting attention and faithful services, has made such progress that they are enabled to fix upon Tuesday, the 18th day of October, 1796, for the opening of the canal. The canal thus completed was successful in its

main object of facilitating the transportation of ship timber, lumber and produce to Newburyport and the mouth of the river, but paid small dividends, at long intervals, probably averaging less than four per cent. upon the total outlay.

November 14th, 1821, a communication from Kirk Boott, Esq., agent of a company who propose to establish large mill works for manufacturing purposes, expressing a desire to purchase of the proprietors of the Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River, all the mill power they own at Chelmsford, being read and considered, it was thereupon voted, "That Thomas M. Clark be, and hereby is, appointed an agent in behalf of this corporation, to confer with said Boott, or any other agent or agents of said company, on the subject aforesaid, and to report to this directory." December 24th, 1821, Kirk Boott writes: "I am authorized to offer you one thousand eight hundred dollars per annum for the mill power and all the land the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River own, and which is not necessary for the use of the canal; reserving the right to pay thirty thousand dollars in lieu thereof whenever they may find it convenient, on giving ninety days' notice, on condition that the canal be so enlarged by the proprietors, that we may at all times have sufficient water, and that the locks shall be rebuilt of stone," &c. This proposition was rejected. The Boston company then quietly bought up the stock of the Locks and Canals, until they got a majority of shares. Mr. Thomas M. Clark was then selected by Mr. Boott and Patrick T. Jackson, to purchase the land bordering upon the river, and all lands necessary for canals, &c. These lands were *all* purchased from November 2nd to November 28th, 1821, and a deed of transfer to Kirk Boott and others was made by Thomas M. Clark, and signed by himself and his wife Mary, relinquishing her right of dower, December

13th, 1821, fifteen days after the last purchases were made. At a meeting called at the store of Patrick T. Jackson, in Boston, December 26th, 1821, Thomas M. Clark, Ebenezer Wheelwright and Thomas Carter resigned their trusts as directors of the Locks and Canal Company, and Wm. Appleton, Patrick T. Jackson, Eben Appleton and Kirk Boott were elected in their stead. Thus the old company was merged into the new, although it is now the same corporation, but with new directors, new stockholders, and new interests.

In coming down through such a list of resolutions, contracts, purchases and transfers, I have been obliged to inflict upon you many dry details; and as some misapprehensions have existed heretofore with regard to some transactions, it has been deemed necessary to place all transactions upon a foundation of truth, by transcripts from the original records of the Locks and Canal Company. Undoubtedly the opening of the Pawtucket Canal made known the extent and value of the water power at this point, and it is believed that Worthen's advice to Paul Moody to "go to Pawtucket Falls," came from knowledge acquired by him on the spot during its progress.

The water privilege at Newbury Falls, on Parker River, the site of the first incorporated woolen factory in the United States, was originally granted by the "General Court" in 1635, to John Spencer and Richard Dummer, the ancestor of John Dummer, of Lowell, the ingenious wheel builder, so well known to most of my hearers. Five hundred acres of the adjacent land on the north side of the River Parker was at the same time granted to Henry Sewall, the ancestor of nearly all the Sewalls of Massachusetts, who married Jane, the daughter of Richard Dummer, who became in time the owner of this historical mill. Here, before I proceed further, I wish to correct a statement that I saw

in a *Boston Journal*, I think, "that the first herd of neat cattle were imported into this country in 1647." Now, as tombstones never lie, I bring forward my authority boldly. I recollect that *more* than thirty years since, while hunting old epitaphs in the old Newbury grave-yard, near the north corner of Dr. Withington's *old* church, I came upon the tombstone of Henry Sewall, and I recollect it reads thus: "Henry Sewall was sent by his father in the ship 'Elizabeth and Dorcas,' with *neat cattle*, servants and swine; wintered in Ipswich; came to Newbury in 1635, and helped begin this plantation. He married Jane Dummer. He died"—[I dare not give the date.] "His fruitful vine, being thus disjoined, fell to the ground the ensuing spring." The priority in importation of neat cattle belongs to Henry Sewall and his father, who sent him.

Let us return to Newbury Falls and the early introduction of woolen manufactures. Upon this subject we have many and well-authenticated facts from various sources. Coffin, in his "History of Old Newbury"; Mrs. Smith, in her full and very interesting "History of Newburyport"; Ben: Perley Poore, in his valuable paper upon the "Early Woolen Mills of Essex North," from which I have quoted very freely, and Royal C. Taft, in his "Report to Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry," all assert unqualifiedly that Newbury Falls, on the Parker River, was the first place in the United States where a carding machine was put in operation, and an incorporated woolen mill was established. Mr. Taft, in his report, after reviewing and setting aside rival claims, distinctly declares that "Byfield, at Newbury Falls, on the Parker River," was the pioneer place of woolen manufactures in the United States. His statement runs thus (I copy *verbatim* from the paper before mentioned): "On the 24th of March, 1793, John and Arthur Schofield,

sons of Arthur Schofield, of Standish Foot, in Saddleworth, Yorkshire, England, sailed from Liverpool for the United States, John being accompanied by his family. Arriving in Boston in May, they took up their residence in Charlestown, near Bunker Hill, and began to make patterns for the machinery of a woolen mill, trusting mainly to their powers of memory; the laws of England at that time being very strict, prevented their bringing patterns or drawings out of the country. They became acquainted with Dr. Jedediah Morse, of Charlestown, the father of the discoverer of the electric telegraph, and also Dr. Elijah Parish, of Byfield, who were then engaged on the 'History of New England,' afterwards published by Isaiah Thomas and Charles Whipple, at Newburyport, and were by these Rev. gentlemen introduced to Wm. Bartlett, Benj. Greenleaf, and other capitalists of Newburyport. Their representations induced these men of capital to obtain an act of incorporation, as the 'Proprietors of the Newburyport Woolen Manufactory.' The water power at 'Newbury Falls' was purchased, fifty thousand dollars of capital was raised, and the mill was built under the supervision of John and Arthur Schofield, and the first carding machinery for wool that was put in operation in the United States was constructed at Newburyport, by Guppy & Armstrong, in accordance with the plans of the Schofields, and was erected and operated at Newbury Falls, Byfield, in June, 1794. The Schofields, after leaving Byfield removed to Montville, Connecticut, where they erected a woolen mill. John afterward removed to Pittsfield, where he manufactured broadcloth successfully. In 1808 he presented an inaugural suit to President Madison, pronounced equal to any manufactured in old England. Of the original shares in the woolen mill, Mr. Bartlett was a large owner. He continued to purchase, as opportunity offered, until he became sole owner. He finally sold,

or rented, to an English manufacturer, who continued to make broadcloths and flannels until 1806. Cotton machinery was introduced, and goods made that sold as high as 75 cents per yard. This important statement is made in the History of Newburyport by E. Vale Smith. I distinctly recollect seeing a stout Englishman, by the name of Lee, selling red flannels to dry goods dealers in State Street, Newburyport, as late as 1822. My last recollection of the old mill was its passing into the hands of a manufacturer of furniture, and finally to the specialty of *bedsteads*."

Paul Moody, while attending his father's grist mill at Newbury Falls, near his birthplace, became so much interested in the erection of the woolen mill, and in the placing and operation of the machinery, that he obtained employment in it, and remained there as a spinner, until Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, the great inventor and mechanic, obtained a portion of the Moody grist-mill, for operating the first successful nail-cutting machine of the world. Moody was then employed by Perkins as an assistant in running the machine. When he took it to Amesbury for greater power and space, he took Moody with him. Perkins shortly after engaged Enoch Winkley, of Amesbury, as a partner, and Moody entered into partnership with Ezra Worthen, of Amesbury, as cotton spinners. After fourteen years' experience as machinist and manufacturer, Paul Moody was placed at Waltham, in connection with Francis C. Lowell and Patrick T. Jackson, to create new machinery for new processes, and to do what had never been done before under one corporation, or in any one mill, that was, to complete all the various processes of manufacturing, from the opening of the cotton to the baling of the finished cloth. The mills of England and France were either spinning or weaving mills, never combining both, and they are so to this day, with very rare exceptions. In 1821 Moody and Worthen

were the practical mechanics and manufacturers who established the cotton mills of Lowell, carrying out upon a large plan the idea upon which they started at Waltham, of combining all the various processes in each and every corporation. The English idea of minute divisions of labor has never been carried out in this country; our mechanics do not favor it; every man desires to know the whole of his business, as far as practicable. We can now conclude this portion of our subject by cordially endorsing Perley Poore's declaration, that "Newbury Falls, at Byfield, is not only the birthplace of American woolen mills and cut-nail making, but is also the *alma mater* of Paul Moody, who did so much to promote and perfect the early manufactures of Waltham and Lowell."

The ancestry of Paul Moody is thus given by Mr. Poore: "Samuel Moody, who was one of the first settlers of Newbury, married Mary Cutting; died in 1675, leaving three sons and five daughters. The oldest son married Mehitable, daughter of Henry and Jane Dummer Sewall. One of the sisters married Wm. Longfellow, one of the ancestors of the poet; another married Moses Gerrish. After the death of Mr. Henry Sewall each of his daughters received one-third of his Byfield estate, viz: Mrs. Moody, what was known as the 'Mill Farm'; Mrs. Gerrish, 'Barley Hill'; and Mrs. Longfellow, the 'Highfields,' the land of the new silver mines. Mrs. Moody was the first person interred in the Byfield burial-ground. Her husband survived her until 1730, and their son Samuel, who married Judith Hale, was the father of fifteen children, of whom only one son and two daughters grew up. Paul Moody, who is called on the parish records 'Capt. Paul Moody,' was born in 1743, and died in 1822. Of his sons, Samuel and Nathan graduated at Dartmouth College, and settled in the new town of Hallowell, in Maine; Samuel as a preceptor, and

Nathan as a merchant. Enoch, Sewall and William were farmers. David, the youngest, was an ingenious mechanic, and for many years superintendent of the 'Boston Iron Works,' on the Mill-dam. The remaining son of Capt. Paul Moody, who bore his name, was the most noted of the family. Preceptor Cleaveland used to lament that while all the other boys had been 'sons of Dummer,' the name of Paul Moody was not on the roll of the Academy. David Moody, the superintendent of the 'Boston Iron Works,' on the Mill-dam, was a bachelor, and a man of great mechanical skill. Another brother spent much time and money in visionary mechanical projects, in which much mechanical skill was exhibited, but little judgment, all tending to show that the family had mechanical proclivities."

I wish I could give the ancestry of Mr. Worthen, and more facts concerning his early life, but I know not where to obtain them. The lives of the individuals who founded Lowell, their peculiarities, the part that each performed in producing the grand result, have been so often discussed, and are so well and so widely known, that I trust I shall be pardoned if I give the remainder of my time to notices of some of their ancestors and *their* associates in Newburyport. The Lowell family are of Welsh origin, and were early settlers in Newbury, long before that portion of it became Newburyport; the date of separation was 1764. "The Rev. John Lowell, for forty-two years pastor of the first church in Newburyport, was a divine of large attainments, great firmness of character, and unusual liberality of thought. He was not strongly attached to creeds or formulas, but believed most sincerely in allowing each individual to maintain his rights of conscience. Mr. Lowell occupied the second house on the right hand side of Temple Street, entering from State Street. On a panel over the fire-place of the sitting-room was a painting, representing a council of

clergymen seated around a table, upon which was a punch bowl, tobacco dish, pipes, &c., and bearing above this motto, in Latin: 'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity.' This panel was purchased, and is now owned by James Russell Lowell, the well-known and much-admired poet of Cambridge, a great-grandson of the Rev. John Lowell, of Newburyport. Mr. Lowell died in 1767, leaving one son, the celebrated Judge John Lowell, who rose to great eminence in his profession, and was highly distinguished for learning and eloquence." Chief Justice Parker, in his remarks on the death of Theophilus Parsons, says: "At that early period of Parsons' life, his most formidable rival and most frequent competitor was the accomplished lawyer and scholar, the late Judge John Lowell." Judge Lowell was three times married: first to the daughter of Stephen H. Higginson, then to Susanna, daughter of Francis Cabot, of Salem, and lastly to Mrs. Rebecca Tyng, widow of James Tyng, Esq. His son, John Lowell, was born in Newburyport in 1769. Francis Cabot Lowell, for whom our city was named, and to whose memory all honor should be rendered as the original projector, the skilful mechanic and mathematician, who triumphed over all difficulties in the first introduction of cotton manufactures into Massachusetts, was also born in Newburyport, in 1776. Judge Lowell removed to Boston in 1776. The date of his death is not given in the history from which I gather these facts. Francis Cabot Lowell died in 1817; his elder brother, John, died in 1840. The Lowells, of Boston, who now represent the family, are his children and grand-children.

The Hon. Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, lived during the revolutionary period of our history. He was most highly esteemed and respected by all who knew him. He was a patriot devoted to the public service and to civil

liberty, a statesman of rare attainments and sagacity, and a gentleman of such delicacy, refinement and moral purity, that he gained and maintained a marked prominence in that brilliant and cultured coterie of gentlemen that formed the intellectual and social life of Newburyport at that period. I will name a few of the prominent men residents of the town at that period, that you may know the worth of the gem by its fellows of the cluster: Theophilus Parsons, Judge John Lowell, Judge Theophilus Bradbury, Tristram Dalton (United States Senator), Nathaniel Tracy, Bishop Bass, Rev. Thomas Cary, Rufus King, John Quincy Adams, Harrison Gray Otis, Samuel L. Knapp, Stephen Hooper, Charles Jackson, and many others whose names have passed from me. J. Q. Adams was in the law office of Judge Parsons, Harrison Gray Otis in the office of Judge Lowell. In the two offices of Parsons and Lowell there were usually ten or twelve students, many of them, later in life, of very distinguished reputation. Jonathan Jackson was a member of the Congress of 1780, Marshal of the District of Massachusetts, under Washington, Inspector and afterwards Supervisor of Internal Revenue, Treasurer of the State, and at the time of his death Treasurer of Harvard College. His wife was Miss Barnard, of Salem. Jonathan Jackson left three sons, who, by common consent, were admitted to be at the head of their different professions — Charles, as a jurist; James, as a physician; and Patrick T., as a merchant. Charles was born in 1775, Patrick T., in 1780.

In 1823–4 Charles Jackson visited England. Jacob Perkins was then interesting the scientific classes in Great Britain with numerous and important inventions, and Mr. Jackson was hailed by another class, the jurists and statesmen of the time, as a man of equal though of very different genius. A gentleman writing to an individual in New-

buryport, from London, at the time of Mr. Jackson's visit, says: "Two of your townsmen now fill the public eye of England, and are the subjects of public and private conversation, even to the exclusion of all other topics, in the '*beau monde*.'" Jonathan Jackson was for many years partner of Nathaniel Tracy, one of the most enterprising and extensive merchants our country has ever known; and, although in no manner connected with Lowell, his intimate connection with Mr. Jackson, and his liberal sacrifices for his country, will, I trust, give me sufficient reason for introducing him to your notice. Nathaniel Tracy, the son of Patrick Tracy, a distinguished merchant of Newburyport, was born in 1749; graduated at Harvard in 1769. He commenced mercantile business in Newburyport while young, succeeding his father in a business already large, which soon became vastly increased in the enterprising hands of the son. Jonathan Jackson entered into the business with him, his first partner. A stronger combination of talent, education and general intelligence has rarely been known in a business firm. From a memorial addressed to Congress, by a party in interest, published in a New York paper, and republished in the *Newburyport Herald*, December 4th, 1826, we learn that the first private armed vessel fitted out in the United States, sailed from Newburyport in August, 1775, less than four months from the date of Lexington and Concord, and was owned by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq. From that time to 1783, Mr. Tracy was the principal owner of one hundred and ten merchant vessels, having an aggregate of fifteen thousand six hundred and sixty tons, which, with their cargoes, were valued at two million, seven hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred dollars. Twenty-three of these vessels were "Letters of Marque," and mounted two hundred and ninety-eight carriage guns, and registered one thousand six hundred and eighteen men. Of these one

hundred and ten, but thirteen were left at the close of the war; all the rest were taken by the enemy, or lost by perils of the sea. During the same period Mr. Tracy was also principal owner of twenty-four cruising ships, whose combined tonnage was six thousand three hundred and thirty; carrying three hundred and forty guns, six, nine, and twelve-pounders, and navigated by two thousand eight hundred men. When it is considered that these were in addition to the "Letters of Marque" vessels, it exhibits Mr. Tracy rather as a naval than a merchant prince. Of these twenty-four cruisers, one only remained at the close of the war. The memorial further states that Mr. Tracy had fifty-seven square-rigged vessels at sea at one time. These cruisers, "Letters of Marque," &c., captured from English commerce one hundred and twenty vessels, aggregating twenty-three thousand three hundred and sixty tons, which, with their cargoes, were sold for three million nine hundred and fifty thousand specie dollars. With these prizes two thousand two hundred and twenty-five prisoners of war were captured. From the proceeds of these prizes large sums were given, and still larger sums were loaned, to the government. The aged cashier of the *old* Newburyport Bank, Mr. Samuel Mulliken, told me that upon the arrival in port of a very rich prize belonging to Mr. Tracy, laden with silks and broadcloths, Congress, at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Treasury, sent a deputation to Newburyport to solicit from Mr. Tracy a loan of the broadcloths to clothe the army. The troops were destitute, and government credit very low. Mr. David Coates, at that time one of the partners of Mr. Tracy, objected to the loan. Almost any prudent man, unless fired with the ardent patriotism of Tracy, would have done the same. Mr. Tracy gave Coates his note for his proportion of the property, and made the loan. Emboldened by this success, another commission made urgent application for

the silks, to raise money to pay the army. Again Mr. Coates said no. Mr. Tracy, by a repetition of the same security, said yes, and the second loan was made, amounting, from this cargo alone, to one hundred thousand dollars. His loans to government during the war, from prizes, amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand dollars. Mr. Tracy, with others of the wealthy merchants of the town, built, armed and equipped, ready for sea, the frigate "Merrimac." Her crew was recruited at Newburyport, and Captain Moses Brown, of Newburyport, placed in command; with a stipulation that they were to receive but six per cent. on the outlay until the close of the war. This was the first ship of our Navy built by private capital and loaned to the government.

Mr. Tracy's hospitality was proverbial. Distinguished individuals of whatever nation were warmly welcomed. Washington, during his eastern tour in 1789, was entertained at his elegant mansion in State Street, now the Public Library, and the furniture, bed-hangings, &c., of the chamber remained unchanged for nearly forty years. Many very eminent French refugees were cordially welcomed by Mr. Tracy, who reciprocated the very flattering attentions that he had received while in Paris. Talleyrand, Brissot and many others of note were frequent guests. Talleyrand resided for many months at Newburyport, occupying the house next below the Dexter House, upon the same side of the street. Farris & Stocker were his bankers. Captain Farris firmly believed that Chateaubriand and Louis Phillippe and Talleyrand met *incog.* at Newburyport before he joined them at New York for their western tour.

The *Cambridge Chronicle* of 1853, in an article upon Mr. Tracy, says that he "had several country seats, or large farms, with elegant summer-houses, fish-ponds and all the appliances of taste and luxury that a man of rank

and title might think necessary to his happiness; his horses of the choicest kind, and his coaches of the most splendid make. He expended as if fortune would be always propitious. It was a common saying in the town, that Mr. Tracy could ride to Virginia and sleep in his own house every night. This was doubtless an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he owned real estate in nearly every city on the line of travel between Newburyport and Philadelphia."

The closing years of Mr. Tracy's life were unfortunate. After the capture of the larger portion of his ships he sent the remainder upon a gigantic speculation, purchasing many millions of pounds of coffee at Java, and storing it at Antwerp for a rise. The adventure was disastrous; he lost largely; his debtors failed to pay, and government to refund his loans. He retired from active business after his reverses, still keeping up his favorite country seat and his town house with generous hospitality. He died of small-pox, at his country seat, in 1806, at the age of 57. At the death of the two daughters of Mr. Tracy, a few years since, the valuable papers, letters of Washington and many government officers, pictures by Copley and Trumbull, and many valuable curiosities, passed into the possession of Wm. Raymond Lee, Esq., the nephew and heir-at-law of Nathaniel Tracy.

One incident in connection with the prizes brought into Newburyport was so singular, I think you will pardon me if I trespass upon your time to relate it. Mr. Marquand, of Newburyport, was a large owner of cruisers, and they captured a large number of very valuable prizes. On board one of them was found a large punch bowl of silver, embossed with gold — an elegant specimen of the goldsmith's art. When the family became somewhat reduced in circumstances, as was the common habit of most of those

old families, it was sent to an extensive jewelry house in New York for sale. An English officer sauntering up Broadway, with his lady upon his arm, attracted by the beauty of the design and workmanship, was induced to examine it, when, to his great surprise and pleasure, he found an inscription announcing that it was presented by the English government to *his father*, in consideration of services rendered by him in Canada during the war. The punch bowl was, of course, purchased. My informant was the same venerable gentleman before mentioned—a gentleman of the highest character.

In conclusion, I trust that you are now willing to concede that Newburyport and its immediate vicinity, for the introduction of the first incorporated woolen mill in the United States, and the first American-made machinery for running the same; for the construction of the Locks and Canals—that initial enterprise which resulted in the birth of Lowell; for giving to Lowell such men as F. C. Lowell, P. T. Jackson, Paul Moody, Ezra Worthen, John Dummer—that taciturn genius whose wheels were miracles of workmanship—and last, though not least, that honest man and faithful builder, Joseph M. Dodge, deserves at our hands a conspicuous and enduring record.

As a native of the old town I am proud of her history and of the men who have made that history; and as an old resident of Lowell I am also proud of her progress, her schools, her charitable institutions and her generally good order. And the world may well add its tribute of thanks to Lowell, for giving to it two of the most accomplished young artists of our time, James Whistler and David Neal.

XVII. Lowell and Harvard College, by Dr. John O. Green. Read May 11, 1877.

Vixere fortes * * *
Multi: sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urguentur ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
—*Hor.*

SOME months since the papers contained a call for a meeting of Dartmouth graduates residing in Lowell. One or more meetings were held, and I read with interest the account of a very enjoyable gathering, with the names of gentlemen well known here and elsewhere. The idea struck me at that time, that if occasion should arise for a meeting of Harvard men the roll would be interesting; especially if we might include the whole of our fifty years.

With the kind assistance of one of them, of course an old resident, I have catalogued alphabetically the names of one hundred and thirty-nine alumni and graduates, together with their degrees and dates. The number *seemed large*, but it is not improbable there are omissions, more likely in the younger than older classes. It seemed *large*, and gave rise to the reflections which follow.

The influence exerted upon communities by our New England colleges is seldom thought of, or at least imperfectly appreciated. With all their deficiencies, and they are not few, this influence is constant, progressive, cumulative, unobtrusive, yet certain. Each year a class of earnest and ambitious young men are sent forth, most of them self-reliant from necessity, not only for the advantages which

have separated them from their fellows, but wholly dependent upon their strenuous exertions to maintain themselves and attain their coveted position in professional or other circles.

Their warfare with poverty and self-denial, very frequently with strong competition, their motives distrusted and conduct suspected, serves but to add to their self-reliance, decision, and firmness to their opinions, and caution and prudence to their actions. In due time, usually much too soon, they enter the serious business of life as strangers in city or country; their election decided often, as we are prone to think, by accident. Here often their progress is by slow degrees, with many trials and discouragements. The more thorough the early training, the more patient and earnest their study; even the more slow and steady their advance, so much less danger of their embracing crude and superficial opinions, hasty and ill-digested judgments, and the thousand forms of quackery and deception.

In a manufacturing city like our present, or rather, in a manufacturing village, as we were in 1824, it would seem there must have been some unusual attraction, which so early brought here men who had had what is called a public education. This is doubtless to be found in the character of the founders of our city. The ranks of the learned professions would naturally be filled as soon as a sufficient population was gathered to make their services in demand. But very early in the enterprise, by the action of these leaders and founders, important positions in the direction of the mills were filled by Harvard graduates; and from that circumstance, added to their individual weight of character, the young town, and the city as well, from that day forward have been made large debtors to the college. This fact is another evidence, if any were wanted, and cannot be too often repeated, that these gentlemen, from the outset,

acted upon a deep sense of moral responsibility, which urged them to vigilant, judicious and praiseworthy efforts for checking vicious habits, and the encouragement of those of morality and piety among their employees. It is not to be overlooked, also, that the largest principal proprietors of these mills, at the beginning, were men highly distinguished for culture and benevolence. We would not desire to leave the impression that all the influence that they exerted sprang from pure benevolence. No doubt a variety of motives, with a fair, if not a large, share of self-interest concurred in producing the general result—one influencing consideration doubtless being, that keeping up the high character of these establishments is of great importance in securing their prosperity.

I have not thought these remarks foreign to the title of this paper.

An English gentleman who visited us in 1845, of great general intelligence and familiarity with factories in his own country and elsewhere, and to whom every facility for observation was accorded here, after his return home acknowledged our superiority, and assigned his reasons, which I now copy; adding if our progress in thirty years has been retarded, and our prosperity greatly restrained, we may trace therein, perhaps, some of the causes.

1st. The general superior tone of moral principle and propriety of behaviour among the operative classes.

2nd. The universal prevalency of education, among all classes, connected with the general respect for the Bible and religion. A manager of one of our corporations assured him that from a recent examination he had found, that of his eight hundred girls belonging to his four mills, there were only forty-three who did not write their names legibly and tolerably well. He says, *education* not alone, but connected, as it *was* in New England, with respect for the Bible, the

Lord's day and religion, and with the usage of the people in this respect carried out into practical efforts.

3rd. The considerable wages which they receive is not without its influence. This of itself cannot exercise any *moral* influence; but negatively, a fair and adequate means of comfortable maintenance is essential for preservation from the peculiar snares of poverty. A wretched population as to poverty and want can hardly be a virtuous population. Religiously considered, a poor man as well as one of any other class may be a God-fearing man, but economically and morally considered, extreme poverty presents great and peculiar snares. This is intimated in the brief but instructive prayer of Agur, in the Book of Proverbs: "Give me neither poverty nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

4th. Another favorable influence is the watchful consideration and care of their operatives.

5th. The self-consideration and regard for character of the operatives themselvos.

"It is easy to see," he adds, "that various considerations besides the impressive sense of moral obligation and responsibility, of right and religious feeling, on the part of the managers and corporations, conduce to the same praiseworthy object. Yet whatever measure of self-advantage may be engaged in this object, the general benefit is not hindered."

As a result, indeed, of well-doing, self-advantage comes in as a scriptural encouragement: "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord: and look, what he layeth out, he shall pay him again." (Prov. xix: 17.)

ALUMNI AND GRADUATES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, NOW OR FORMERLY RESIDING IN LOWELL. JULY, 1877.

John Richardson Adams, A. M., 1818
Seth Ames, S. H. S., ... 1825
Julian Abbot, A. M., ... 1826
Joel Adams, A. B., ... 1805
John Avery, A. B., ... 1819
John T. Kirkland Adams, A. B., 1848
Ezra Barnes Aldrich, M. D., . 1869
Frederic Fanning Ayer, A. B., 1873
Josiah Gardner Abbott, LL. D., 1832
Edward Gardner Abbott, A. B., 1860
Henry Livermore Abbott, A. M., 1860
Samuel Appleton Brown Abbott, A. M., ... 1866
Edwin Augustus Alger, LL. B., 1869
Frank Parker Appleton, T., . 1845
John Avery, A. M., ... 1860

Benj'n Franklin Blood, A. B., . 1840
Kirk Boott (left college), . . 1809
Francis Brinley, A. M., . . . 1818
William Barry, S. H. S., . . 1829
Ithamar W. Beard, A. B., . . 1862
John White Browne, A. B., . 1830
Benjamin Dixon Bartlett, M. D., 1853
Abner Wheeler Buttrick, M. D., 1869
Paul Butler, A. B., ... 1875
George Willard Brown, A. B., 1875
Charles Butterfield, A. M., . . 1820
George Partridge Bradford, A. M., ... 1825
Erastus Brigham Bigelow, A.M., 1861

Warren Colburn, A.M., A. A. S., 1820
John Clark, A. B., ... 1816
Warren Handel Cudworth, A.M., 1850
Charles Parker Coffin, M. D., . 1826
Robert Boody Caverly, L., . . 1837
Sydney Howard Carney, M. D., 1861
Linus Mason Child, LL. B., . . 1858
Nehemiah Cleveland, M. D., . 1824
David Coggin, M. D., ... 1868
William Franklin Cheney, A. B., 1873

John Call Dalton, M. D., . . 1814
Samuel Luther Dana, M. D., LL. D., ... 1813
James Daley, M. D., ... 1869
Edward Barry Dalton, A. M., M. D., ... 1855
John Call Dalton, A. M., M. D., 1844
George Derby, M. D., ... 1838
Hanover Dickey, M. D., . . . 1837

Theodore Edson, A. M., S. T. D., 1822
Daniel Clarke Eddy, A. M., S. T. D., ... 1855

Elisha Fuller, A. M., ... 1815
Albert Levi Fisk, A. M., . . . 1864
Francis Foxcraft, A. M., . . . 1829
George Ebenezer Francis, A. M., M. D., ... 1858
James Bicheno Francis, A. M., A. A. et S. P. A. S., . . . 1858
Henry Holton Fuller, A. M., . 1811
Lorenzo Smith Fox, ... 1863
Willis Mott Fellows, M. D., . 1860

John Orne Green, A. M., M. D., 1817
Frederic Thomas Greenhalgh, A. B., ... 1863
John Henry Gilman, M. D., . 1863
Daniel Parker Gage, M. D., . 1855
Charles Gordon, M. D., . . . 1832
Charles Edward Grinnell, A. M., 1862
John Abbot Goodwin, A. M., . 1861
James Ward Gilman, A. B., . 1877

William Hilliard, A. M., . . . 1823
Francis Hilliard, A. M., . . . 1822
Samuel Foster Haven, S. H. et S. P. A. S., ... 1826
Thomas Hopkinson, A. M., . . 1830
Charles Langley Howe, A. M., . 1864
William Reed Huntington, A. M., D. D., ... 1859
Isaac Hinckly, A. B., ... 1834
Charles Edward Hodges, A. M., 1847

Charles Whitfield Homer, A. M., 1847
Frederic Hinckley, T., . . . 1843
Leonard Huntress, Jr., . . . 1870
Edward B. Holt, M. D., . . . 1868

Andrew Franklin Jewett, L., . 1855

Jonathan Kimball, A. M., . . 1851

John Locke, A. M., ... 1792
Luther Lawrence, A. M., . . . 1801
John Lowell (left college), . . 1816
Alfred Goodale Lamson, A. B., 1869
Frederic Lawton, A. B., . . . 1874
Edward L. LeBreton, A. M., . 1824
George Porter Lawrence, L., . 1860
Edwin Augustus Lecompte, A. M., ... 1862
Rufus Bigelow Lawrence, A. B., 1864

Joseph Warren Mansur, A. B., . 1831
Horatio Cook Merriam, A. M., . 1829
John Francis McEvoy, A. B., . 1854
Joseph Hetherington McDaniels, A. M., ... 1861
Albert Munroe Moore, A. M., . 1865
Francis Alexander Marden, A. M., 1863
Henry Adolphus Miles, S. T. D., 1832
Simon Graves Minassian, M. D., 1865
Augustus Mason, M. D., . . . 1844

Franklin Nickerson, M. D., . . 1860
Thomas Nesmith, A. B., . . . 1871
Frederic Malcom Norcross, A. B., 1858

George Cowles Osgood, M. D., 1866

Frederic Parker, A. M., LL. B., 1833
George Harlin Pillsbury, M. D., 1869
Moses Greeley Parker, M. D., . 1864
John James Pickman, L., . . 1869
Samuel Parker, A. B., ... 1824
Henry Harlin Pillsbury, M. D., 1859
John Carver Palfrey, A. M., . . 1853
Wendell Phillips, A. B., LL. B., 1831

John Paul Robinson, A. B., . . 1823
Daniel Samuel Richardson, A. M., LL. B., ... 1836
George Francis Richardson, A. M., LL. B., ... 1850
William Adams Richardson, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., . . . 1843
Frank Reader Rix, A. B., M. D., 1875
James S. Russell, A. M., . . . 1876

William Smith, A. M., . . . 1807
Thomas Pierpont Shaw, A. B., LL. B., M. D., ... 1866
John Lane Sheafe, A. M., . . 1810
Charles Parker Spalding, A. B., M. D., ... 1870
Josiah Lafayette Seward, A. M., S. T. B., ... 1868
Joshua Augustus Swan, A. B., 1846
Horatio Shipley, A. B., . . . 1828
Charles W. Swan, A. B., M. D., 1860

Edward Morton Tucke, A. M., . 1862
Theodore Tibbetts, A. M., . . 1851

Nathaniel Wright, A. M., . . 1808
Nathaniel Wright, A. B., . . . 1838
William Ezra Worthen, A. M., . 1838
Pelham Winslow Warren, A. M., 1815
Samuel Brooks Wyman, A. B., . 1856
William Prescott Wright, A. B., 1853
John Wright, A. M., ... 1823
Samuel Baker Wolcott, A. B., . 1819
Horatio Wood, A. B., ... 1857
Horatio Wood, A. B., ... 1827
George Henry Warland, A. B., 1827
Emory Washburn, S. H. et A. A. S., ... 1854
Henry Whiting, M. D., . . . 1842
Thomas Wright, A. B., . . . 1842
John Wade, LL. B., ... 1824
Josiah Kendall Waite, A. B., . 1829
Augustus Woodbury, A. M., . 1866

Ephraim Wood Young, A. M., . 1848

Whole number, 137.

XVIII. History of an Old Firm, by Charles Hovey. Read February 7, 1877.

THE early history of Lowell has been repeated often. The theme, however, is always welcome to the Old Resident. He listens with greedy ears to the old, old story, in a new dress or an old one, no matter how often. He likes to hear others speak or read of things which are as familiar to him as the alphabet, provided they are not known by everybody. He enjoys the monopoly of such knowledge. He remembers with perfect distinctness his first appearance here, all the particulars of his journey, whether he came by a "mail stage" drawn by six horses, or by a wagon or canal boat, or perhaps he might have come forty miles, more or less, on foot. He remembers the first man he spoke to, the first thing he did, the location of certain houses, long since changed or removed, his first attendance at Divine worship, the pew he sat in, the fewness of gray hairs in the church as compared with that in the village he left; all these and a hundred more are with him as if it were but last week. And now, when he comes to the quarterly meetings of this Old Residents' Association, he no longer notices the absence of gray hairs, for they are now the most conspicuous feature of his early friends. To him the faces are less changed.

Very few of us are natives. Some have been here half a century, some forty years, some thirty, and none less than a quarter of a century; but we are all Old Residents, and as the principal object of our Association is to keep alive the memory of early events, the writer begs your attention

while he relates the history of some which are within his personal experience.

The rapid growth of the town of Lowell for the first ten years of its existence was a marvelous event in its time, but at the distance of half a century we cease to wonder. What was then esteemed marvelous, is now of common occurrence. Before the town was ten years old, it had a population of ten thousand — a growth then unprecedented in this country, if not in any country. It had gathered representatives from almost every nation, exclusively young, all ambitious, and each impelled by competition, to use to the best advantage all the brain and muscle of which he felt himself possessed.

The recollection of the writer reaches back nearly forty-five years. His arrival at Middlesex Village by the canal boat, then plying between that village and Charlestown three times each way every week, occurred in the afternoon of a July day, in 1832. The trip was made under the command of Capt. Silas Tyler (late one of our number), and occupied seven or eight hours from port to port. The delay of unloading passengers and cargo, and of transporting the former by a two-horse "stage" to Lowell, occupied a couple of hours more, so that his destination was reached about five o'clock in the afternoon. He had come from Cambridgeport by previous arrangement of his father, to learn the business of an apothecary, as an apprentice with the late esteemed George H. Carleton,* who is no doubt remembered by most of the members of this Association;

*Mr. Carleton was born in Haverhill, Mass., January 6th, 1805. He was the youngest of five sons of Israel Carleton, who lived in the west parish of Haverhill for many years. About five years after he came to Lowell he married the eldest daughter of the late Paul Moody. He was the father of seven children, two only (a son and a daughter) of whom lived to adult age. The latter married Mr. T. G. Tweed, who is a member of the present firm. Mr. Carleton was a director in the Lowell Bank, an alderman, and at times occupied many other places of trust and responsibility. He died March 3rd, 1875.

and this brings us directly to the subject of this paper, which is a brief history of the firm of Carleton & Hovey.

Mr. Carleton came here in 1827—fifty years ago. He had "served his time" with Mr. Moses Nichols, who kept a country medicine store in Haverhill, Massachusetts, whose stock consisted of such medicines (few in number and crude in quality) as were in common use half a century ago, besides paints, dye-stuffs and confectionery.

Mr. Carleton purchased the stock of Mr. Daniel Stone, who had come here from Newburyport a year or two before, to establish himself in business as an apothecary. The intimacy of the two towns (Newburyport and Lowell), which began with the founders of the latter, had already existed for more than two years. It is earnestly hoped that the early intimacy of the two towns will be soon revived through the efforts of our distinguished townsman, Gen. Butler, to make the waters of the beautiful river which unites them, commercially navigable. Mr. Stone had died of consumption, leaving his stock where he had gathered it, viz: in the westerly store of the brick building now standing in Belvidere, on the easterly bank of the Concord River, and which at that time was the extreme westerly limit of the town of Tewksbury. It was the first apothecary store ever established within many miles of this place, and is the identical store that has for the last twenty-one years been occupied by H. M. & J. Rice as a provision store.

It soon became apparent that the business of the new town must develop in the vicinity of the mills of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company; therefore, after a few months, Mr. Carleton removed his scanty stock to the three-story brick building, still standing, between Worthen Street and the First Congregational Church on the southerly side of Merrimack Street, then known as "Bank Block," so called from the occupation of one of the stores by the first

Bank of the town, and which is now styled "The Old Lowell National Bank."

He pursued his business in that location about two years and a half, and in 1830 he moved again to the most westerly store of the "Town House," and was the first tenant of what is now known as "City Government Building," at the corner of Merrimack and Shattuck Streets. On a cash book kept by him in 1830 his daily sales are entered—$4.66 for the first day of September, varying daily to double that sum in the course of the month, with a total of less than $200 at the end of it.

The new store occupied nearly one-half of the *front* of the building, but extended less than half its depth. The floor was four steps above the sidewalk. The corresponding store at the easterly end was rented by Alpheus Smith, for the sale of hardware and clothes—a combination of stock natural enough, when we remember that his customers were almost all mechanics, whose purchases were largely of tools and clothes. Ready-made clothing was not then thought of. An entry the entire length of the building occupied the centre, from east to west. On the south side there was a store kept by H. W. Hastings for fine groceries at one end, a reading-room by John Adams at the other, and the post-office, under the late William Wyman, postmaster, between the two. The basement was occupied by two grocery stores, Atherton & Buttrick (the late A. W. Buttrick) and Frye & Abbott, the junior partner being one of our number to-day. Over all, in the second story, was the Town Hall (the scene of many lively debates by some who are now members of our Association), and two smaller rooms used by the Selectmen and Assessors, respectively. Over these small rooms were the Armories of the two military companies, viz: "The Mechanic Phalanx" and "The Lowell Light Infantry."

At this time neither Shattuck nor Middle Street was

laid out. The house of Moses Shattuck, from whom the street derives its name, stood on the site of the present "Wentworth's Building," facing Shattuck Street. It was moved to Middle Street, and is now a part of the estate of William Kittredge on that street. Mr. Shattuck died many years ago, leaving a widow and one adopted child, both long since departed. The shaft which stands at his grave in the Lowell Cemetery has the inscription—"An honest man 's the noblest work of God." It may be questioned whether a man, whose highest ambition seemed to be to draw his pay for, and to be seen at work with men and oxen on all the Sundays of the year, is justly entitled to the commendation silently expressed on his monument.

This digression, as well as that of the description of the Town Hall, will, it is hoped, be excused, as owing to the connection of one and the proximity of the other with the subject, they have been spontaneously suggested.

Mr. Carleton, then young, vigorous, and in better health than he had in after years, and in a new store, gradually improved his mode of doing business, and increased it in amount so as to require a permanent assistant. In 1832 his first apprentice (then fourteen years old) arrived, as has been described. His business continued to increase so that he soon began to drop one after another of its collateral branches, such as paints, dried fruits and confectionery, and confine himself to the legitimate profession of an apothecary. Competition also necessitated an improvement in the style of doing business, and in the nicety of preparing medicines and doing up the packages. It may illustrate the enterprise which was infused into this business by stating the fact that it was in his store that the *numbering* of physicians' prescriptions was originated. The practice of *copying* them was understood to have then been some time in use in London, England; but to do so, and then to affix

a *number* to the package, by which the customer could at any time have his prescription repeated, began in Mr. Carleton's store in 1836. The custom is now universal in all well-regulated stores in the country. The books, in which it has been continued for more than forty years, may at any time be seen at the store of Carleton & Hovey.

The junior partner began his apprenticeship in July, 1832, and on attaining his majority in 1838, at once became partner.

The system of apprenticeships, which for centuries has been found so useful in the old country, and without having served at which, an artisan or tradesman was considered hardly respectable, seems to be incompatible with American ideas of independence, and has therefore become almost extinct in this country, and quite so in the use of legal indentures. In a modified form the system has prevailed in Mr. Carleton's store since 1832. After a trial of a month, both parties being satisfied, the applicant, with the consent of his parents or guardian, agrees verbally to remain with his employers until he is twenty-one years old. If taken at fifteen he will have six years in which to learn his business. The first two years he is not allowed to answer physicians' prescriptions, or to do much in dispensing. His duties at this period of his apprenticeship are to prepare, under a superior, medicines for sale.

The advantage of the system, in *any* trade or profession, is no doubt appreciated by every "Old Resident," who of course at some period of his life has been engaged in one or the other. It has been a common impression that any article made in England was of better quality than articles of the same name made in this country. Whatever the opinion may be at the present day, that impression undoubtedly existed from the fact that more highly skilled artisans were employed in England than in this country. It

is well understood that the superior skill was acquired under the apprenticeship system exclusively.

If thorough knowledge of any business is necessary, of course none is more so than that which directly concerns human life. But argument is unnecessary. Existing facts will demonstrate the principle that has been presented, and will also show that the advantages of it, are quite as much to the apprentice as to the master. It is a fact, that every apprentice (and there are many) who has served his full time in this store, has found employment in the business he has learned, from the day his apprenticeship ceased. It may give emphasis to the truth of the principle to state that of the graduates of this store, one, Mr. Sargent, of Chicago (who is a half-brother of our city's distinguished manufacturer, Daniel Hussey, Esq.), has creditably filled the president's chair of the "American Pharmaceutical Association," the only national organization of apothecaries in this country, while another, Mr. Milne, also of Chicago, was at the same time its secretary.

In 1848 the town, having been twelve years a city, demanded the whole of the Town House for its own purposes; consequently all other tenants were required to vacate. This firm then erected a one-story store on the place where Odd Fellows' Block now stands. That block, erected in 1857, was first called "Carleton Block," in honor of the deceased senior partner.

In June, 1854, the city had completed Huntington Hall (named, as we all know, in honor of our lamented Dr. Huntington—a man more honored by his adopted city than any man who ever dwelt among us, and not without distinguished honor in the Commonwealth as well). The requirements of the city were so far relieved by the erection of that building that the old Town House was again remodeled, so as to make four modern stores in the first story.

As soon as this change was completed, the firm was again the first tenant, and in the same old corner which it first occupied nearly a quarter of a century before. Another quarter will soon have passed since the return.

Mr. Carleton died in March, 1857—twenty years ago. He left a good name, which his successors have deemed it not only a compliment to his memory, but for their interest, to retain. The business was continued by his junior partner for eight years alone. At the beginning of 1865, Mr. Tweed (a native of Lowell), who had served his apprenticeship in the store, returned, after an absence of two years, and was admitted a partner in the store where he was educated. During his absence he was employed by Caswell & Mack, of New York, the leading retail apothecaries in this country. For obvious reasons, the style name of the old firm remains unchanged.

The year 1877 completes the half-century, and is deemed a fitting time to remember the founder of a firm which has existed for fifty years, and of a business which although small, has added, as has been shown, something to the common stock in its legitimate line.

XIX. Moses Hale, an Early Manufacturer of Wool, &c., in East Chelmsford, prepared and read November 10, 1876, by A. Gilman, from notes by B. S. Hale.

Moses Hale was born in West Newbury, Mass., September, 1765, and removed to Dracut Navy Yard (so called of late), with his father Ezekiel Hale, whose occupation was the dressing of cloth for farmers and grinding their grain. In 1790 Moses Hale, shortly after the death of his father, removed to East Chelmsford, now Lowell, and built a fulling mill on River Meadow Brook, now called Hale's Brook. He purchased the land and privilege of Moses Davis, whose daughter he had previously married. The mill was for the purpose of fulling, dyeing and dressing cloth. The farmers' families carded the wool, spun it into yarn, and wove the cloth. For men's wear the cloth was fulled up thick, then napped with teasels, colored, sheared and pressed. For women's wear it was only slightly napped, and then colored and pressed. In order to improve the finish Mr. Hale constructed a furnace of brick, with a plate of cast iron four inches thick, on which the cloth rested when under the press. This plate was heated previous to putting the cloth into the press. The mill was about fifteen rods below the bridge over the brook on Gorham Street, near a large oak tree on Chambers Street, where the remains of the dam may still be seen. The building was removed, some fifteen years after, to the west side of Gorham Street, corner of Congress Street, near the bridge, where it now stands. It is a one-story house.

Mr. Hale's business increased, and he was obliged to have better accommodations, and in 1800 he purchased more land and built larger buildings, on the site now owned by Josiah Butler, to which he added saw and grist mills. These have long been known to us as Hale's Mills, on Gorham Street.

Mr. Hale early saw the advantage of having the wool carded by machinery, and in 1801 purchased a picker and carding machine at a large outlay, and was thus enabled to card the wool for the farmers in Chelmsford and the neighboring towns. The carding machine, being the first one that was put in operation in the County of Middlesex, was well patronized. The farmers usually brought their wool packed in sheets, and after it had passed through the carding machine, the rolls were carefully taken by the handful and laid back into the sheets, and then the cloth was folded around the wool and secured with thorns. These were the pins used by our ancestors. This almost carries us back to the time when

> "Dainty Indian maize
> Was eat with clam-shells out of wooden trays."

The first shears he used for shearing cloth cut the nap with knives set on an angle and moved horizontally, with a crank motion. Great care had to be taken not to cut the cloth. He afterward used the twisted blade shears, being quite an improvement. The manner of cutting dye-wood was by hand. Mr. Hale, finding that process too slow, framed two timbers for the purpose. One he made stationary, with a steel plate on one side, the other was fastened at one end by a large iron pin. On the other end of the latter was a staff attached to the fulling mill crank, causing it to go up and down. A strong knife was bolted on this vibrating timber, fitting close to the stationary plate. A man stood with the stick of dye-wood in his hand, pressing the end of

it against the knife, which was so fixed that the stick could go just far enough for the thickness of a chip. Every revolution of the crank had the desired effect, as the descending knife would cut the stick.

The gig he used for napping cloth was a cylinder set with teasels. In his grist and saw mills Mr. Hale adopted all the improvements then known. He made a piece of cloth of the finest wool he could procure. He carded the wool himself, and had it spun and wove by the neighbors. He colored it blue and dressed it in a superior manner, for General Varnum, who had a full suit made from it, and wore it in Congress about 1806. It was admired as being the first domestic manufactured suit worn in Congress from this District.

In 1812 Mr. Hale, not being able to do all his work, for want of water, built another dam below the first dam on Chamber Street, being the one now owned by the Lowell Bleachery, on which he built a grist mill. He was thus enabled to use the water of the brook twice. He used his saw mill in spring and fall, but little in winter, and seldom in summer. These facts would seem to warrant the conclusion that the favorite theory held by quite a number of people, *i. e.*, that cutting off the wood in the neighborhood of our streams tends to diminish the quantity of water, is not correct.

In 1812 Mr. Hale built the large mansion house now owned by the heirs of Joshua Swan. The house is three stories, brick ends, and heavy timbered. It is very high-studded. People gathered from all the neighboring towns to the raising. After the raising, tables were spread on the lawn in the rear of the old house, which stood between the Chambers and Wilkins houses on Gorham Street. The barn which was attached to the mansion house was removed from where the Wilkins house now stands. It was placed

on large wheels and drawn by a great number of oxen. This barn was struck by lightning and consumed, a few years since.

In 1815 Mr. Hale bought a farm in the middle of Chelmsford. On one side of the farm was Beaver Brook. He built a dam, dug a canal and erected a saw-mill at the lower end of the canal. These proving to be an unprofitable investment, he sold them.

The business of cloth dressing, carding wool, grinding grain and sawing lumber continued to prosper, and yet he was ambitious of extending his business. Hearing that the manufacture of gunpowder was a profitable business, he investigated the matter, and in 1817 proceeded at once, after maturing his plans, to erect suitable mills for that purpose on his lower dam. He commenced manufacturing gunpowder in 1818. Mr. Allen, in his "History of Chelmsford," published the following notes:

"1818. Mr. Hale, to whose enterprise and industry the inhabitants of the town are indebted for the introduction of several useful machines, and the erection of sundry mills, set up at his own expense, and as sole proprietor, works for the manufacture of gunpowder. The manufactory consists of five or six small buildings at the distance of fifteen or twenty rods from one another. The mill contains forty pestles. The powder is of excellent quality, burns quickly, and has been uniformly found to exceed the requirements of the law. Cyrus Baldwin, Esq., is appointed by the Governor and Council, Inspector and Sealer at this manufactory."

The Hon. John Brooks, of Medford, was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1816, and was re-elected for seven consecutive years. Thus in 1818, when Moses Hale had completed his powder works, an invitation was extended to

the Governor to visit Chelmsford to commemorate so important an event. His Council was undoubtedly included in this invitation. The invitation was accepted, and suitable preparation made for the reception of the distinguished visitors. The Chelmsford Cavalry, a corps over which our fellow-citizen, Elisha Davis, was at one time Captain, did escort duty. The events of that day should be among the memorable items of our history. Would that we could recall them.

Mr. Allen says: "The first carding machine. Those discoveries and improvements in the mechanic arts which facilitate the attainment of the necessaries and conveniences of life, deserve the care and patronage of the friends and benefactors of mankind. Mr. Moses Hale in 1801 first set up a carding machine at his mill on River Meadow Brook. During the year 1802 he carded eight thousand pounds, and between ten and eleven thousand pounds the second year."

Captain Elisha Davis informs me that a man by the name of Pritchard carried on the business of spinning cotton in Mr. Hale's mill, previous to the establishment of the powder works.

The morning of November 10, I received the following letter from Mr. Hale: "Mr. Gilman,—Dear Sir,—Your notice is received. Sorry I could not be present at the meeting. I ought to have said that Moses Hale, in 1817, while building the powder mill, remarked that the best place to build powder mills, or any other mills, was on Concord River, at Fort Hill Falls. He said he could dig a canal on the west bank of the river, and get a large fall at the lower end, and he hoped he should some time be able to do so. Afterwards other parties carried out his design, without doing by him as they agreed. In 1819 he admitted William Tileston, of Boston, and O. M. Whipple into

partnership in the powder manufactory, the firm name being Moses Hale & Co. In 1821, Mr. Hale, seeing his rights were not respected, sold out his term of copartnership to David Hale, of Boston, and when the term of the lease of the mills had expired they came into his possession again. He then formed a new company, with Nathaniel Stevens, of North Andover, and Jonas Brown, of Boston, and manufactured gunpowder again under the firm name of Moses Hale & Co. This firm continued until the death of Mr. Hale in 1828, when the partners relinquished the business. When Lowell began Mr. Hale took an interest in the great movement, and soon became acquainted with Kirk Boott, Paul Moody, Mr. Worthen and others, and seeing that the great number of people and horses must be fed, he made arrangements to supply them with grain. He made the rye and Indian meal from grain raised by farmers in this vicinity, and delivered it to the different families as they wanted. There being no brown bread baker at that time in Lowell, each family made their own brown bread; a miller was considered indispensible. The stables were supplied with meal, cracked corn and oats supplied mostly from the South. These were ground at his mill."

XX. A Fragment, written in 1843, by Theodore Edson. Read November 10, 1876.

THE experiment of a joint stock company for the manufacture of cotton commenced during the war of 1812, by the enterprise of Francis C. Lowell, Esq., and proved to be one of the most advantageous modes of investment which for several years were offered to capitalists in this country. A disposition to encourage home manufactures, prevalent as well in the community at large as at the seat of government in Washington, gave very prompt and decided support to this branch of industry. The success of the Waltham company, as indicated by their dividends for a number of years, awakened the community so generally that cotton mills were going up wherever water power could be found or vacated for that purpose.

In the winter of 1821 the gentlemen concerned at Waltham, having already employed all the water power which they could there command, were looking out for some situation where they might extend their operations. Mr. Paul Moody, who, with Mr. Ezra Worthen, had been engaged at Amesbury in the manufacturing enterprise with good promise of success, was employed by the Waltham company, and such was their confidence in his abilities that they took very early measures to connect his interest with their own and to identify as much as possible his advantage with the success of manufacturing enterprise.

Mr. Moody had two of his children, Mary and William, in Bradford Academy. Taking Mrs. Moody and his daughter Susan in a chaise, he drove to Bradford to see his children, with the expectation of meeting some of the leading Waltham proprietors in or near Bradford for the purpose of exploring. The day, however, was rainy, and the gentlemen did not come according to his expectations. The next day he took his family and went down to Amesbury, where he saw Mr. Worthen, who, having been given to understand the object of the excursion, said: "Why don't you go up to Pawtucket Falls? There is a power there worth ten times as much as you will find anywhere else." An arrangement was made for Mr. and Mrs. Worthen to take a chaise and accompany Mr. and Mrs. Moody to Pawtucket Falls, but John Worthen being taken ill, Mrs. Worthen could not go, wherefore Mr. Worthen went in one chaise and Mr. and Mrs. Moody and Susan in the other. When they came to the foot of Hunt's Falls they, the gentlemen, got out to look round, while Mrs. Moody and Susan sat in the chaise. They then came up to Mr. Jonathan Tyler's to dine. He kept the public house at that time. After dinner they rode out again—went up the river and reconnoitered the Pawtucket Falls and neighborhood to their satisfaction. The two friends parted, and Mr. Worthen went home to Amesbury.

Mr. Moody returned to Waltham and reported to the gentlemen what he and his former partner had seen, and the opinion they had formed, whereupon Mr. Jackson is said to have employed Mr. Thomas M. Clark, of Newburyport, and engaged him to buy up the shares of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River. These were purchased at from half their original cost upward by degrees to their par value and more, till a large amount of the stock was thus obtained. Afterwards Mr. Clark was employed to

make purchases of lands, and bought several farms at low rates, but the more land was purchased, the more of course the price rose.

There was a story which fifty years ago was rife here and confidently told, but for the truth of which I can not vouch: That when by these sales suspicions had been raised in Newburyport and a committee sent up to these falls to see whether there was here available water power—that committee returned and reported that there was none. There is incredibility on the face of it, and I have no reliable evidence of its truth.

XXI. Early Recollections of an Old Resident, by J. B. French. Read May 7, 1874.

GOING back to a time anterior to the commencement of operations by the manufacturing companies, there was the transportation of lumber and rafts by water, through the Pawtucket Canal into Concord River, and down the Merrimack to Newburyport; there was also transportation upon the Merrimack River, above Pawtucket Falls, through short pieces of canal, and locks, and slack water produced by dams, to Concord, N. H.; also, transportation through the Middlesex Canal to Boston. On the latter there was a large business done in summer, by boats, from Concord and other points on the river and canal, in transporting goods, wood and lumber, and in floating rafts. Soon after the opening of this canal, a packet boat was built and run between Middlesex Village and Charlestown, for the accommodation of passengers, propelled by horse-power at a speed of about four miles per hour. This boat continued to run in summer, up to 1835 or 1836, and was under the management, for many years, of our respected townsman, Silas Tyler, as Captain, who informs me the fare was fifty cents for the whole distance, or about two cents a mile, and that it was a paying business. The march of improvement, in the building of the railroad, has wiped this canal and those on the Merrimack out of existence. I have thought it might not be amiss to mention this early enterprise, so that those who come after us might, if they had a desire to learn about things of the past, have some reference where such

information might be obtained. In "Allen's History of Chelmsford," published in 1820, mention is made of this canal, and I quote a paragraph or two:

"The Middlesex Canal begins about one mile above Pawtucket Falls, at the most southerly angle of Merrimack River; its direction is south by east; it is supplied with water by Concord River in Billerica, where the surface of the water is elevated one hundred and nine feet above tide-water, in Boston Harbor, and twenty-five feet above the surface of Merrimack River. The cost of this canal, when completed, was six hundred and five thousand dollars, five hundred and twenty thousand by assessment, and eighty-five thousand from income; twenty-seven miles long, thirty feet wide, three feet deep, passing through Chelmsford, Billerica, Wilmington, Woburn, Medford and Charlestown."

This enterprise for many years made no return of income to the owners of the stock; but after the Lowell factories were put in operation, it paid six per cent. or more, till the business was diverted by the building and operating of the railroad in 1835, after which it was very soon abandoned.

There was also a steamboat called the "Herald," run on the Merrimack, built by Joel Stone, Jr., in 1834 or 1835, and very soon purchased by Joseph Bradley, of Dracut, and John K. Simpson, of Boston, and run from a wharf at Lowell, near the McFarland ice-houses, a little above the head of the Pawtucket Canal, to a wharf in Nashua, near the bridge between Nashua and Hudson. This boat was run by Bradley, as Captain, for the accommodation of passengers and excursion parties between Lowell and Nashua, for a number of years, but without pecuniary success. The extension of the railroad from Lowell to Nashua left the boat pretty much out of use, and it was taken out of the river, near the head of Pawtucket Canal, by Bradley,

placed on ways and rollers, moved down Pawtucket Street, and put into the river just above the Lawrence Company's mills, floated down the river to Newburyport, thence round to New York—an undertaking that required all the skill, energy and perseverance of a Joseph Bradley to accomplish.

My first visit to Chelmsford Neck, as it was then called, next East Chelmsford, now Lowell, was in the Summer of 1813 or 1814, to get some wool carded into rolls at the factory of John Goulding, which stood between where E. B. Patch's auction store now stands and Concord River, near where the Boott Canal starts from the Pawtucket, taking its water from the Pawtucket, and discharging the same into Concord River. This wool, converted into rolls, was spun and woven into cloth at home, some of which I had the pleasure of wearing the next winter.

This journey from Billerica, my native town, was made on horseback, with a huge bag of wool lashed on the horse's back behind me, which was about as high as my head at that time. Horseback-riding at that period was the only mode of getting about the country, unless you yoked up the oxen and took the cart, which was usually done when the load was too much for the horse's back. Such a thing as a one-horse pleasure-wagon had never been seen by me at this time, and not until a year or more later was there one in Billerica, and that had as many visitors to see its construction as a locomotive would now. There were two or three chaises in town, but they were only used for going to meeting, or for visiting, and those who owned them were considered quite aristocratic. Persons who had business in Boston, or in a neighboring town, went on horseback or on foot. If they were going to remain for business, or work for a short time, and took a horse, they usually took a man or boy on behind to bring the horse back. I had frequent calls of this kind, as my father kept a horse which was

often let with a boy to bring the horse back. Persons who did not keep a horse, and had business at Boston or Salem, to make purchases, or to dispose of articles which would be done on horseback, usually owned a pair of saddle-bags, that would hold very near or quite a bushel on each side, which were swung over the horse's back, the weight of which, with the contents, was frequently equal to that of the rider. My father had a neighbor who was a shoemaker; he had no horse, but owned his saddle-bags, and about once a month he would borrow father's horse to carry his shoes to market, and bring back his leather and other articles to make up the next lot. Ladies, who were in the habit of visiting by invitation of the young men, were expected to own or furnish a pillion, and when her friend or lover called, she would hand out the pillion, which was fastened on behind the saddle; the lady assisted by the gentleman stepped on to a large block, or flat rock, which was a common thing for all families to have near the house. The gentleman then mounted his horse, rode up by the side of the block, the lady got on the pillion behind the gentleman, and put her arm around him to steady herself as the horse moved on.

At the time before referred to (1813 or 1814), teaming from what is now Lowell and adjoining towns was done by ox-teams almost entirely, both summer and winter, in going to market, which was then either Boston or Salem. Teams usually started from home the forepart of the day, carrying their own provision for man and beast, travelling all day and such part of the night as to enable them to reach market early the next morning, and disposing of their load that forenoon, would start for home in the afternoon or evening, reaching home the third day or night, and as a general rule without much rest or sleep except such as they were able to get while their teams were feeding, unless in

stormy or very cold weather, when the teams would be put up at some free stable, which was a common appendage to the taverns (as all public houses were then called), where all teamsters far and near were welcome to their use, making use of their own hay and grain, brought from home, and for themselves, they would procure a lodging at a cost of eight cents, and for sustenance using their own provisions brought from home.

The business of tavern-keeping at that time, as compared with the present, is perhaps worthy of a little notice. The usual way of transporting farm produce from New Hampshire and Vermont, as well as the towns referred to, was to take their own provisions, hay and grain, occupying free stables on the road, which were common the whole distance, except in Boston, and, when they arrived at Charlestown Neck, where they were accommodated to stable room free, would leave their teams and loads, walk over to Boston (to save bridge toll) and make sale of their produce, or make arrangements to have the market-men and store-keepers go over to Charlestown and examine their butter, beef, pork, &c., and, if any wanted a hot meal of victuals, one could be had in Charlestown or Boston for twelve and a half cents. The price of lodging, in those days, was from six to eight cents; if two occupied the same bed, it was six cents each, if but one, eight cents. In my native town, Billerica, there were, within one mile of the centre, three of these taverns, that were anxious to receive the patronage of these country teamsters; two were kept by near relatives of my mother, and the third by the grandfather to my wife. My relationship made my visits somewhat frequent. The price of meals was usually twelve and a half cents. This was not a very frequent charge at a reckoning in the evening, as they usually carried their own provisions with them, and, it was not an uncommon occur-

rence, when the teamsters were seated around a good blazing fire in the evening, for the landlord to bring in and treat to what cider the company might want; and, sometimes when competition ran pretty high for this kind of travel, a glass of "sling" or "bitters" was thrown in on settlement in the morning, which was quite often for a lodging only, although most travellers would have at least one pair of oxen or horses.

I have no recollection of ever seeing a team of two or four horses, hitched to a loaded wagon in summer, pass through my native town, up to the time that our venerable townsman, Mr. Samuel Wood, started a two-horse team, in 1815 or 1816, to do the teaming of Mr. Thomas Hurd, who had bought the mill on Concord River dam of Whiting & Fletcher, now Middlesex Company property, which previous to this time had been occupied by John Goulding, as a custom mill for carding wool, and for making boot-webbing and tape.

In 1821, Lowell, Jackson, Appleton and others commenced operations at East Chelmsford, soon after which, teams for the transportation of the machinery, cotton and manufactured goods were put upon the road and continued to increase, till, in passing to and from Boston by private conveyance, between 1830 and 1835, you would hardly go one mile without meeting a team of four or six horses, loaded with freight, or a six-horse stage loaded with passengers. Up to the time of starting the Boston and Lowell Railroad, in July, 1835, Samuel Wood and Joseph Tapley did a large proportion of the teaming for the manufacturing companies of Lowell. I am informed by Mr. Wood, that the price of teaming at that time was from two-fifty to four dollars per ton, and that the number of horses used at the time of the railroad starting, was estimated to be about one hundred and fifty, by Wood, Tapley, and those who made teaming a special business.

In 1821, at the time of the commencement of business at East Chelmsford, the only public conveyance for passengers, except by boat on the Middlesex Canal, in summer, was a mail stage, which was run from Boston to Amherst, N. H., passing through Charlestown, Medford, Woburn, Burlington, Billerica, Chelmsford Centre, Tyngsboro', Nashua, to Amherst, up one day and back the next, carrying very few passengers, but with mail money they were just able to live.

The coach used at this time was a rudely constructed carriage, with a body with sharp corners, hung on thorough-braces of leather, with a foot-board for the driver's feet, and trunk-rack behind firmly bolted to the axletrees. Soon after this time a new mode of hanging the foot-board and trunk-rack was invented, by which they were both hung to the body of the coach (as is now the custom), for which a patent had been obtained.

Some time after this improvement had been adopted by my then employer, Wm. Richardson, of Billerica, who was then the party running the stage between Nashua and Boston, he was prosecuted for having altered the rack and foot-board of his coach, without first purchasing the right so to do of the patentee.

Soon after the commencement of work at East Chelmsford by Mr. Boott, the progress of business made a demand for stage accommodations, and an arrangement was made with Mr. Richardson, of Billerica, to run a two-horse hack (which was bought in Boston for the purpose) from Billerica to the new works at East Chelmsford, up on Monday and down on Saturday, to accommodate Mr. Hills and others, who lived in Boston, to take the Amherst stage at Billerica for Boston. This arrangement for stage accommodation continued for a short time, when it was found to be quite insufficient to meet the public demand, consequent upon so

large an amount of work as was then being done and projected at East Chelmsford, and naturally suggested a better and more acceptable mode of conveyance than was then given by the Billerica stage owner.

George Brownell, Joshua Swan, Charles Smith and others thought it best to have a good line of stages, owned by residents at home, and an arrangement was made by which these gentlemen were to run a daily stage to Boston, which was for a time under the management of Mr. Ira Frye, and it was soon found that the old Amherst stage must be run daily, and then Concord, N. H., Haverhill, Newburyport, Salem, Derry, Pittsfield, Dover, Groton, Pepperell, Worcester and Framingham followed in rapid succession. These several stages, with others, were multiplied till the number of stages arriving at and leaving Lowell at the time the railroad commenced operations, in July, 1835, as near as I can now recollect, was from forty to forty-five each day, employing from two hundred and fifty to three hundred horses, which ran in and out of Lowell, and twice that number including what were used between Lowell and Boston; and the number, as the lines extended north, south, east and west, would be difficult to enumerate. Not one of these several lines of stages is running in or out of Lowell at the present time. They were owned by individuals and associations at Lowell, Boston, Nashua, Salem, Haverhill, Newburyport and other places. I believe I was the largest individual owner, employing for several years one hundred horses or more, daily. Stage-fare to Boston was one dollar and twenty-five cents, or five cents per mile, when there was no opposition; at such times it was fifty cents to one dollar.

The building and operating of the railroad in 1835 made a complete revolution in the business of transporting both passengers and freight, but it was a change from an

old to a new and better mode of doing the business, and made a demand for both men and teams, to such an extent that those engaged in that business suffered much less loss than they would had no such demand existed.

I have made some mention of the style of tavern-keeping in my early days. I will now refer to the same business after Lowell got well started (say from 1830 to 1835, as compared with later periods, up to the present), when it was difficult at certain seasons of the year to get hotel accommodation, for passengers arriving in the late stages. The hotel-keepers were frequently obliged to call on private residents to accommodate lodgers for the night. The hotels at that time were more in number than at any time since. There was the Stone House (now the residence of Dr. J. C. Ayer), the American House, Mansion House (kept by Jonathan Tyler), two in Belvidere (City Hotel and —— House, where St. John's Hospital now stands), Washington House, Appleton House (on Gorham Street), one opposite Hale's Mills, two on Middlesex Street, Railroad Hotel on Market Street (since burned down), and the Merrimack House, making thirteen in number, many of which were taxed to their utmost capacity to accommodate the travel, with a larger number of victualling cellars and restaurants than at any time since. I mention the number of hotels, and the want of accommodation for the public travel, for the purpose of showing the effect (so far as hotel-keeping in Lowell is concerned) of the opening of the railroad from Boston to Lowell.

The rent of hotels at that time was as high as it is at this time, a period of forty years later, and the leases of the best of them were worth a premium, but after the railroad was built and opened to Nashua, in 1838, many of the hotels were closed, and very few if any were patronized so as to enable the occupant to pay much rent.

I believe it will be safe to say that the hotels of the present day are not better patronized, with our population of forty-five or fifty thousand, than they were in 1835 with less than one-third that number of inhabitants. Notwithstanding the effect upon our hotels of this revolution in the modes of transportation, no one desired to return to the old ways of doing business, and this loss to one branch was more than made up by the increased facilities given by the railroad.

At a later period, a new impetus was given to Lowell by the construction of the Northern Canal in 1847, and about the same time by the joint purchase and improvements at the headwaters of the Merrimack by the Locks and Canals and Essex Companies, thereby more than doubling its water power, as the large increase in mills and machinery since that period fully confirms.

I believe it will not be saying too much, to affirm that Lowell is, at the present time, by the introduction of waterworks, and by the use of steam by the manufacturing companies and by individuals, as prosperous as at any former period in its history.

LOWELL, April 3rd, 1874.

JOHN GOULDING, ESQ., Worcester, Mass.:

Dear Sir,—The Old Residents of Lowell have formed an association, and are desirous of collecting as much of the early history of East Chelmsford (or I believe it was called Chelmsford Neck as far back as I recollect you there, and carried wool to your mill), and of those who lived there in its early days, as possible. Hearing that you were still in good health, I thought if it was not too much for you to do, I should like to have you give as particular an account as

you could of the time you moved to Chelmsford Neck; how long you remained there; what your age was then, and what it is now; what business you were engaged in; what inventions you had at that time matured, and what since, and such a general history of the same as you are able to give, without imposing too much upon your time and patience. Very truly yours,

JOSIAH B. FRENCH.

WORCESTER, April 4th, 1874.

JOSIAH B. FRENCH, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 3rd inst. is at hand, and contents noted. I see you among others are collecting what information concerning the early settlement of East Chelmsford you can collect. As I was an early settler there you ask what I can relate in the matter.

I settled there in the year 1812, had a factory built for me by Fletcher & Whiting, on Concord River; hired it for eight years at $200 a year; carried on the business of spinning cotton yarn, in a small way, as all our manufacturing was done at that time; spun about twenty pounds of yarn per day, Nos. from 10 to 20; also had a carding machine, for carding custom wool for spinning by hand, making what was called homespun cloth; carried on a machine shop, making cotton and wool machinery; made looms for weaving suspender webbing and boot webbing, and a tape loom to weave thirty-six pieces at one and the same time. The above were all pretty well under way when the war closed and ended all such enterprises, at least for a time—which, thanks to our enterprise and skill, we have in a great measure overcome, and established our manufactures on a tolerably good footing with other nations.

That place was very thinly settled at that time; say Mr. Fletcher, J. Tyler, —— Gedney, just over into Tewksbury, Major Fletcher, Widow Warner, and Tavern House belonging to the Canal, and I think one other, were all the houses that could be seen at that place at that time. I occupied the building I hired of Fletcher & Whiting for some four years, when Mr. Thomas Hurd purchased it and used it for making satinet. I built a small mill on the Canal property, and took water from the canal, and made machinery there; helped fit up Hurd's Mill. I moved from there just before the Canal Company sold out to the present owners, who came in possession and established Lowell. Mr. Tyler built a grist-mill just below me on the canal. I think that was all the improvement there was at that time.

You request me to state what inventions I had made at that time. I had not made much that proved useful then, although I had begun improvements on woolen machinery, that I afterwards brought out with much study and labor and cost, that proved of immense value. You ask me to state what inventions I have made up to this time. I hardly think you expect that to be answered in full; it would take a large volume, and much time and thought, to collect what I have done. I will only say I have, within the last twelve years, spent a hundred thousand dollars in experimenting. I have perfected and have on hand at this time more improvements than I have made in all my life previous to this. For instance: a device to stop the explosion of boilers; save one-half the fuel now used in creating steam or vapor for power, to go on any river, no matter how muddy the water is. I use no water to create power, but bisulphate of carbon instead, to drive the Great Eastern or for any other power wanted. I have made the ring-spinning to partake of the live spindle in all its good qualities, and also the ring in all its good qualities, all in one — that

is, in the ring. I consider that I have put steam on a footing beyond that sought by Button and Watts' first improvements in steam, and for a hundred years to come. I am now negotiating to put the steam in practical operation at once and show the world what I can do.

I hardly know what way to meet your wants. Have given you but a very faint idea of what I have gone through. If you think of anything in particular you wish me to answer, don't hesitate to ask. I shall be happy to meet your wishes.

Yours truly,

JOHN GOULDING.

P. S.—I was when I went to Chelmsford twenty-one years of age; am now eighty-two—sixty-one years since I went there.

J. G.